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“State Integration Programme Development, 2008-2013”
PRAXIS, UNIVERSITY OF TARTU, INSTITUTE OF BALTIC STUDIES,
HILL&KNOWLTON, GEOMEDIA

State Integration Programme 2008-2013
Final Report on Needs and Feasibility Research

Public Contracting Authority: Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Estonia

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Part I

Introduction

The Framework of the Research, Defining the Nature of Integration and the Target Groups

Public Contracting Authority: Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Estonia

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1. THE AREAS AND THE GENERAL AIMS OF THE NEEDS AND FEASIBILITY RESEARCH

The areas of the 2008-2013 needs and feasibility researches are defined in accordance with the principal dimensions of the integration strategy as follows:

The consortium has conducted 6 **needs and feasibility researches** based on the following topics:

- 1) Education (incl. teaching language studies to adults and pupils, teaching history and social studies, citizenship education)
- 2) Tolerance and inter-cultural dialogue, media
- 3) Naturalization, political identity
- 4) Social risk groups
- 5) Job market
- 6) Study of local governments

The current final report is structured in accordance with these topics and consists of the current introductory part and six topical sub-reports.

The introductory part gives an overview of the common framework (aims, methods) of all six needs and feasibility studies, the social context, of the empirical bases defined through quantitative studies that are associated with the general aims of integration, of their assessment and of the target groups for integration. Summary of the suggestions on the priorities of the integration strategy prepared on the basis of all the studies are also presented here. The suggestions made by the study groups on the further development of the system of integration result indicators are included as an appendix to the introductory sub-report.

The general goals of the NIP 2008-2013 needs and feasibility studies are derived from the goals for the whole project defined in the initial task of the public procurement no. 034118 “Development of the State Integration Programme 2008-2013”, and the following refer directly to the researches:

- **to improve the effectiveness and the efficiency of the new integration programme through conducting needs and feasibility studies of the principal areas of integration;**
- **to involve representatives of target groups and beneficiaries in the development of the integration programme** through organizing educational and informational events and establishing the feedback system.
- **to increase the role of the local governments in the integration process** and create links between the local and national levels through counselling on the topics of involving local governments, **needs and feasibility studies** and through suggesting including integration measures in the local development programmes;

Since the phenomena related to integration have been systematically researched with quantitative methods during the last decade and the data related to integration problems has also been collected through several general sociological studies and opinion polls, there was enough empiric basis to plan and conduct the needs and feasibility studies as

qualitative studies focusing on certain key problems. The specific topics of such studies and the research questions will be presented further in separate study reports for each field. Generally, however, the following are the goals that go through all of the various fields of studies:

- to expand the knowledge of painful points for integration and of newly emerged problems,
- to map target groups and stakeholders for the new integration strategy, to specify the attitudes, expectations and criticisms that various target groups have towards the essence of integration and its effectiveness
- to evaluate the willingness and readiness of the subjects of the integration policy to support the integration process and to actively participate in it
- to evaluate the directions and methods adopted by the integration strategy so far and the need for developing new emphases, priorities and methods.

One important political event occurred during the period of planning the researches – the so-called April crises. Many opinion leaders and experts believe it has significantly altered the assessment of the effectiveness of integration as well as the understanding of the meaning of integration both for various ethnic groups and for the society as a whole. Based on that in July 2007 the Office of the Minister for Population and Ethnic Affairs commissioned a sociological study “Interethnic Relations and the Perspective of Integration after the Bronze Soldier Crisis” (see Andrus Saar 2007) from the members of the research team of the University of Tartu and the SaarPoll research company in addition to the studies defined in the Terms of Reference. An important role in this research was given to evaluation of the integration policy so far and to establishing integration-related expectations. Since there is clear link between the results of this research and the studies of various fields presented in this report,

2. SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE NEEDS AND FEASIBILITY STUDIES

2.1 Changes in the share of minority ethnic groups among the population and citizenry of Estonia

Estonia today is an ethnically diverse society comprised of, in addition to ethnic Estonians being the main ethnos, of **representatives of more than one hundred different ethnic groups**. According to the data from the Statistical Office, 1 342 409 persons lived in Estonia in 2007, of whom 921 062 (68.6%) were ethnic Estonians. This means that 421 347 people (31.4%) represented other ethnic groups, 344 280 of whom were Russians, 28 158 – Ukrainians, 16 133 Belarusians, 11 035 Finns, etc.

Before the Second World War ethnic Estonians comprised 88 % of the population of Estonia. In 1934 92600 Russians, 16 300 Germans, 7 600 Swedes, 5 400 Latvians and 4 400 Jews lived in Estonia. The composition of the population changed drastically after the Second World War. The percentage of historic ethnic minorities in 1934 was 12 % but in 25 years the percentage of ethnic Estonians dropped to 75 %. The majority of ethnic minorities living here now are, in fact, the people who moved here from various areas of the Soviet Union during the period of soviet occupation and their descendants. By 2007 the percentage of ethnic Estonians has risen to 62 % from the 69 % in 1990.

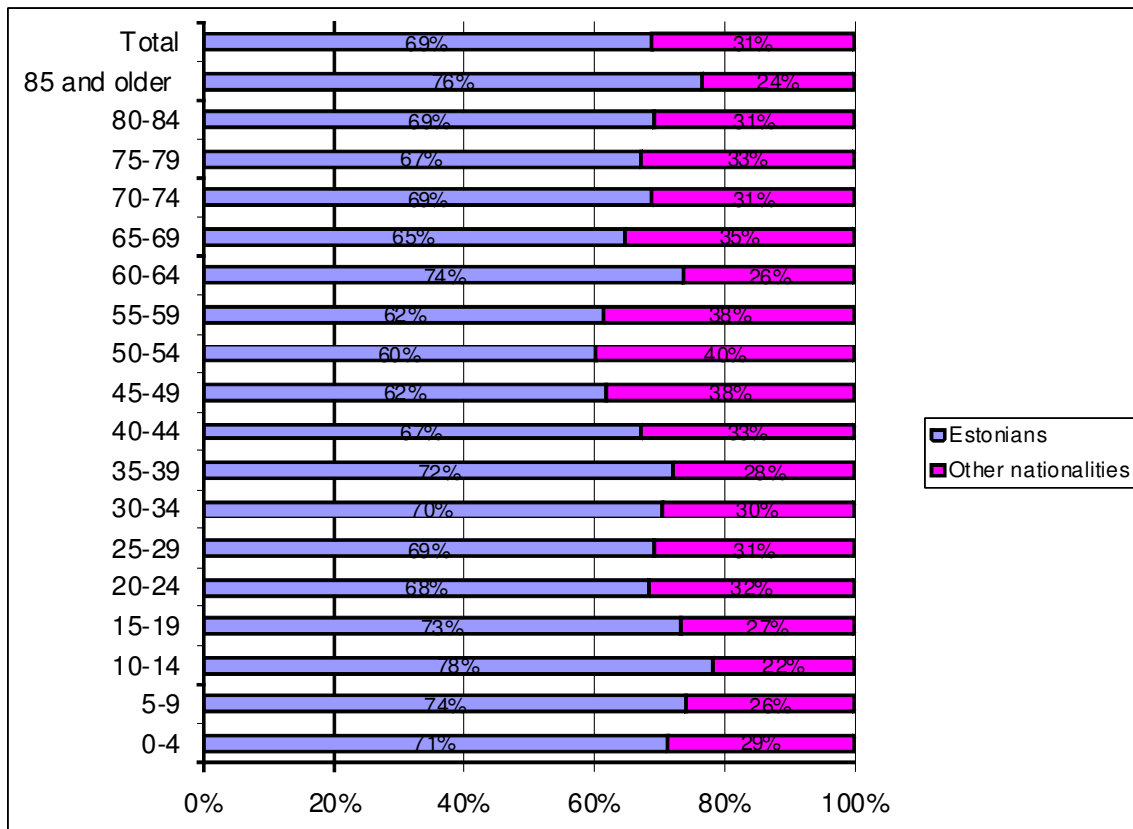
The relationship between ethnic Estonians and Estonian inhabitants of other ethnic groups is still overshadowed by the ethnic policy of the Soviet Union. One of the goals of

that policy was to move Russian-speaking working class people to the so called “national republics” and thus create demographic and political pressure that would help shape the native ethnic groups, referred to as “titular ethnic groups” to the curvature of the “unified Soviet nation”. The memory of the two waves of Stalin’s deportations and the “Russification” policy of the seventies and eighties still lives in the minds of older and middle-aged ethnic Estonians and it keeps alive the fear of becoming a minority ethnos on one’s own land due to the intrusion of outsiders. Indeed, looking at the distribution of ethnic Estonians and people of other ethnic group across age groups (figure 1), we can see that among the today’s middle-aged (age group 34 – 54) the ratio of people of other ethnic groups has to this day remained at 35 – 40 %. Looking at the change of the ration in the younger age groups, the picture is quite different: the percentage of ethnic Estonians has risen significantly above 70 %. The change in the ratio of ethnic Estonians and people of other ethnicities that has been taking place after the restoration of independence shows that in the next few decades the demographic structure in Estonia will be gradually moving towards the situation when the percentage of minorities is still significant but does not seem as exceptional in the European context as it does now – today the Russian-speaking population makes up almost one-third of the population of Estonia. The gradually increasing numerical superiority, hopefully, will help ethnic Estonians to gradually free themselves from the postcolonial protective attitude and from the fear of the nation disappearing. This is one of the most important preconditions for a democratic development of inter-ethnic relations.

Such democratic development is not a given by any means, and the experiences of many other postcolonial nations demonstrate this. Those who were the minority in a large empire have had to learn to behave as a majority in a democratic nation-state, including towards former colonisers and their descendants, who also have to get over losing their earlier political position of power while being simply outnumbered.

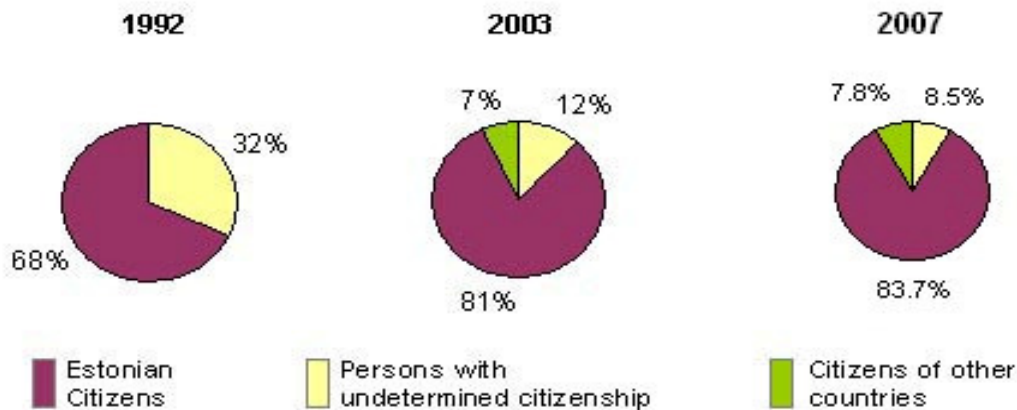
The attitude of foreigners towards their new homeland is not at all uniform. This can be seen most clearly from the situation with citizenship. If you compare the state of affairs in 2007 to the time right after the restoration of independence, when the term “Estonian citizen” was applicable pretty much to the same people who could be classified as “ethnic Estonians”, the change is impressive. Despite the fact that foreign observers, and often ethnic Estonians as well, still refer to all non-(ethnic) Estonians as “non-citizens”, the percentage of people without Estonian citizenship (16.3 %) today is almost two times smaller than the number of non-Estonians.

Figure 1. Ethnicity-based Division of the Population of Estonia into Age Groups 2007 (ESA)



According to the data of the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as of July 2, 2007, there were 1 million 139 thousand and 500 Estonian citizens living in Estonia. Assuming for the sake of argument that the total number of ethnic Estonians (appr. 921 500) is the same as the number of ethnic Estonians who have Estonian citizenship, we can calculate that appr. 218 000 of Estonian citizens, i.e. 19 % of all citizens, are people of other ethnicities. At the same time among the permanent residents of Estonia there were 115274 people with undetermined citizenship, 91854 Russian citizens, 4608 Ukrainian citizens, 1948 Finnish citizens, 1574 Latvian citizens, 1347 Belarusian citizens and 1346 Lithuanian citizens. Figure 2 illustrates the changes that have occurred to the population of Estonia based on citizenship.

Figure 2. Changes to the percentage of people with different citizenship in the population of Estonia



Source: Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (see http://www.vm.ee/estonia/kat_399/pea_172/4518.html)

We can thus speak of two parallel developments that objectively influence the relationships between the majority and the minority population: on the one hand, a certain increase in the share of ethnic Estonians in the population, and on the other – an increase in the share of ethnic minority population in the total number of people with Estonian citizenship.

2.2 Social and Political Background

2007 also saw several events of crucial importance that can lead to both positive and negative social, economic and political developments. The shock and other short-term and long-term effects of the so-called April crisis was not the only turning point that year. Less dramatic but with more profound effect was the partial transition of schools with Russian as the language of instruction to teaching in Estonian. The effects of Estonia joining the visa-free Schengen zone and the related increase in the freedom of movement and new employment opportunities in the European Union, which expand to the Estonian non-citizens and Russian citizens resident in Estonia, are hard to predict. In addition, the signs of increasing immigration pressure are already becoming evident. During the first 10 months of 2007 the Ministry of Social Affairs issued work permits to 620 immigrants, of which 542 workers were of the Ukrainian background, 31 (in total) – of Russian, Belarus, Azerbaijani and Georgian background, 33 – Asian, 14 – American and 1 – of African background.

In comparison with the time when the previous integration programme was prepared and adopted, by today Estonia has undergone several fundamental political, social and economic changes. First of all, Estonia has become a member of the European Union and NATO, which, on the one hand, has increased the influence that Estonia has on the international scene, but, on the other hand, it means also that the Estonian domestic policy **has become more entwined with the international context, including the security issues.**

Secondly, the rapid economic growth of the last few years has made both ethnic Estonians and Estonian inhabitants of other ethnic background more prosperous. This has also, however, meant that people have become more demanding and their expectations to

catch up with the developed European countries have increased – not only when it comes economically but also in the matters of social security, opportunities for self-realisation and the quality of life. Such **increased expectations are reflected in the rising importance of the socioeconomic integration**, or, in other words, in the closer attention to the (in)equality of socioeconomic opportunities for people of different ethnicities.

Thirdly, opening up the Estonian labour market to the citizens of other European Union countries and at the same time the continuing decrease in the population numbers due to the negative natural growth have made **the problems of the deficit of the human capital and of its sustainable application** particularly sharp. These are also reflected in the need to pay more attention to a more efficient application of the potential of non-Estonians on the Estonian labour market.

The expected demographic “trough” will significantly affect the development of the Estonian education system. This includes the need for closer integration of Russian-language schools into the unified education system, and it also motivates to **devote more attention to how Estonian youths born into Russian-speaking families develop into Estonian citizens, improving their education opportunities in Estonian vocational and higher education institutions and opportunities to have successful careers in the Estonian labour market both in the public and in the private sectors.**

Fourthly, despite wide-spread criticism, the integration process so far has significantly increased the number of ethnic minority background who are well integrated into the Estonian society, who are loyal citizens of the Estonian Republic, who consider themselves a legitimate part of the Estonian nation and who **have justified expectations to be more involved** in the public life of Estonia and the decision-making process than before.

Lastly, the so-called April crisis and the public discussion on the effectiveness and feasibility of integration that followed it have brought to the foreground several critical moments in the evaluation of integration both by the ethnic Estonian and the Russian-speaking communities. At the same time, attention towards integration has increased. The new integration programme is expected to offer a substantive message and goals that are feasible in reality.

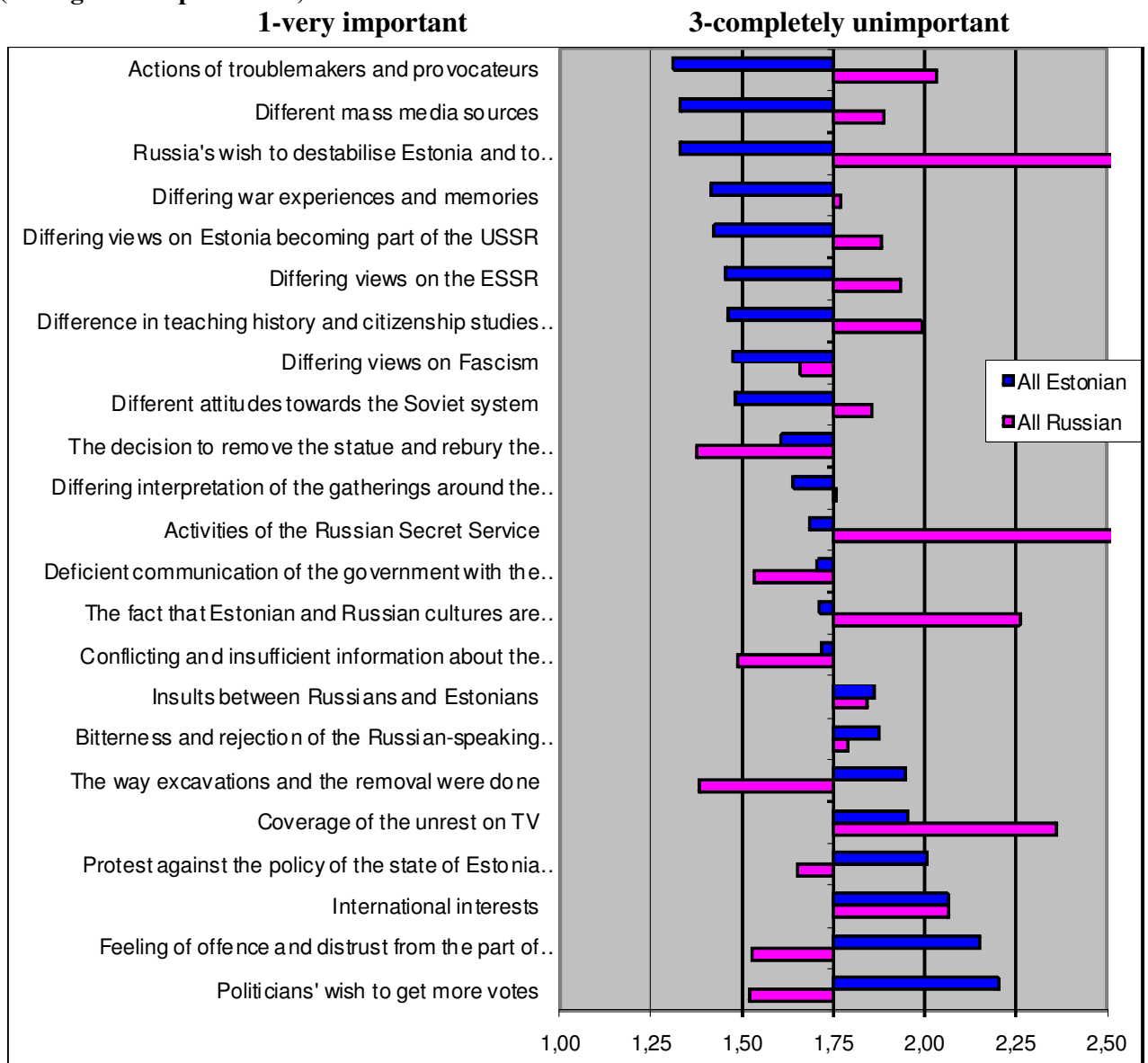
Based on the aforementioned, **the main focus of the needs and feasibility studies** conducted by the research team **is on raising problematic or new aspects in the content of the integration process and at finding solutions.**

2.3 Significance of the April crisis from the point of view of the integration policy and its effect on the process of integration

The results of the opinion poll conducted in June of 2007 show that there are hard-to-overcome differences in the attitudes and the way of thinking between ethnic Estonians and the Russian-speaking population on issues related to the current situation of and the prospects for the Russian-speaking minority in Estonia. One event that has polarised opinions, is the so-called April events, where the reasons that led to it and on the development from there on were viewed principally differently by the two ethnic groups (see Figure 3)

From the viewpoint of ethnic Estonians, the unrest was directly triggered by Russia's policy and activities of provocateurs. The role of Russia is not considered significant by non-Estonians. Ethnic Estonians think that the conflict developed because the Russian-speaking population sees history, especially the occupation of Estonia and the events of World War II differently from ethnic Estonians. Non-Estonians see the reason for the crisis in the deficient communication of the government with the non-Estonian community and in the way that the statue was removed and the remains were reburied. Ethnic Estonians see primarily the criminal side of the unrest while non-Estonians view the protest against the policy of the state of Estonia towards non-Estonians as an important reason why the events evolved the way they did.

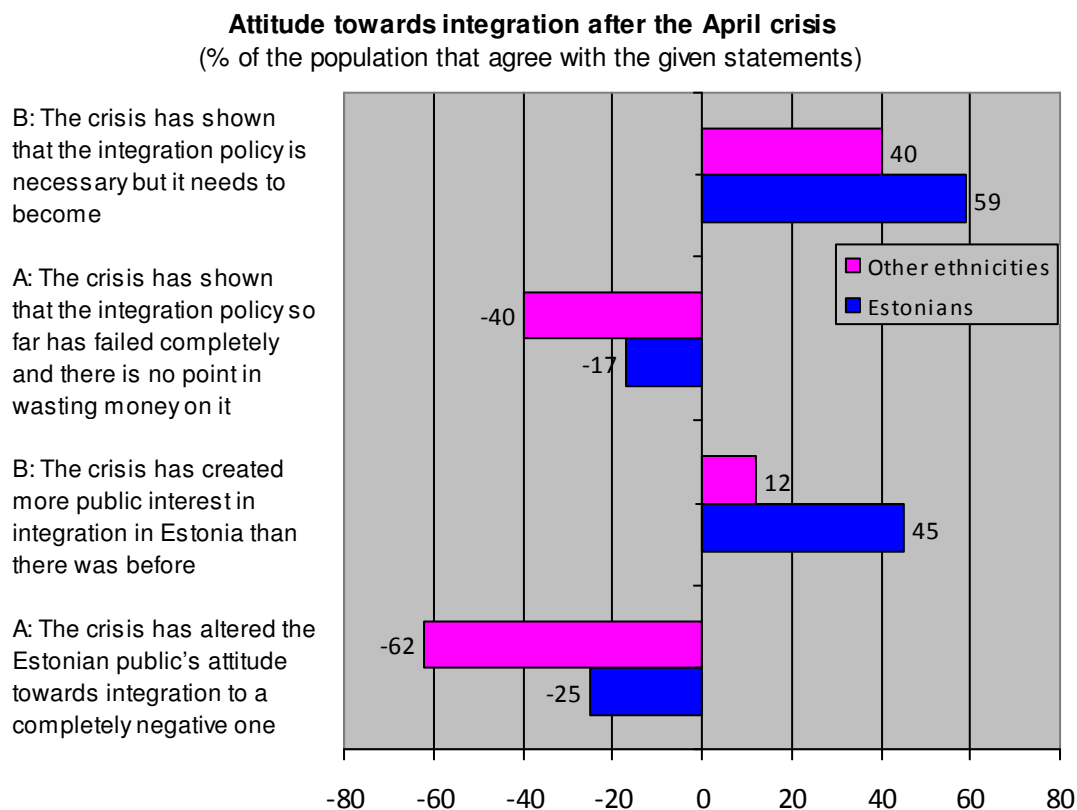
Figure 3. Opinions of ethnic Estonians and Russians of the reasons for the April crisis (average on a 3-point scale)



Despite the great differences in opinion in the interpretation of the reasons for the crises, the research results also contained positive moments from the point of view of integration. First of all, they showed that despite the seeming hostility the interethnic

relations in their specific living environments did not actually deteriorate as a result of the crisis. Secondly, contrary to the wide-spread claim in the media that the April crisis had supposedly shown that the integration policy had failed and was pointless, the majority of the ethnic Estonian respondents (59 %) and also a large proportion of non-Estonians (40 %) held a different opinion stating that the integration policy should continue and should be made more effective (see figure 4). Still, and this is especially true for the non-Estonian community after the April crisis, pessimistic views on the effectiveness of integration were prevailing. 62 % of non-Estonians and just 25 % of ethnic Estonians agreed with the statement that the crisis had somehow made the public's attitude towards integration more negative.

Figure 4. General assessment of the integration policy (TÜ/SaarPoll 2007)



Thirdly, the results of the research show that ethnic Estonians and other ethnic groups share an important view on the assessment of the importance of the principal measures of the integration policy so far – language learning and naturalisation. The opinion on the importance of support for various ethno-cultural unions and relief for social risk groups is also shared. At the same time, there are significant differences between various ethnic groups in understanding the priorities of socioeconomic and socio-political integration, and this will be discussed below in the section about the goals of integration.

The most important positive effect of the April events, however, is the beginning of a meaningful public discussion on the essence of the integration process and on its necessity and content, including the role of ethnic Estonians in the process. We must acknowledge that the Estonian public realised after the April crisis that the success of the integration policy is not only important to the Russian-speaking minority or to European experts but it is a key issue for development of Estonia, for the secure future of both ethnic Estonians and others.

3. METHODOLOGY OF NEEDS AND FEASIBILITY STUDIES

A large number of quantitative studies in the field of integration have been conducted in the previous years. It was thus possible to use the secondary analysis of the existing research results in the development of this programme. The secondary analysis of the existing studies and databases (various studies in the field of education, the 2006 European Social Research, the 2000-2006 Study of the Estonian Labour Market, opinion

polls conducted by various organisations) formed one of the research subgroups in the development of the programme. In July 2007 a standardised opinion poll on the topic of the Bronze soldier crisis was conducted in order to map the post-crisis standpoints of ethnic groups immediately after the events. The results of this opinion poll are the basis for the quantitative analysis of the goals and effectiveness of integration and the integration process target groups presented in the subsequent parts of this final report.

At the same time it transpired that the existing information is incomplete or superficial in several critical fields from the point of view of developing a new Integration programme (e.g. formation of citizen identity, cultural diversity of the school environment, and the feelings of the *integrated* Russian-speaking population in the Estonian society). Also the 2007 April crisis introduced new problems and topics to the society. This is why data from the numerous new qualitative and quantitative studies designed for this specific purpose was collected and used for the development of the programme.

Various qualitative studies – focus groups, qualitative individual interviews, brainstorming, qualitative analyses of school essays and Internet websites – comprised a relatively large part of the development of the programme.

In the context of social research, quantitative studies refer to the use of the previously standardised indicators developed by the researcher (e.g. questions and response options in questionnaires) in collecting data. Qualitative studies, on the contrary, do not use previously devised standard indicators but rather the examples presented by the people themselves are collected and generalised. Analysis subjects of such studies are quotes from the text written or presented orally by target groups, visual aids, positioning (e.g. on the web), etc. The purpose of qualitative studies is to find new important and substantial indicators and this is the reason why these are often used for studying less known topics, target groups and sub-problems. Attempts are often made to standardise the important indicators discovered with the help of qualitative studies and to determine how they are distributed in the representative sample of population and to determine the extent of their distribution and how they are related to one another. One method thus complements the other.

Qualitative research methodology is used both in the public and in the business enterprise sectors in order to have direct information about the thought patterns and/or behaviour of certain target group(s). For example – why they support one or the other of the most popular positions, how they interpret certain information, what their fears and expectations are regarding a certain change to their way of life, etc, without the respondent being limited by a framework of some sort as is the case with standardised questionnaires.

The primary method of quantitative research used in the development of the Integration programme was qualitative, i.e. in-depth interviews.

In-depth interviews differ from traditional questionnaires in that there are no standardised answers to the questions. Interview results are not analysed in bulk but rather the different variations of opinions, causal links, discussion mechanisms, etc, are presented. The answers give indication of what the different opinions, convictions and attitudes present in the given sector are. Due to a large volume of work and costs involved, and also because of the essence of the research method itself, random selection is not normally used for in-depth interviews, which would make it possible to expand the results to the whole sampled sector. There are, however, ways to transform the qualitative analysis data into standardised and indexes that can be statistically processed (e.g.

analysis of hidden content classes in media researches). It is thus not possible to conclude to what degree one opinion or the other is widespread among the target group or the whole population on the basis of in-depth interviews. Qualitative studies, however, do provide the basis for compilation of a standardised research questionnaires and polling programmes that provide statistical representation. Purposeful selection is usually used for in-depth interviews. It does not allow to expand the results to the general population but it does allow to perform a more comprehensive study of a specific target group. The main advantage of the in-depth interview method is the validity of the results – the researcher can be sure that the respondents are not forced into the framework of someone else's thoughts and can share their experiences directly.

Both expert interviews and informant-interviews were used in the studies. Expert interviews are qualitative (i.e. with free answers) interview with experts in their fields. The researches asked for expert assessments, prognoses, etc on a situation and the future development of a situation in a certain field. In the framework of the project, expert interviews with politicians, officials, school principals, leaders of citizens' unions, youth workers and people involved in preventive work were conducted.

Informant-interviews reflect direct or indirect personal experiences of the respondents and their attitude towards the studied topic. Informant-interviews were conducted with pupils and teachers of schools with Russian and Estonian language of instruction, Estonian citizens with ethnic minority background, stateless people and representatives of social risk groups.

A large portion of informant-interviews was conducted as focus groups. A focus group is a special type of a qualitative interview where the questions and topics raised by the researcher are discussed in groups with 6 to 8 members. Focus group is a group interview conducted in accordance to a semi-structured interview plan and is often complemented by various techniques that encourage creativity and/or spontaneity of the respondents or by other elements. Its aim is to achieve stimulation between the respondents themselves yet preserve a environment free of social pressure by using certain techniques. The main advantage of the focus group over personal interviews is that there is stimulation between the participants and an opportunity for debates and discussions.

The purpose of in-depth interviews for the development of the integration programme was to determine the problems relevant to the target groups and to learn to know their worldview without using structures and indicators developed by researchers (who are mostly Estonians). Another aim was to put the representatives of target groups into an active and creative position when providing information (this was possible due to the focus group format).

Interview texts, school essays and Internet web pages were analysed using the non-formalised content analysis methodology. In content analysis the information contained in the texts is systemised into keywords, or codes. The fixed codes for **formalised content analysis** are relatively laconic and during subsequent analysis the frequency of appearance of certain units under the respective codes is presented in the form of figures. The codes in the qualitative, or non-standardised, text analysis can be more complex and multi-sided. The occurrences that fall "under" them are not counted but are viewed more as a whole and in their context. Usually a full quote that was classified under a certain code is presented.

Using non-formalised content analysis has the same advantages as the interviews –the results are more relevant to the target group, full of more nuances and more valid.

4. DEFINING TARGET GROUPS AND STAKEHOLDERS OF THE INTEGRATION POLICY

The integration policy to date has been primarily addressed at either ethnic groups as a whole or some specific target groups: mainly the people with undetermined citizenship and social risk groups, as well as children and young people. There are many sides to the whole integration, and also during the last few years the differences in the social status and the level of integration across the non-Estonian population have multiplied. This is why we believe that the right course of action is to increase the variation within the integration programme and to more precisely define the target groups of the measures in different areas. In doing so we must consider the needs of groups with a different age, citizenship, education, location, social and professional status, and also their roles as subjects of the integration process.

The initial task of the needs and feasibility researches is involving the target groups in the central strategic tasks:

“In order to achieve the crucial goals, integration programme target groups are involved already at the stage of developing the programme and at the stage of compiling the implementation plan. In addition to target groups, it is also necessary to involve the third sector organisations and beneficiaries’ unions that represent those groups. Involvement here means **empowering the target groups**, i.e. the right to be part of the discussion and of the decision process on the implementation measures part of the development of the policies that are relevant to them. It is important to make sure that the target groups are involved in developing all of the important policies and accept them as their own.

Involvement of target groups is achieved through two different frameworks: (1) through needs and feasibility studies where, on the one hand, the target groups are asked about their needs and, on the other hand, they are asked their opinions on the feasibility of the proposed measures; (2) through feedback (on the strategy and the implementation plan, on the local governments’ development plans). (SIP 2008-2013 Initial Report, chapter 2.1.2.)

Typologies of non-Estonians with various levels of integration and of ethnic Estonians with various levels of readiness for integration developed on the basis of the data from the 2007 survey are presented in this report with the purpose of defining the target groups with more precisions. This is based on generalised integration indexes that define the level of integration and readiness of both ethnic Estonians and people of other ethnicities. Since representatives of other ethnic groups with various levels of integration are the main target groups for the development of the integration strategy, we shall start by presenting an overview of the integration categories of non-Estonians and then will discuss the variations observed in the Estonians’ readiness for integration.

4.1. Differences in Levels of Integration among Russian-speaking population

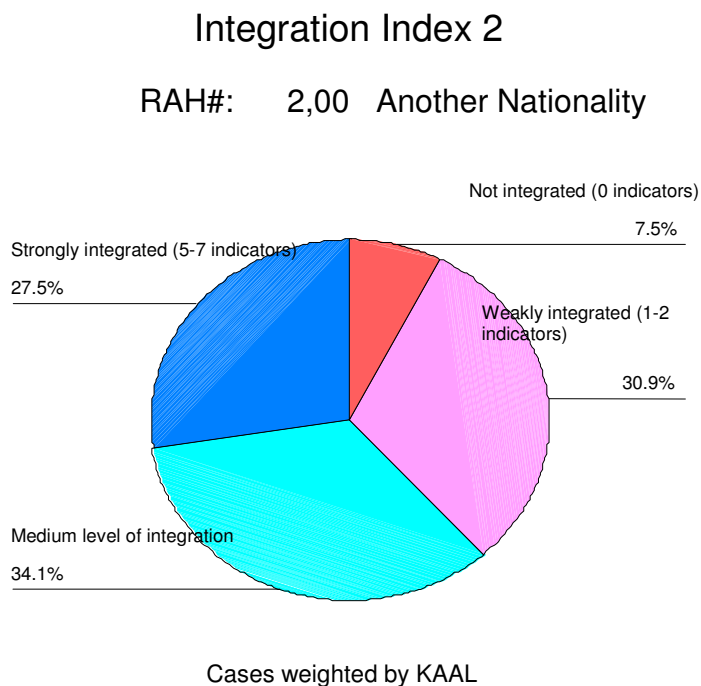
One of the greatest shortcomings of the integration policy to date has been that the Russian-speaking population has been treated, both in the media and in the politicians’ rhetoric, as a homogeneous mass. This tendency became even more evident during the

events surrounding the Bronze soldier when the group of youths rioting in the centre of Tallinn became the “embodiment” of the Russian-speaking population.

The results of the survey conducted in July 2007, shortly after the April crisis, do not support such generalised views of the Russian-speaking population. We have established an index for measuring the level of integration of the Russian-speaking population based on the seven various indicators that quantify the respondent’s attitude towards the Estonian state.

The integration index is calculated as a sum of the following indicators: 1. having Estonian citizenship, 2. having command of the Estonian language, 3. considering oneself as part of the Estonian nation (as defined constitution), 4. frequent communication between ethnic Estonians and Russians, 5. use of Estonian or both languages alternately in communication, 6. positive view of the changes that the Estonian society has undergone in the last fifteen years, 7. trust in the Estonian state. Based on the values of the integration index, the Russian-speaking respondents formed four groups: 1) those who have not integrated on any of the indicators, i.e. those who basically lack a positive connection with the Estonian society (only 7.5 % of the polled non-Estonians aged 15-74 belong to this group); 2) the 31 % that are weakly integrated (i.e. display 1-2 integration indicators); 3) one third (34 %) have the so called medium level of integration (3-4 integration indicators) and finally those of whom it can be said that they have completely integrated into the Estonian society and who display 5-7 integration indicators. There were slightly over a quarter (27.5 %) of such strongly integrated members of the Estonian society of Russian-speaking background (see figure 5).

Figure 5. Division of the Russian-speaking population based on the level of integration



From Table 1 we can see how the groups are distributed based on the indicators demonstrating state identity that are part of the integration index.

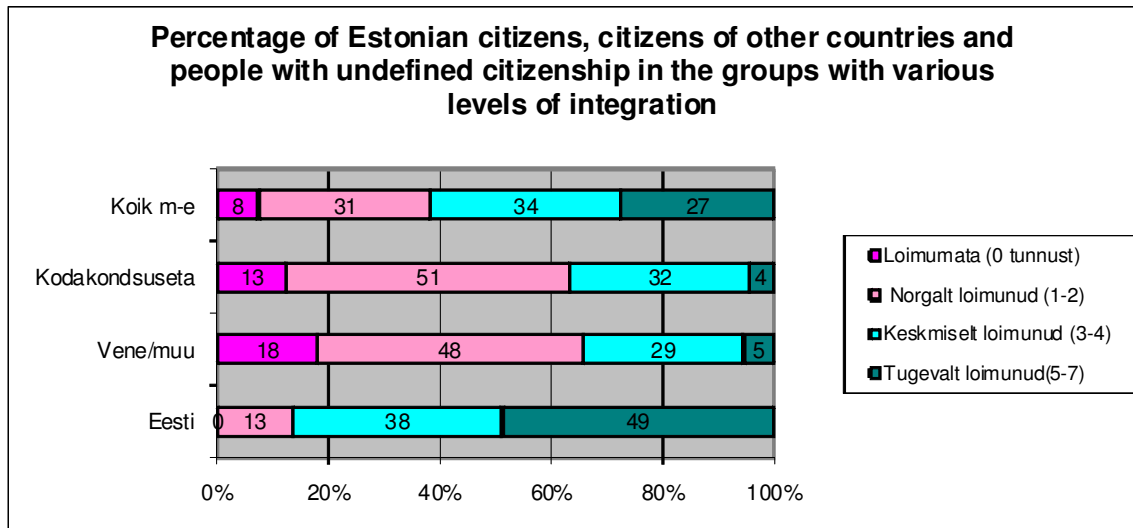
Table 1. Citizenship and attitudes demonstrating state identity at various integration levels

		Not integrated (8%)	Weakly integrated (31%)	Medium level of integration (34%)	Strongly integrated (27%)	All Russian-speaking respondents
Citizenship						
	Estonian	0	22	57	91	51
	Russian/other	62	40	22	5	26
	Undefined	38	38	21	4	23
Whether he/she considers himself/herself part of the Estonian nation						
	Yes	0	52	76	95	68
Whether he/she trusts the Estonian state						
	Does not trust	54	42	38	19	35
	Trusts	0	11	25	44	13
Attitude towards the changes that Estonia has undergone in the last fifteen years						
	Regretful	68	43	37	20	36
	Happy	0	19	26	43	27

Estonian **citizenship** does not automatically mean complete integration (see figure 6): out of the 252 non-Estonians with Estonian citizenship polled, every fourth (25%) was either not integrated or weakly integrated, 45 % had a medium level of integration and 30 % of the citizens were strongly integrated.

Composition of groups by citizenship can be seen on the figure. As expected, the strongly integrated group is almost completely comprised of Estonian citizens, but at the same time, every third person in the weakly integrated group has Estonian citizenship.

Figure 6. Relationship between citizenship and integration



Translation of Figure 6.

Kõik m-e- All N-Es

Kodakondsuseta - undetermined citizenship

Vene/muu - Russian/other

Eesti - Estonian

Lõimumata - Non-integrated (0 indicators)

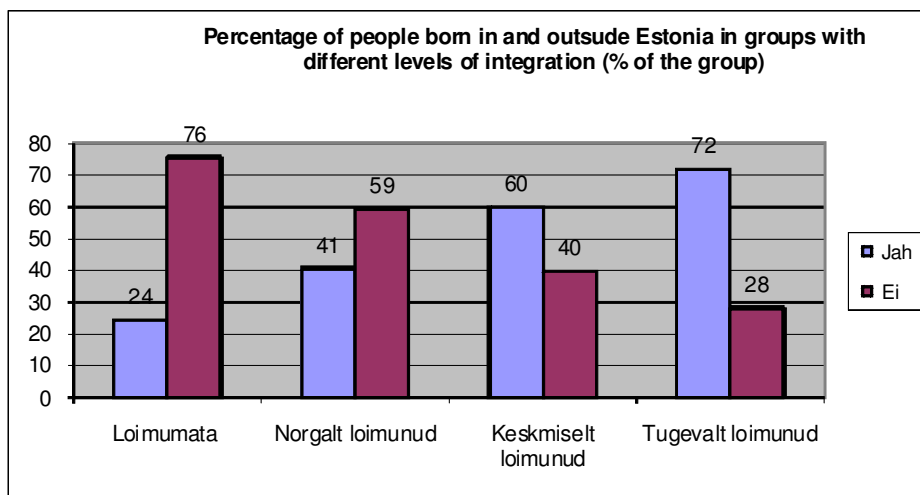
Nõrgalt lõimunud - Weakly integrated (1-2)

Keskmiselt lõimunud - Medium level of integration (3-4)

Tugevalt lõimunud - Strongly integrated (5-7)

Birthplace is also a factor influencing affiliation to Estonia: three quarters of the people in the strongly integrated group have been born in Estonia, and the ratio is reversed for the non-integrated group (see figure 7)

Figure 7. Relationship between the place of birth and the level of integration



Translation of Figure 7.

Non-integrated; Weakly integrated; Medium level of integration; Strongly integrated
Yes; No

Command of the Estonian language is correctly considered to be the main component of integration. We can see how the command of the language and its practical use in communication between ethnic Estonians and Russians is linked with the level of integration from the fact that strongly integrated non-Estonians are characterised by everyday interaction with Estonians, and, depending on the needs, the language used for communication is either solely Estonian or Russian and Estonian alternately.

Table 2. Command and use of Estonian in the groups with different levels of integration

	Non-integrated (0 indicators)	Weakly integrated (1-2)	Medium level of integration (3-4)	Strongly integrated (5-7)	All Russian-speaking respondents
Command of the Estonian language					
None at all	51	30	9	3	17
Understands a little but does not speak	24	38	17	2	20
Understands and speaks a little	24	25	35	10	24
Speaks and writes	0	7	31	50	26
Has good command of the language	0	1	9	36	13
Has interacted with Estonians within the last week					
Has not interacted, cannot recall a single contact	32	30	6	0	14
6 times or more	0	15	47	69	40
Language used in communication with Estonians					
Only the Russian language	96	73	38	7	40
Only the Estonian language	0	3	8	18	10
Both Estonian and Russian alternately	0	21	52	74	48

At the same time people in the non-integrated or weakly-integrated groups have less frequent interactions with ethnic Estonians and the main language of communication during those contacts has been Russian.

When the level of integration of the Russian-speaking population is compared on the basis of age, education and the social-economic layers, it is clear that it was easier for the younger, better-off and better educated people to find their place in the Estonian market-economy society (see table 3).

Table 3. Sociodemographic background of the groups with different levels of integration

	Non-integrated	Weakly integrated	Medium level of integration	Strongly integrated
Education				
Basic education or less	27	23	19	7
Secondary education	57	60	57	59
Higher education	16	18	24	34
Age				

Younger than 40 y.o. 1,00 15-19	28	31	48	54
40-60 y.o.	36	42	38	30
Over 60 y.o.	36	27	14	16
Income				
Up to 3000	40	37	25	18
3000-5000	41	39	39	37
Over 5000-8000	16	21	32	42
Male	57	53	43	42
Female	43	47	57	58

It can be seen from the table that those with higher education, aged under 40 and with over 5000 kroons of income per family member are more integrated. The group of non-integrated or weakly integrated people, on the other hand, is comprised more of those with basic (and vocational) education, aged over 60 and whose income is below average – even of people living below the poverty line. The reason is not just in the cost of Estonian language training courses or citizenship examination preparation courses (although that also has its effect). The obvious link between integration and economic prosperity is two-sided. Those who have more resources are also more competitive and more motivated to overcome the cultural barriers and bureaucratic and psychological difficulties associated with one's adaptation amongst the people of another language and culture. At the same time, integration itself offers additional resources by raising one's social self-assessment and by lowering barriers for communication and cooperation between people.

As a rule, higher social status means a higher integration level. Approximately 40 % and 30 % of those non-Estonians who have reached an above-average level on the social ladder of the Estonian society are strongly integrated and integrated at a medium level respectively. The flip side of this coin – the reason why not all non-Estonians who have achieved a high status, wealth and education have also achieved a high level of integration, with almost one among every three non-Estonians with above average social self-assessment having a rather thin connection with the Estonian society – also deserves attention.

To summarise, we can distinguish four target groups of integration policy (integration categories) based on the level of being **integration**:

- A **Strongly-integrated non-Estonians** are characterised by having Estonian citizenship, good command of the Estonian language, secondary or higher education, above average income and relatively young age. Well-integrated non-Estonians consider themselves part of the Estonian nation, trust the Estonian state (even if they disagree with specific measures by the specific government), are happy over positive changes in the society and have an above average number of everyday interactions, communicating mostly in Estonian. One quarter to one-third of non-Estonians belong to this target group, primarily those from Tallinn or Tartu, Pärnu and other towns with predominantly Estonian-speaking population. The main needs: to increase their involvement in public life, feeling of being valued and their opportunities to be active partners in the society.

- B Non-Estonians with an average level of integration** are characterised by Estonian citizenship, prosperity and positive attitude towards the Estonian state, but also not the best command of the Estonian language and less frequent interaction with ethnic Estonians (characteristic of Ida-Virumaa). Alternatively, these can be people with good command of the language and relative prosperity who, however, do not have Estonian citizenship and are more detached from the Estonian state (more characteristic of Tallinn). Size of the target group: one-third of non-Estonians. The main integration needs: facilitate everyday professional and social interaction with ethnic Estonians, increase mutual trust and opportunities for participation and self-expression, and involve them in the unified information field. It is important to recognise the value of the Estonian citizenship, increase the motivation for naturalisation and tie language learning with career opportunities.
- C Weakly integrated non-Estonians** display just a couple of positive integration indicators, which may be citizenship or interaction with Estonian co-workers. They are, however, characterised by mainly low welfare, low involvement in the Estonian society and are not well-informed about what goes on in Estonia, by social withdrawal, by poor command of the language and by low trust in the Estonian state. Mostly these are people with undefined or with Russian citizenship, often with lower education and of older age. The size of the target group: almost one-third of non-Estonians, often from Ida-Virumaa. The main need: social confidence and security. Integration is possible through lessening separation, social withdrawal and preventing creation of ghettos, through learning the language and more close contacts with ethnic Estonians. Creating motivation and encouraging naturalisation is important.
- D Not integrated, marginalised non-Estonians, asocial or with negative attitude towards Estonia** – less than one-tenth of non-Estonian population, mostly non-citizens, Russian citizens or illegal residents. Main needs: abiding the law and social rehabilitation. The integration group on the level of protection of basic human rights, social help and rehabilitation.

When considering target groups for planning integration measures it is important to know that those who are better integrated, almost all of whom are Estonian citizens who know the Estonian language, are predominately young relatively better-off people with higher education born in Estonia, and there are slightly more women in this group than men. Those who have not integrated at all or have integrated weakly are, on the other hand, often poorer and older people with vocational or basic education born outside Estonia, many of whom have Russian or undetermined citizenship. It is clear that the latter category has most problems with integration and requires a different approach (more information in Russian, direct oral communication, attention to problems with coping) than those who have a medium level of integration. One-third of the latter group do not have Estonian citizenship but their education level, age and income are actually closer to the well-integrated group and in their case, for example, we are most likely dealing with problems with motivation and not with problems with ability.

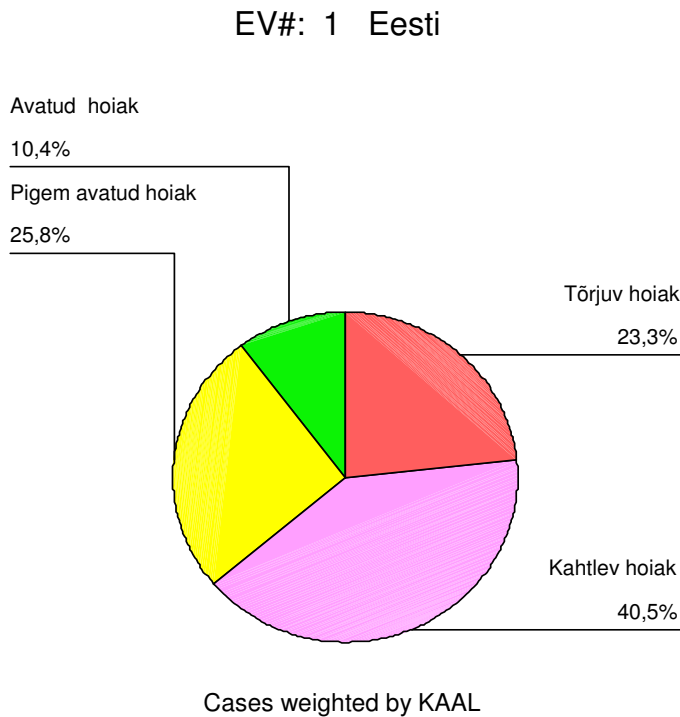
4.2. Distribution of ethnic Estonians based on the attitude towards integration

One of the important factors in the success of the integration process is the reciprocity of this process, good will by both ethnic Estonians and ethnic minorities for understanding

each other and for cooperation in the Estonian society. It is thus important, in addition to considering the levels of integration of non-Estonians, to evaluate the readiness from the part of ethnic Estonians to accept Estonian citizens of other ethnic groups as equal members of society and to involve them in the development of the Estonian society and economy, including decision-making. Using the data from the survey conducted in July 2007, it was possible to develop an aggregative index that demonstrates the general attitudes of ethnic Estonians towards the goals of integration and the relationships between nationalities. The index was developed as a sum of the following indicators: the importance of the social goals of integration, the importance of the institutional goals of integration, tolerance during close interaction with people of other ethnicity, and readiness to include ethnic minorities in the public life and to value their involvement.

The ethnic Estonian respondents aged 15-74 can be divided into the following groups based on their attitude towards integration: 36 % were characterised by clearly positive and open attitude, 40% were “doubtful”, i.e. with less positive, partly negative or uncertain attitude, and 23 % had clearly rejecting intolerant attitude towards the goals of integration and involving people of other nationalities (see figure 8).

Figure 8. Distribution of Estonians based on the attitude towards integration



Translation of Figure 8.

Eesti - Estonia

Avatud hoiak - Open attitude 10.4 %

Pigem avatud hoiak - Rather open attitude 25.8 %

Tõrjuv hoiak - Rejecting attitude 23.3 %

Kahtlev hoiak - Doubting attitude 40.5 %

It is noteworthy that the attitude towards integration is an independent indicator and its connection with the usual social divisions (age, income, belonging to a layer, gender, education) is extremely weak. Positive attitude is rarely observed among younger people

and people with higher education, and at the same time the link with social layers is minimal. The rejecting attitude is actually a little more characteristic of people of higher status (see table 4).

Table 4 Sociodemographic background of ethnic Estonians with different attitudes towards integration

	Percentage in the group with a certain attitude towards integration (%)				Percentage of the total	
	1 Rejecting attitude	2 Doubting attitude	3 Rather open attitude	4 Open attitude towards integration		
Generation						
	15-24 y.o.	21	19	21	22	20
	25-39 y.o.	24	27	30	28	27
	40-54 y.o.	25	26	26	25	26
	55-74 y.o.	30	28	23	25	27
Status (based on the income, education and social layer)						
	0 indicators out of 3 above average	39	43	38	35	40
	1 indicator above average	29	28	32	30	29
	2 indicators above average	22	22	21	27	22
	3 indicators above average	10	7	10	9	9
Gender						
	Male	52	46	45	43	47
	Female	48	54	55	57	53

The weak connection between the attitude towards integration and sociodemographic indicators, as well as its clearly deep individual essence and relative rigidity have been first noted by Jüri Kruusvall. He analysed the results of integration monitoring from 2000 and found that one-fifth of Estonians display a rejecting attitude:

The one-fifth in question is split rather equally between the age, education and income groups of Estonians. Consequently, it is most likely that the rejecting attitude among Estonians towards non-Estonians occurs on the “nest principle” (in families, territorially, among professional groups, etc)¹.

The changes that can be achieved through the integration policy are slow and linked to changes in the public sphere and media, as well as the socialising process occurring at schools. It will slowly create prerequisites for a deep cultural shift that will encompass the people’s personal values, identities and behavioural patterns. It should be said that such changes have been developing with great difficulty in the Estonian society. The assessment that the “integration has failed” that appeared as a result of the shock from the April crisis is actually a good expression of the nature of these deep processes. Namely, the setback was clearly evident on the surface, in the open sphere and media

¹ Jüri Kruusvall. *Integratsioonist arusaamine eesti ühiskonnas. Integratsioon Eesti ühiskonnas. Monitooring 2000* Marju Lauristin, Raivo Vetik (editor) TPÜ Rahvusvaheliste ja Sotsiaaluuringute Instituut, Tallinn. 2000

http://www.meis.ee/files/est_raamatukogu_uuringud/Mon2000_3Kruusvall.pdf

relationships, while, based on the opinion polls, the behavioural patterns remained largely unchanged when it comes to close personal relationships (SaarPoll 2007).

We can thus characterise the integration process on the level of social interaction as follows: the people who are ready for integration at a deep level, for real dialogue, are in the minority (forming approximately one-third of either language community) both among ethnic Estonians and among the ethnic minorities. The share of the “doubters” – those with the cautious attitude towards integration – is rather large on both sides (one-third to one half) and their attitude and behaviour can change either towards positive or towards negative based on the circumstances. At the same time there is a rather large percentage of ethnic Estonians and people with other ethnic background (one-tenth to one quarter) who have a completely negative attitude towards integration, who are not interested in integration and, consequently, are ready to impose their negative attitude and judgment among those close to them and in certain circumstances (e.g. when being in the position of the opinion leader or during a general conflict or crisis) on the whole society.

4.3. Stakeholders of integration policy

In addition to dividing the non-Estonians targeted by the programme into target groups, during planning integration policy measures in various fields or for measuring their completion, it is also important to define the stakeholders:

- **Government officials** (secretary generals of ministries, deputy secretary generals, heads of departments, human resources personnel): the main need is to increase the interest in and knowledge of integration as a process that penetrates all political spheres, and of the need to involve the people whose mother tongue is not Estonian in development and implementation of national policies.
- **Specialists in the given field in integration, employees of government organisations** who interact with people whose mother tongue is not Estonian in their everyday work (people working at the Citizenship and Migration Board, Social Insurance, Health Insurance Fund, Labour Market Board, police officers, medical nurses, social workers).
- **Local government officials and employees** who work for local governments where people of other nationalities form a large portion of the community, as well as people involved in the work of the council of such communities
- **Citizens’ associations**, both Estonian-language and not, that consider their task to support the integration process and to advance the activeness of all citizens (regardless of the mother tongue).
- **Opinion leaders**, scholars, politicians, economists, cultural workers and journalists, whose opinions and evaluations play an important role in shaping the public opinion on the contents of the integration process, its success and problems.
- **Educational workers and media**, on whom the shaping of the mentality in the society that either understands and consolidates different cultures and nationalities or sets them against each other primarily depends.

It is obvious that the success of the integration process depends more on the stakeholders’ attitudes towards integration on their level of readiness for integration and on how they personally shape the integration process than it does on any official documents.

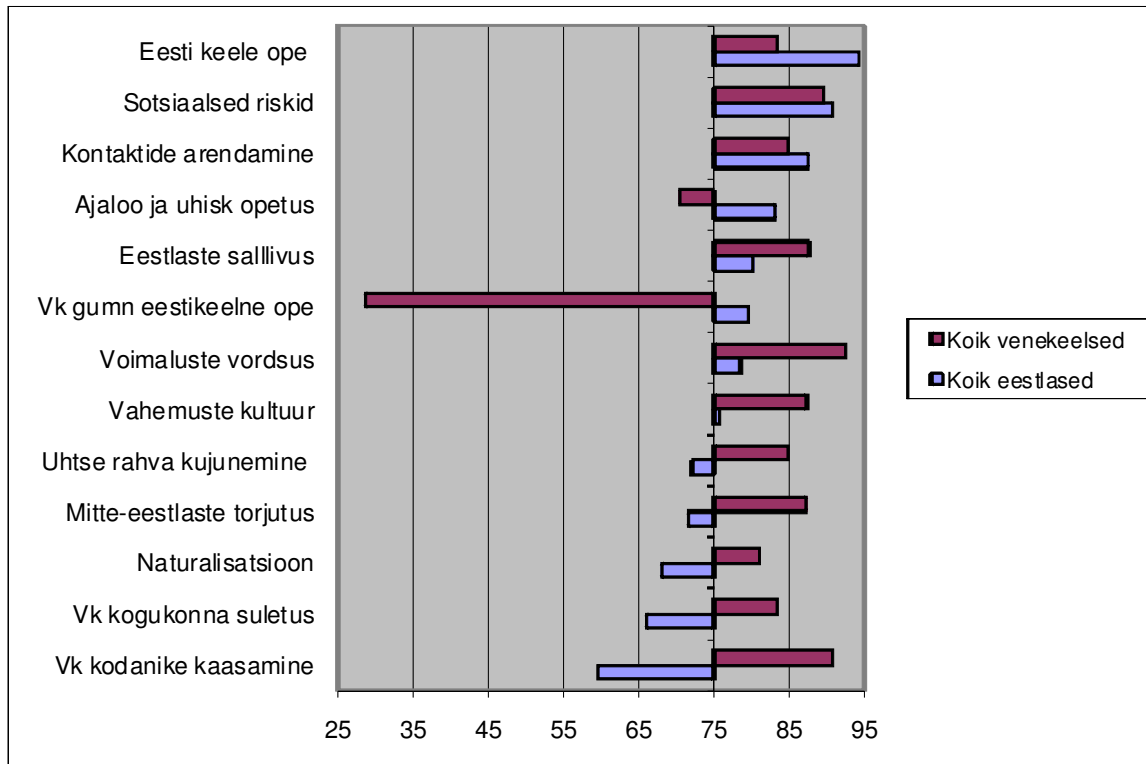
In addition to studying expectations and attitudes of the target groups, in-depth interviews with representatives of the stakeholders (politicians, state and local government officials, teachers, representatives of foundations, opinion leaders) are at the centre of qualitative studies of all fields. This allows to determine the subjective factor in the success of integration.

5. IMPORTANCE OF INTEGRATION GOALS AND ASSESSMENT OF THE EFFECTIVENESS SO FAR. CLARIFYING THE EMPHASES OF THE NEW INTEGRATION PROGRAMME

5.1. The importance of integration policy goals from the point of view of ethnic Estonians and ethnic minorities

It is important to know how much importance the ethnic Estonians and the Russian-speaking population place on the various integration goals for further development of the integration programme and for assessing the effectiveness. Figure 9, which is based on the data from the representative survey commissioned by the Office of the Minister for Population and Ethnic Affairs and conducted in cooperation between the University of Tartu and SaarPoll (hereinafter referred to as TÛ/SaarPoll 2007), gives an overview of this.

Figure 9. Percentage of the Estonian-speaking and Russian-speaking respondents who consider certain components of the integration process important, %



Translation of Figure 9.

Learning the Estonian language; Social risks; Facilitating contacts; Teaching history and social sciences; tolerance of ethnic Estonians; Estonian language of instruction in Russian upper secondary schools; Equal opportunities; Culture of minorities; Creating a unified nation; Rejection of non-Estonians; Naturalisation; Closedness of the Russian-speaking community; Involvement of Russian-speaking citizens.

All Russian-speaking respondents

All Estonians

As can be seen from the figure, ethnic groups assess the goals of integration differently.

When it comes to the most important goals of integration, the views of ethnic Estonians and ethnic minorities coincide only on the matter of fighting social ills. Ethnic Estonians consider the approach to the history of Estonia and adaptation of the state language most important. The Russian-speaking community, however, sees the goals of integration in political and economical incorporation into the Estonian society on equal terms with ethnic Estonians. For them learning the Estonian language and especially transition of upper secondary schools to partial instruction in Estonian are secondary goals. It is hard to find a consensus in this situation and requires mutual effort and readiness to agree on the common part of the principal values both on the part of ethnic Estonians and of the Russian-speaking community. The research group hopes that the changes to the emphases of the integration programme suggested below will help along in this.

The differences in understanding the meaning of integration and its goals among the ethnic groups is well-illustrated by the factor analysis, which singled out two factors of integration goals (see table 5).

The first factor is characterised by indicators that describe integration as a social and economic process: lessening inequality, advancing tolerance and inter-cultural understanding, participation in the social life as a citizen and an accepted part of the unified Estonian nation. This factor primarily represents integration target groups, the point of view of people of other nationalities, but it is also not alien to ethnic Estonians. The second factor expresses the language and cultural focus of the integration policy so far and describes integration as more of a language and education policy project, as an institutionalised activity: teaching the language, upper secondary school reform, and work with social risk groups. Predictably, this factor is more characteristic of ethnic Estonians (see figure 10).

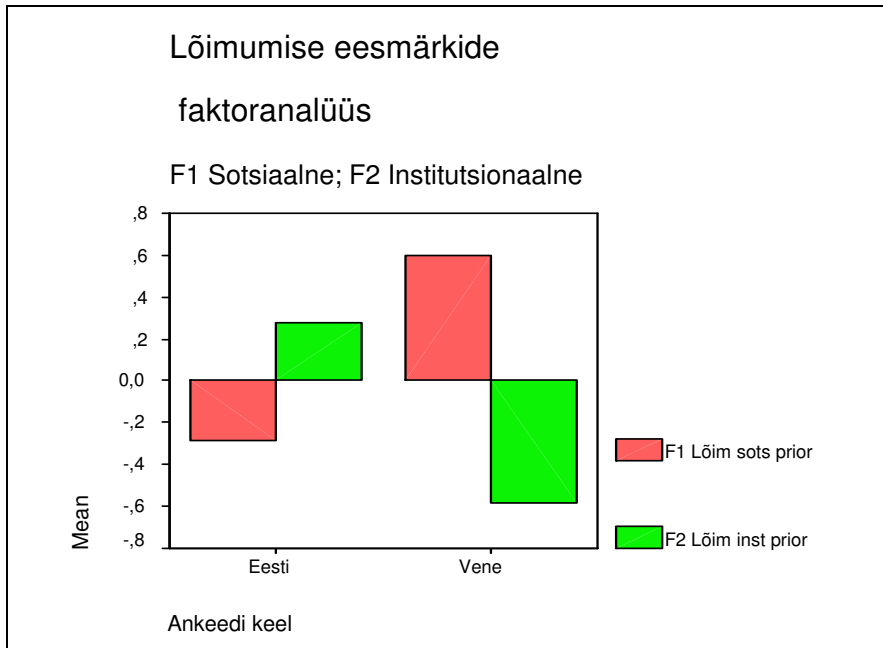
Table 5. Goals of the integration policy: analysis of the main components

	Component	
	F1 social	F2 institutional
Priority of lessening rejection	,812	,075
Priority of equal social and economic opportunities	,792	,199
Priority of tolerance	,770	,203
Priority of involvement of citizens of non-Estonian background	,769	,065
Priority of reducing closedness	,767	,102
Priority of support for minorities' culture	,711	,240
Priority of the emergence of a united Estonian nation	,630	,308
Priority of everyday interaction	,542	,523
Priority of naturalisation	,533	,293
Priority of the reform of the Russian-language upper secondary school	-,122	,838
Priority of learning the language	,178	,789
Priority of teaching history and social studies	,315	,629
Priority of lessening social risks	,405	,561

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

Figure 10. Difference in the importance of the social and institutional factors of integration goals for Estonians and non-Estonians (difference between the average value of the factor in the ethnic group and the average value for the whole population)



Translation of Figure 10.

Factor analysis of integration goals

F1 Social; F2 Institutional

Estonian Russian

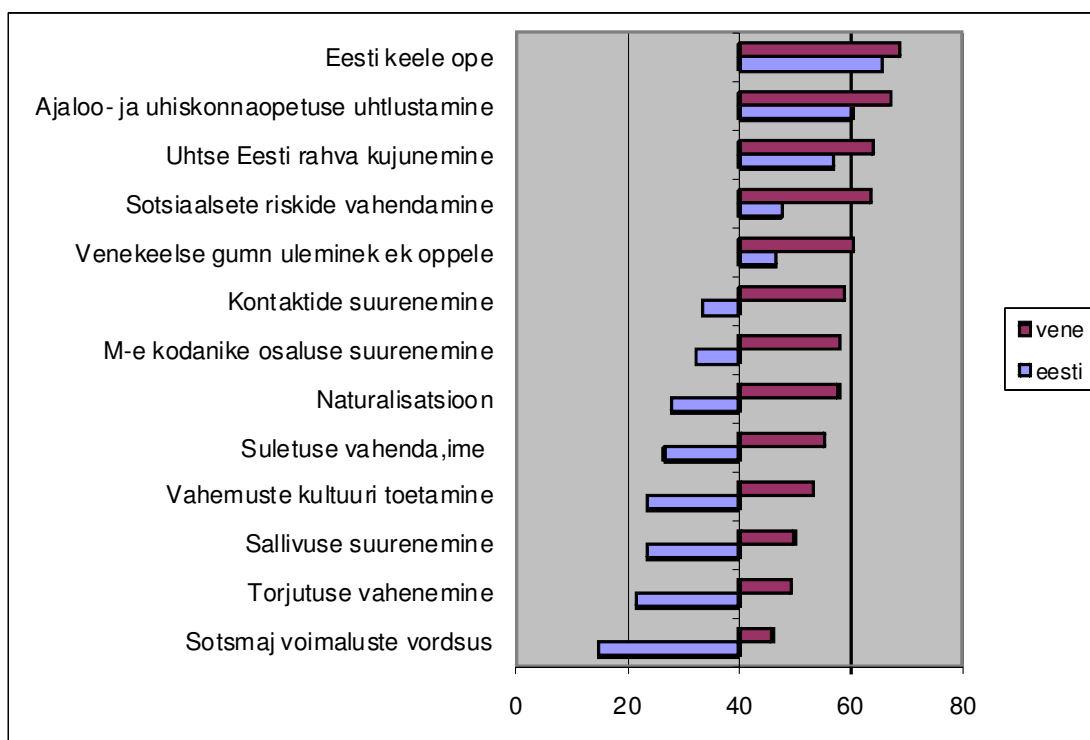
F1 Social priority of integration F2 Institutional priority of integration

Language of the questionnaire

5.2. Assessment of the effectiveness of integration

Since the priorities of integration goals are different for ethnic Estonians and Russian-speaking population, it is unsurprising that the amount of criticism when assessing effectiveness of different aspects of integration is also different between the ethnic groups (see figure 11).

Figure 11. Critical view of different aspects of integration



Translation of Figure 11.

Learning the Estonian language; Unifying teaching history and social sciences; Creating a unified Estonian nation; Lessening social risks; Transition of Russian upper secondary schools to instruction in Estonian; Facilitating contacts; Increased involvement of Russian-speaking citizens; Naturalisation; Reducing closedness; Supporting the culture of minorities; Increasing tolerance; Reducing rejection; Equal social and economic opportunities.

Russian Estonian

When we compare the assessments of the effectiveness of integration with the importance of the goals, we can see that both ethnic Estonians and ethnic minorities are most critical of the acquisition of the Estonian language, success in teaching history and social studies, the transition of the Russian upper secondary schools to instruction in Estonian, as well as creating a unified state identity and restraining social risks (crime, HIV, drug abuse). The Russian-speaking population is much more critical towards all of the topics, and the biggest differences are in evaluations of legal, political and socioeconomic integration. To generalise these results, one can maintain that one of the most important challenges for the new integration programme is to overcome the distrust for the feasibility of integration as such and the general negative attitude towards it that prevails in the Russian-speaking community. This is especially true in regard to equality of socioeconomic opportunities and opportunities to be involved in the public life as an equal partner. As has been mentioned earlier, changing the rejecting or doubting attitudes that prevail among ethnic Estonians themselves to positive ones has an important role here. Whether or not the more integrated and successful part of the Russian-speaking population, the trustworthy opinion leaders for the Russian-speaking community, will be involved in the realisation of the integration programme is just as important. As is demonstrated by the comparison of the results of the assessment of the success of the integration process so far between ethnic groups, there is predisposition to such partnership as a core of people who have positive attitude towards integration and value it

has formed in both language communities. Even though there are more negative attitudes towards integration in all sections of Russian-speaking population in comparison to ethnic Estonians, those Russian-speaking respondents who have Estonian citizenship and are wealthier and have a relatively high social status have a somewhat more positive view of integration (Table 1). This distribution demonstrates that the integration process is closely linked to broadening of socioeconomic opportunities.

Table 5. Assessment of the successfulness of integration * among different groups of ethnic Estonians and the Russian-speaking community based on the unified index (TÜ/SaarPoll 2007).

	<i>None, Weak</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Above average</i>
All Estonians	25	34	41
All Russian-speaking respondents	54	21	25
Estonian citizens (V)	50	21	30
Russian/other citizenship	58	18	23
Undetermined citizenship	60	25	15
Russian-speaking respondents: layer			
Below average	69	15	16
Average	50	25	25
Above average	41	26	33
<i>*unified assessment of 13 elements of integration</i>			

5.3. Interpretation of the contents of integration

In addition to assessing the goals of integration in the survey conducted in July 2007, one topic of the needs and feasibility research that crossed all fields was defining the contents of integration by various target and connecting groups.

Analysis of in-depth interviews and focus groups shows that ethnic Estonians and non-Estonians have developed a common understanding of the core of integration, the reason for mutual respect and appreciation between ethnic Estonians and other ethnic groups that live here being an important part of the common future of Estonia and for the opportunity and willingness to be involved in the development of the Estonian society:

“Integration, the point of it is that the ethnic groups have some sort of positive vision of the future. Not that it can be fruitful and quick if it is based on blames of the past and on that one exact vision of history and firm common values will be imposed in any case. In my opinion integration implies that there is a very balanced definition of goals. The common core that needs to be defined together is that the statehood needs to be respected by everyone living here. Our constitution needs to be respected by all nationalities” (in-depth interview in Estonian)

“For integration, for feeling a valuable person in the society, for involvement in social matters and for normal interaction it is necessary – how can I say this – it is really necessary that I feel as if I am truly a valuable member of the society” (Estonian-language focus group).

“Integration – active involvement of the Russian-speaking community in all spheres of the Estonian society and acceptance of Russian-speaking people by Estonians, equal rights for all Estonian people” (Russian-language focus group).

“I, being a Russian person, with my own culture, language, and outlook want to be part of a common goal. I accept the state as my own in my heart, but the state also needs to understand me and accept me” (Russian-language focus group).

Both ethnic Estonians and Russian-speaking respondents named command of Estonian language and understanding each other’s culture as a condition for integration:

“Integration implies that all of us have command of the Estonian language and that – not that we need to officially be Estonians – but that being at work we would feel and understand what it means to be Estonian. At the same time, during one’s free time and among one’s friends and family one could remain oneself – speak Russian, possibly celebrate some Russian holidays, but so that it does not disturb the ethnic Estonians” (Russian-language focus group).

“We all need to more or less speak one language. I am not talking about language from the linguistic point of view but I mean that we need to understand each other, we need to have that one common room, the common interaction room” (in-depth interview in Estonian).

Both sides stress the importance of behavioural culture and mutual courtesy:

“I think that this is where the courtesy and ethics line lies. You have your opinion but since you live in Estonia you do not go like shouting, you like do not go insult anyone or something like that. You still behave like, well, within some boundaries and express your opinion within some boundaries as well” (Estonian-language focus group).

“We will have cooperation and peaceful coexistence if there is, for starters, mutual respect in the relationship. Or just civilised behaviour” (Russian-language focus group).

“The most important thing when it comes both to Russians and Estonians is that the people need to be cultured and civil. Because we establish relationships and form attitudes towards other people and nationalities during upbringing” (Russian-language focus group).

At the same time quantitative studies have shown that the problem of mutual trust is a painful point for integration. From the point of view of representatives of both sides, the “other” nation is closed off within itself and does not have sufficient good will to overcome the two-sided barriers. The ethnic Estonian respondents voiced the criticism that the Russian-speaking community is closed off within itself and is not interested in discussing “Estonian matters”:

“It is just that they need to be a little interested in Estonian matters. Not to think that if it is related to Estonians or something is characteristic of Estonians then they do not want to have anything to do with that or to think that it is stupid” (focus group of Estonian youths).

In response, one of the characteristic indicators of the opinions of the Russian-speaking respondents was the clearly shared feeling that the integration policy so far has not ensured the involvement of the Russian-speaking population, has not given the sense of equal partnership and contains certain elements of imposition:

“At the moment it is as if there is the situation when we should be supporting the state in our soul, but unfortunately we are not considered citizens of this country, we are in some ways being shoved away. This is a very unpleasant aspect and it does not allow the country to become fully integrated” (Russian-language focus group).

“... the Estonians do force the Russian to study Estonian but at the same time show no respect towards Russians and categorically refuse to learn Russian. Even if just at the level of communication” (Russian-language focus group).

“Tolerance and preservation of one’s own culture because an integrated people are not “russianised” Estonians or “estonianised” Russians, they have their own “I”, their roots and culture that need to be preserved. The wish to be integrated because if it is not there then we are dealing with being forced. I think that these requirements should be the same both for Russians and for Estonians” (Russian-language focus group).

Russian-speaking respondents also put more emphasis on the fact that communication should not be based on ethnicity but rather on common universal and professional values, that speaking Estonian with an accent should not be disparaged but rather that the willingness to understand each other and communicate with each other should be valued:

“Why do we make a distinction between Estonians and Russians? Where does this difference lie? In me having a different passport, a different culture? There are no differences, we are all people, and nationality does not change the person. This is why the qualities need to be the same, people, to start with, cannot fear interaction and cannot fear when someone wants to communicate with them. They need to be willing to interact, friendly and active” (Russian-language focus group).

Ethnic Estonians also noted the need to view the essence of integration as something deeper than ethnic differences, something at the level of universal needs, and they stressed that the basis for integration is the primary need for security and the common pursuit of a better quality of life.

“The need for integration comes from the fact that the society needs to be safe, primary needs have to be satisfied, and only then we can start solving higher-level needs. Integrated country is like a good home where you are comfortable and safe. And here is where security problems come from as we want our country to last – this is also a topic of security. But the basis is still the quality of life. The principal needs of the quality of life are very simple. I need to be fed, I need to be safe and only then I can build my next needs on those primary ones. And integration is one of the key issues of security” (in-depth interview in Estonian).

Such opinion was voiced during an interview with an official conducted in Estonian, and it is a very positive sign considering that it transpired during quantitative opinion polls that the Russian-speaking respondents are discontent namely with the socioeconomic side of integration.

5.4. Priority needs of the new integration programme

Based on the results of the researches we suggest that the **emphases of the integration programme** need to be clarified and complemented considering the following:

- 1) The problem of social rejection of the Russian-speaking population and equality of opportunities as a goal of integration require more attention. Fulfilment of this goal does not only involve the lower part of the socioeconomic spectrum but also the opportunities for non-Estonians to reach the layers of the Estonian society with a better social and economic status. The sudden increase in the dependency of the development of Estonia on the human capital means that certain tasks become a priority. These include maximally efficient application of all of the active population, including non-Estonians, in the Estonian labour market, better education and additional training for people of various nationalities, achieving better health and stronger motivation as well as high-quality education for young people born and educated in Estonia and them remaining in the Estonian labour market. This requires the integration programme to devote more attention to the labour market and employment problems, the salary policy and also the quality of education and equality of professional and career opportunities for employees of various nationalities.
- 2) The naturalisation process and progress in acquiring the Estonian language have significantly changed the status- and language-command-based structure of the non-Estonian community compared to year 2000 when the previous integration programme was adopted. Today over half of the non-Estonians living in Estonia are citizens of the Republic of Estonia, 44 % actively use the Estonian language in their professional and free time interaction. The ability of the whole population living on the Estonian territory to communicate using the national language remains the long-term goal of language integration. What is added to that, however, is greater attention to the functional side of language learning including advancing the level of language command that has been achieved. This will ensure that representatives of other nationalities (teachers, officials, etc) will have equal career opportunities when it comes to the positions that require command of the Estonian language.
- 3) Special attention in the new integration programme needs to be given to the naturalised Estonian citizens who know the Estonian language. They represent a target group for the integration policy but as such in the integration programme they have remained in the shadow of the non-citizens in the integration programme. The attitude of the whole of the Russian-speaking population towards the Estonian state, which includes learning Estonian and valuing Estonian citizenship, largely depends on the successful involvement of naturalised citizens in the Estonian economy and public sphere. After the so called April crisis the need to involve naturalised citizens as an important partner of the Estonian state, to make them more seen and heard in the open debates in Estonia and to support their position in the society has become especially clear.
- 4) Legal-political and educational emphases of the problem of integration of Russian-speaking youths need to be developed further. In addition to language command, establishing a common state identity and citizenship education dimension need to be brought to the foreground, and so does the need to expand the common information and media field for the population of Estonia.
- 5) The integration programme so far has been almost exclusively state-centred. Considering the important role that the local governments (especially ones in Tallinn and

towns in Ida-Virumaa) play in the integration processes, the integration components that require involvement of local governments need to be accentuated. Geographical peculiarities of integration problems and priorities also need to be highlighted and provisions need to be made to allocate additional resources for these purposes to the appropriate local governments.

6) The Estonian integration policy would be more effective if it were aimed at a more individual level by emphasising the output of integration which is an increase in the prosperity and security of the people, larger involvement of integrated people and more opportunities for self-expression, strengthening one's self-assessment and identity as a result of being integrated, etc.

7) Ensuring that ethnic Estonians are more ready for integration is one of the main provisions of the success of the integration policy. Increasing mutual tolerance, developing inter-cultural communication and respect for identity and dignity of people of different cultural backgrounds is a prerequisite for successful integration in all fields.

5.5. To summarise: specifying the definition, content and the output of the integration process

Based on the results of the qualitative studies by consortium research groups, on the survey commissioned by the Office of the Minister for Population and Ethnic Affairs and conducted in July 2007 to determine how ethnic Estonians and Russian-speaking population assess integration goals and their feasibility, also considering the positions of the parties at the round-table discussions and the public debate that ensued in the media following the Bronze soldier crisis, the research group suggests **the goal, the content and the output of integration be reworded as follows:**

Integration of the Estonian society is a long-term process, **the end goal of which is for permanent residents of Estonia to become an Estonian nation with strong common state identity, shared common democratic values, using the common Estonian national language and predominantly having Estonian citizenship, and all this despite their cultural diversity.**

The principles of the rule of law, protection of personal freedoms and human rights and ensuring that all permanent residents of Estonia have equal opportunities when it comes to prosperity, education, social security, advancement of health, enterprise, free time and self-expression regardless of their ethnicity, background and mother tongue -these are the conditions for successful integration. Integration is a two-way process that relies on democratic involvement and is based, on the one hand, on respect for the language, cultural traditions and values of the native ethnos by the ethnic minorities and immigrants living here and, on the other hand, on respect and tolerance of the cultural peculiarities of the ethnic minorities by the native ethnos.

The output of integration is increased prosperity and security of the residents of Estonia regardless of the ethnic background and the mother tongue, and also unity and stability of the society that accepts cultural diversity, which ensures the security of the Estonian state and its authority on the international stage.

The difference between assimilation and integration is that the goal of the former is for the representatives of ethnic minorities to relinquish their cultural peculiarities and national identity and to completely melt into the mass of the predominant ethnos whereas the latter is based on inter-cultural dialogue where reaching a

common understanding is supported by universal values, common state and geographical identity and by the willingness and ability to understand and accept cultural differences. Even though changes (“Estonisation”) of individual ethnic identities are possible when cultures interact, it is not the goal of the integration policy. It respects the right of everyone to preserve one’s mother tongue and the ethnic identity that is based on the cultural heritage. At the same time, **overcoming ethnic separation and closedness and establishing a communication and information field that is generally based on the command of the Estonian language and on recognising cultural differences and that unites Estonians and other ethnic groups that live in Estonia** are definitely the goals for integration.

Integration can occur only as a result of personal choices and efforts on the part of ethnic Estonians and representatives of other ethnic groups. These need to be supported by the activities of state organisations, political parties, local governments and citizens’ unions and organisations aimed at establishing a legal, economic, social and intellectual environment that supports integration.

APPENDIX. SUGGESTIONS BY THE RESEARCH GROUP FOR INDICATORS OF INTEGRATION EFFICIENCY

1. INTEGRATION EFFICIENCY INDICATORS IN EDUCATION

On the basis of previous integration monitoring studies and the statistic gathered by government institutions:

1.1. Language competence

- People's self-assessment of their language competence and its sufficiency for living in Estonia
- Main means of mastering Estonian
- Passing the Estonian language proficiency examination
- Passing the Estonian language proficiency examination by students of Russian operating schools

1.2. System of education

- Proportion of the different operating languages in relation to the number of schools (and number of classes within schools)
- School leavers of schools with the different operating languages
- The number of students with the other native language in Estonian operating schools – tuition/teaching language
- The national school leaving examinations results of students of Estonian and Russian operating schools
- The number of subjects taught in Estonian in Russian operating upper secondary schools
- The number of dropouts from schools with the different operating languages

1.3. Attitudes

- Opinions on the transition of teaching subjects partially to Estonian in Russian operating upper secondary schools in 2007
- Opinions on the events of 1940.

Additionally

1.4 Further education choices of school leavers of schools with the different operating languages

- Do Russian operating schools provide students with sufficient preparation for them to have equal opportunities with students of Estonian operating schools for further education?
- The comparison of further education choices and opportunities of Russian operating school students and non-Estonian students of Estonian operating schools

1.5. Monitoring the students studying in the language other than their mother tongue

- Is the treatment of non-Estonian students in Estonian operating schools equal with those who learn in their mother tongue (concerning dropouts, those repeating a grade,)

1.6. Equality of resources of the schools operating in the different languages

- Training opportunities for teachers, including the suitable and adapted studying materials

- Teachers' opportunities for joining professional organisations should also be monitored

1.7. The communication between the schools operating in the different languages and their teachers/students, including teacher and student exchange programmes, joint events and projects

1.8. Fostering tolerance and intercultural dialogue in the system of education; increasing communication between the students of schools operating in the different languages

- An indicator to measure the extent and nature of communication between Estonian and Russian young people (measurable by the indicators used in integration monitoring)
- The young's attitude towards the other ethnic group (measurable by the indicators used in integration monitoring)
- Annual monitoring of the communication between Estonian and Russian operating schools (questionnaire for all general education schools by the Ministry of Education and Research)

1.9. Readiness of teachers of History and Civic Studies to work in the multicultural environment: participation in training sessions, development of teaching methodology, providing learning materials, assessing the learning process

1.10. Efficiency of integration measures implemented in municipal schools

- The share of the subjects taught in Estonian in Russian operating schools
- The proportion of language immersion groups in Russian operating kindergartens
- The proportion of language immersion classes in relation to all Russian operating classes
- The proportion of non-Estonian children educated in language immersion groups in Russian operating kindergartens
- The proportion of non-Estonian children educated in language immersion classes in Russian operating schools
- The proportion of non-Estonians in Estonian operating kindergartens
- The proportion of non-Estonians in Estonian operating school classes
- The proportion of non-Estonians in Estonian operating extracurricular schools
- The median value of the Grade 9 Estonian language examination of all general education schools (more complicated indicators that count dispersion can also be used)
- The median value of the school leaving Estonian language examination of all general education schools (more complicated indicators that count dispersion can also be used)

- The balance of further education choices of graduates of Estonian and Russian operating schools (Estonian operating universities, Estonian operating vocational schools, all universities, all vocational schools)

2. INTEGRATION EFFICIENCY INDICATORS IN TOLERANCE, INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE AND MEDIA

2.1 Fostering tolerance and intercultural dialogue

- proceed with measuring the characteristics of interethnic relations that are already used in integration monitoring (attitude towards multiculturalism, readiness to communicate with the other nation)
- the extent and nature of interethnic communication need constant research
- in addition to the characteristics showing tolerance, it is important to monitor the changes in so called critical groups to which particular measures are directed, for instance, school students (but also teachers, see point 3.2)

2.2. Common media space, reflection of Estonian society's cultural diversity in the media

- In order to assess the sub-goal, it is necessary to measure the media consumption and trust of the target audience.
- To develop the indicators, the type of the media channel ownership (public broadcasting vs. private) and the language (Estonian or Russian) should be distinguished in the process of measuring media consumption and trust.
- The changes in media consumption and trust level in different target groups (age, area, language command) should be continuously monitored.
- The audience research should be conducted among the Russian speaking population in order to reveal the need for local information in Russian and expectations of ERR programmes.
- The integration and the relationship between the nationalities aspects of media should be further monitored
- Media language use should be (self) monitored in order to recognise signs of national stereotypes and xenophobia

Possible indicators:

- The consumption of public broadcasting media channels by different target groups (age, area, language command) (ERR subtitled shows listed separately)
- The consumption of Estonian and foreign media channels in Russian by different target groups of the Russian speaking population (age, area, language command)
- Trust for differed media channels of Estonia (public broadcasting listed separately)

3. INTEGRATION EFFICIENCY INDICATORS IN THE LEGAL AND POLITICAL SPHERE

3.1 Citizen activeness and civic education level indicators

- Decreasing the number of obstacles for Russian speaking young people's application for jobs in government institutions and their bigger representation in government institutions;
- Non-Estonians consider their opportunities to participate in political activities and be employed in government and local government institutions equal with Estonians'. This can be measured by means of questionnaires. The target is to decrease the perceived difference in opportunities for Estonians and non-Estonians to a statistically significant extent annually;
- Integration monitoring should further observe the activeness of the Russian-speaking population in citizen associations and interest in different community activities.

3.2 Naturalisation process indicators

- The increase or maintenance of the current number of citizenship applications from people of undetermined citizenship (4,600 a year on average) measurable on the basis of the statistic presented by the Citizenship and Migration Board;
- Significant decrease in the number of children of undetermined citizenship aged up to 15 and improving the parents' awareness of the simplified citizenship acquisition procedure;
- The number of training courses or information days about the simplified Estonian citizenship acquisition for children conducted for local government officials and social workers;
- To apply integration studies to the motivation of the people of undetermined citizenship to apply for Estonian citizenship and the obstacles they face in the process as well as their awareness of the prerequisites and the process of citizenship acquisition.

3.3 Measuring discrimination

- Decreasing the perception of discrimination in society felt by the different national groups;
- Increasing people's legal awareness including the awareness about the nature of discrimination;
- The number of training sessions and information days about discrimination and intercultural communication conducted for government officials, local government officials, journalists and other important target groups;

3.4 Public service indicators

- Availability of official information in Russian and the target groups' satisfaction with the availability of official information;
- The increase of government officials' and local government officials' awareness about integration and the number of training session and information days.

4. INTEGRATION EFFICIENCY INDICATORS IN THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SPHERE

We suggest the Laeken indicators to measure the general socio-economic integration. These comprise the data on social unity and inclusion gathered by EUROSTAT within the national statistic dataset. Laeken indicators are analysed by gender, age, household type. **Thus in the context of integration, the ethnic dimension should be added to measure social-economic integration.**

4.1. Laeken indicators:

- At-risk-of-poverty rate (poverty threshold at 60% of income median);
- Income distribution inequality - S80/S20 income quintile share ratio;
- Long-term unemployment rate; proportion of persons living in unemployed households
- Proportion of early school leavers not in education or vocational training;
- Proportion of individuals describing their health as poor or very poor;
- Proportion of persons with elementary or lower education level.

4.2. Proportion of the HIV/AIDS infected among Estonians and non-Estonians

4.3. Registered crimes committed by Estonians and non-Estonians

4.4. Indicators worded in the strategy grouped by sub-goals of social-economic integration:

(1) Increasing non-Estonians' competition capability in the labour market

- Ethnic income gap between Estonians and non-Estonians (grouped by education and age)
- Employment rate and the employment rate gap between Estonians and non-Estonians (grouped by education and age)
- Unemployment rate and the unemployment rate gap between Estonians and non-Estonians (grouped by education and age)
- Proportion of Estonians and non-Estonians in the public sector and its dynamics
- Proportion of Estonians and non-Estonians as top executives and its dynamics
- Proportion of Estonians and non-Estonians at the different stages of state funded higher education

(2) Increasing the non-Estonian population's business initiative

- Lifelong learning of Estonians and non-Estonians (self-perfection, participation in training sessions in the last 4 weeks)

(3) Better social service targeting

- Proportion of Estonians and non-Estonians applying for and receiving living allowance and the ethnic gap
- Proportion of Estonians and non-Estonians applying for and receiving social benefits and the ethnic gap

4.5. Within the framework of integration monitoring, the subjective welfare of Estonians and non-Estonians should be observed. The following questions/indicators are suggested on the basis of internationally used comparative research methodology:

- Subjective assessment of the household's financial situation;
- Sufficiency of financial resources and the correlation of expenses;
- Satisfaction with one's financial situation, working conditions and relationships, health, security, personal and family life etc. Retrospective assessment: has the given sphere of life improved or worsened in comparison to the state of things five years before? Future expectations: will the given sphere of life have improved or worsened in five years?
- Emotional-psychological welfare: how often does one feel depressed, happy, etc.
- Social inclusion and the perception of personal acknowledgement measured on the basis of such statements as 'What I am doing is not appreciated' or 'I feel excluded from society' etc.

5. INTEGRATION EFFICIENCY INDICATORS ON THE LABOUR MARKET

- The indicators are to be developed by analysing labour market indicators by all gender and age groups (i.e. not only young but also middle-aged and elderly employees should be observed).
- In addition to the employment rate, other labour market success indicators should be taken into consideration. These are, for instance, salary and occupational segregation because ethnic economic inequality can be displayed by these characteristics even if the employment rate indicators are generally high.

6. INTEGRATION ACTIVENESS AND EFFICIENCY INDICATORS FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

6.1. Systematic monitoring and analysis of the existing data

- The annual number of days of participation in the training sessions organised by the State Chancellery per official of a local government
- The number of Language Act regulation violations fixed by the Language Inspectorate per capita
- The number of injunctions/fines issued to local government officials by the Language Inspectorate for the absence of the language proficiency certificate

or/and the actual Estonian language proficiency lower than stated in the certificate in relation to the total number of officials.

- The number of injunctions/fines issued to local municipal institution employees by the Language Inspectorate for the absence of the language proficiency certificate or/and the actual Estonian language proficiency lower than stated in the certificate in relation to the total number of employees.
- The amount of state integration programme resources in the consolidated budget of a town or borough per capita (or the proportion in the budget)
- The number of general education, extracurricular education, youth work, leisure and social sphere institutions that have presented state integration programme projects in relation to the total number of institutions (sensible for the units with the population of non-Estonians constituting at least 10-20%)
- The number of Estonian operating education institutions as partners in state integration programme projects in relation to the total number of such institutions
- The number of people involved in state integration programme projects in relation to the total population of a borough or town
- The number of Sunday schools active in the town or borough in relation to the number national minority culture associations active (registered?) in the town or borough

6.2. Indicators for which the input is to be gathered at the location or for which the data has to be measured separately:

- The proportion of the officials of the other nationalities in town or borough governments (as institutions) in relation to the proportion of people of the other nationalities in the population
- The annual number of training session days per local government official
- The amount of financial support of integration activities in the local budget per capita
- The number of people having successfully completed the rehabilitation programme in relation to the number of people initially involved in this programme
- The comparison of Estonians' and non-Estonians' satisfaction with the service provided by the local government officials
- The comparison of Estonians' and non-Estonians' satisfaction with the availability of information about the activity of the town or borough government or council and the validated regulations.
- The comparison of Estonians' and non-Estonians' satisfaction with the public services provided by the local government (may be grouped by services: school education, kindergarten education, extracurricular education, social services, also transport, property maintenance, traffic management, municipal services)



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State Integration Programme 2008-2013
Final Report on Needs and Feasibility Research

Part I

Introduction

The Framework of the Research, Defining the Nature of Integration and the Target Groups

Public Contracting Authority: Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Estonia

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1. THE AREAS AND THE GENERAL AIMS OF THE NEEDS AND FEASIBILITY RESEARCH

The areas of the 2008-2013 needs and feasibility researches are defined in accordance with the principal dimensions of the integration strategy as follows:

The consortium has conducted 6 **needs and feasibility researches** based on the following topics:

- 1) Education (incl. teaching language studies to adults and pupils, teaching history and social studies, citizenship education)
- 2) Tolerance and inter-cultural dialogue, media
- 3) Naturalization, political identity
- 4) Social risk groups
- 5) Job market
- 6) Study of local governments

The current final report is structured in accordance with these topics and consists of the current introductory part and six topical sub-reports.

The introductory part gives an overview of the common framework (aims, methods) of all six needs and feasibility studies, the social context, of the empirical bases defined through quantitative studies that are associated with the general aims of integration, of their assessment and of the target groups for integration. Summary of the suggestions on the priorities of the integration strategy prepared on the basis of all the studies are also presented here. The suggestions made by the study groups on the further development of the system of integration result indicators are included as an appendix to the introductory sub-report.

The general goals of the NIP 2008-2013 needs and feasibility studies are derived from the goals for the whole project defined in the initial task of the public procurement no. 034118 “Development of the State Integration Programme 2008-2013”, and the following refer directly to the researches:

- **to improve the effectiveness and the efficiency of the new integration programme through conducting needs and feasibility studies of the principal areas of integration;**
- **to involve representatives of target groups and beneficiaries in the development of the integration programme** through organizing educational and informational events and establishing the feedback system.
- **to increase the role of the local governments in the integration process** and create links between the local and national levels through counselling on the topics of involving local governments, **needs and feasibility studies** and through suggesting including integration measures in the local development programmes;

Since the phenomena related to integration have been systematically researched with quantitative methods during the last decade and the data related to integration problems has also been collected through several general sociological studies and opinion polls, there was enough empiric basis to plan and conduct the needs and feasibility studies as

qualitative studies focusing on certain key problems. The specific topics of such studies and the research questions will be presented further in separate study reports for each field. Generally, however, the following are the goals that go through all of the various fields of studies:

- to expand the knowledge of painful points for integration and of newly emerged problems,
- to map target groups and stakeholders for the new integration strategy, to specify the attitudes, expectations and criticisms that various target groups have towards the essence of integration and its effectiveness
- to evaluate the willingness and readiness of the subjects of the integration policy to support the integration process and to actively participate in it
- to evaluate the directions and methods adopted by the integration strategy so far and the need for developing new emphases, priorities and methods.

One important political event occurred during the period of planning the researches – the so-called April crises. Many opinion leaders and experts believe it has significantly altered the assessment of the effectiveness of integration as well as the understanding of the meaning of integration both for various ethnic groups and for the society as a whole. Based on that in July 2007 the Office of the Minister for Population and Ethnic Affairs commissioned a sociological study “Interethnic Relations and the Perspective of Integration after the Bronze Soldier Crisis” (see Andrus Saar 2007) from the members of the research team of the University of Tartu and the SaarPoll research company in addition to the studies defined in the Terms of Reference. An important role in this research was given to evaluation of the integration policy so far and to establishing integration-related expectations. Since there is clear link between the results of this research and the studies of various fields presented in this report,

2. SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE NEEDS AND FEASIBILITY STUDIES

2.1 Changes in the share of minority ethnic groups among the population and citizenry of Estonia

Estonia today is an ethnically diverse society comprised of, in addition to ethnic Estonians being the main ethnos, of **representatives of more than one hundred different ethnic groups**. According to the data from the Statistical Office, 1 342 409 persons lived in Estonia in 2007, of whom 921 062 (68.6%) were ethnic Estonians. This means that 421 347 people (31.4%) represented other ethnic groups, 344 280 of whom were Russians, 28 158 – Ukrainians, 16 133 Belarusians, 11 035 Finns, etc.

Before the Second World War ethnic Estonians comprised 88 % of the population of Estonia. In 1934 92600 Russians, 16 300 Germans, 7 600 Swedes, 5 400 Latvians and 4 400 Jews lived in Estonia. The composition of the population changed drastically after the Second World War. The percentage of historic ethnic minorities in 1934 was 12 % but in 25 years the percentage of ethnic Estonians dropped to 75 %. The majority of ethnic minorities living here now are, in fact, the people who moved here from various areas of the Soviet Union during the period of soviet occupation and their descendants. By 2007 the percentage of ethnic Estonians has risen to 62 % from the 69 % in 1990.

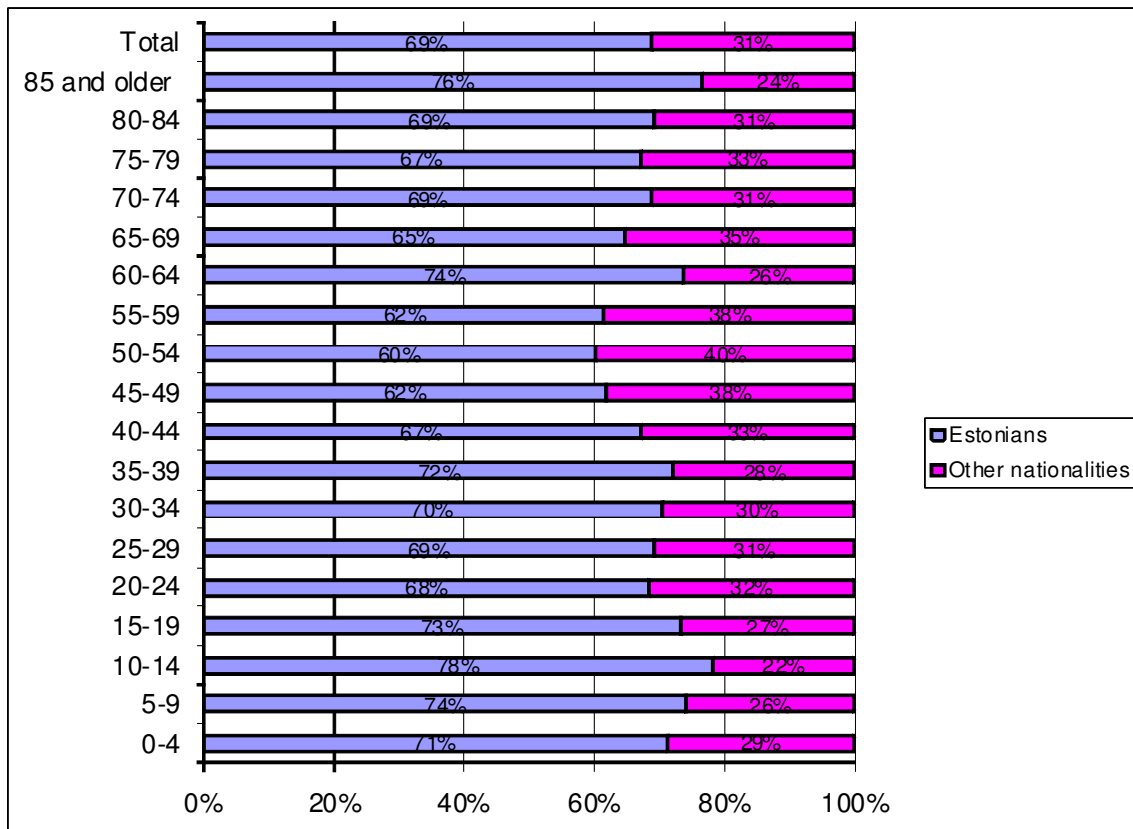
The relationship between ethnic Estonians and Estonian inhabitants of other ethnic groups is still overshadowed by the ethnic policy of the Soviet Union. One of the goals of

that policy was to move Russian-speaking working class people to the so called “national republics” and thus create demographic and political pressure that would help shape the native ethnic groups, referred to as “titular ethnic groups” to the curvature of the “unified Soviet nation”. The memory of the two waves of Stalin’s deportations and the “Russification” policy of the seventies and eighties still lives in the minds of older and middle-aged ethnic Estonians and it keeps alive the fear of becoming a minority ethnos on one’s own land due to the intrusion of outsiders. Indeed, looking at the distribution of ethnic Estonians and people of other ethnic group across age groups (figure 1), we can see that among the today’s middle-aged (age group 34 – 54) the ratio of people of other ethnic groups has to this day remained at 35 – 40 %. Looking at the change of the ration in the younger age groups, the picture is quite different: the percentage of ethnic Estonians has risen significantly above 70 %. The change in the ratio of ethnic Estonians and people of other ethnicities that has been taking place after the restoration of independence shows that in the next few decades the demographic structure in Estonia will be gradually moving towards the situation when the percentage of minorities is still significant but does not seem as exceptional in the European context as it does now – today the Russian-speaking population makes up almost one-third of the population of Estonia. The gradually increasing numerical superiority, hopefully, will help ethnic Estonians to gradually free themselves from the postcolonial protective attitude and from the fear of the nation disappearing. This is one of the most important preconditions for a democratic development of inter-ethnic relations.

Such democratic development is not a given by any means, and the experiences of many other postcolonial nations demonstrate this. Those who were the minority in a large empire have had to learn to behave as a majority in a democratic nation-state, including towards former colonisers and their descendants, who also have to get over losing their earlier political position of power while being simply outnumbered.

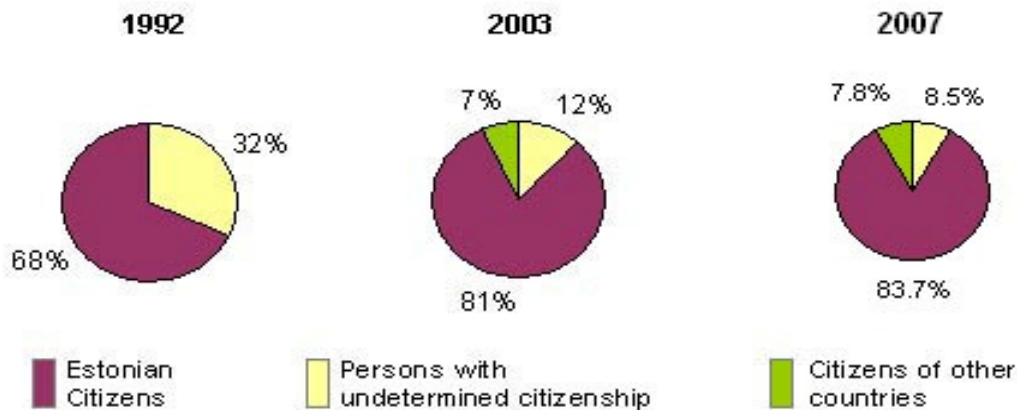
The attitude of foreigners towards their new homeland is not at all uniform. This can be seen most clearly from the situation with citizenship. If you compare the state of affairs in 2007 to the time right after the restoration of independence, when the term “Estonian citizen” was applicable pretty much to the same people who could be classified as “ethnic Estonians”, the change is impressive. Despite the fact that foreign observers, and often ethnic Estonians as well, still refer to all non-(ethnic) Estonians as “non-citizens”, the percentage of people without Estonian citizenship (16.3 %) today is almost two times smaller than the number of non-Estonians.

Figure 1. Ethnicity-based Division of the Population of Estonia into Age Groups 2007 (ESA)



According to the data of the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as of July 2, 2007, there were 1 million 139 thousand and 500 Estonian citizens living in Estonia. Assuming for the sake of argument that the total number of ethnic Estonians (appr. 921 500) is the same as the number of ethnic Estonians who have Estonian citizenship, we can calculate that appr. 218 000 of Estonian citizens, i.e. 19 % of all citizens, are people of other ethnicities. At the same time among the permanent residents of Estonia there were 115274 people with undetermined citizenship, 91854 Russian citizens, 4608 Ukrainian citizens, 1948 Finnish citizens, 1574 Latvian citizens, 1347 Belarusian citizens and 1346 Lithuanian citizens. Figure 2 illustrates the changes that have occurred to the population of Estonia based on citizenship.

Figure 2. Changes to the percentage of people with different citizenship in the population of Estonia



Source: Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (see http://www.vm.ee/estonia/kat_399/pea_172/4518.html)

We can thus speak of two parallel developments that objectively influence the relationships between the majority and the minority population: on the one hand, a certain increase in the share of ethnic Estonians in the population, and on the other – an increase in the share of ethnic minority population in the total number of people with Estonian citizenship.

2.2 Social and Political Background

2007 also saw several events of crucial importance that can lead to both positive and negative social, economic and political developments. The shock and other short-term and long-term effects of the so-called April crisis was not the only turning point that year. Less dramatic but with more profound effect was the partial transition of schools with Russian as the language of instruction to teaching in Estonian. The effects of Estonia joining the visa-free Schengen zone and the related increase in the freedom of movement and new employment opportunities in the European Union, which expand to the Estonian non-citizens and Russian citizens resident in Estonia, are hard to predict. In addition, the signs of increasing immigration pressure are already becoming evident. During the first 10 months of 2007 the Ministry of Social Affairs issued work permits to 620 immigrants, of which 542 workers were of the Ukrainian background, 31 (in total) – of Russian, Belarus, Azerbaijani and Georgian background, 33 – Asian, 14 – American and 1 – of African background.

In comparison with the time when the previous integration programme was prepared and adopted, by today Estonia has undergone several fundamental political, social and economic changes. First of all, Estonia has become a member of the European Union and NATO, which, on the one hand, has increased the influence that Estonia has on the international scene, but, on the other hand, it means also that the Estonian domestic policy **has become more entwined with the international context, including the security issues.**

Secondly, the rapid economic growth of the last few years has made both ethnic Estonians and Estonian inhabitants of other ethnic background more prosperous. This has also, however, meant that people have become more demanding and their expectations to

catch up with the developed European countries have increased – not only when it comes economically but also in the matters of social security, opportunities for self-realisation and the quality of life. Such **increased expectations are reflected in the rising importance of the socioeconomic integration**, or, in other words, in the closer attention to the (in)equality of socioeconomic opportunities for people of different ethnicities.

Thirdly, opening up the Estonian labour market to the citizens of other European Union countries and at the same time the continuing decrease in the population numbers due to the negative natural growth have made **the problems of the deficit of the human capital and of its sustainable application** particularly sharp. These are also reflected in the need to pay more attention to a more efficient application of the potential of non-Estonians on the Estonian labour market.

The expected demographic “trough” will significantly affect the development of the Estonian education system. This includes the need for closer integration of Russian-language schools into the unified education system, and it also motivates to **devote more attention to how Estonian youths born into Russian-speaking families develop into Estonian citizens, improving their education opportunities in Estonian vocational and higher education institutions and opportunities to have successful careers in the Estonian labour market both in the public and in the private sectors.**

Fourthly, despite wide-spread criticism, the integration process so far has significantly increased the number of ethnic minority background who are well integrated into the Estonian society, who are loyal citizens of the Estonian Republic, who consider themselves a legitimate part of the Estonian nation and who **have justified expectations to be more involved** in the public life of Estonia and the decision-making process than before.

Lastly, the so-called April crisis and the public discussion on the effectiveness and feasibility of integration that followed it have brought to the foreground several critical moments in the evaluation of integration both by the ethnic Estonian and the Russian-speaking communities. At the same time, attention towards integration has increased. The new integration programme is expected to offer a substantive message and goals that are feasible in reality.

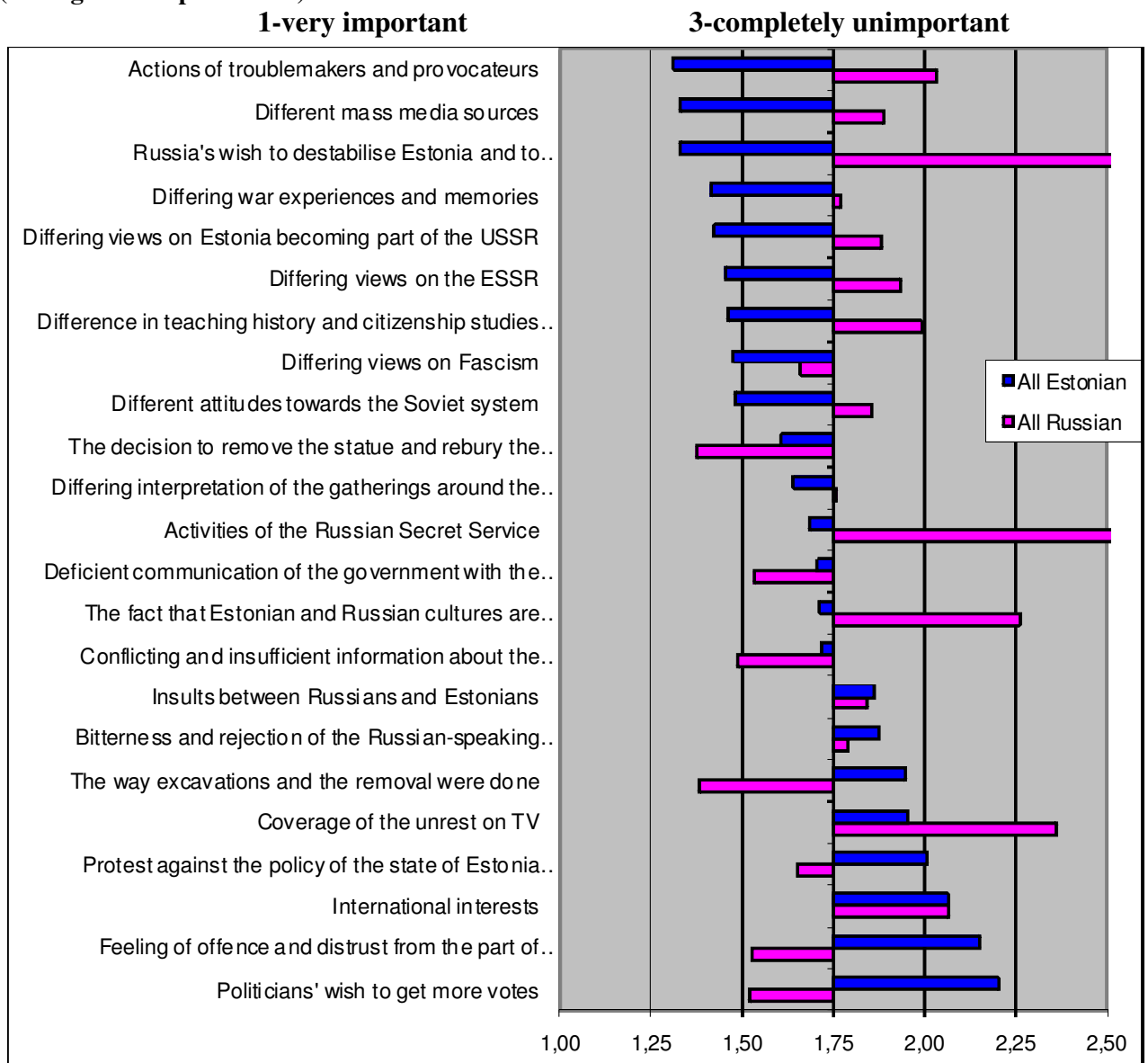
Based on the aforementioned, **the main focus of the needs and feasibility studies** conducted by the research team **is on raising problematic or new aspects in the content of the integration process and at finding solutions.**

2.3 Significance of the April crisis from the point of view of the integration policy and its effect on the process of integration

The results of the opinion poll conducted in June of 2007 show that there are hard-to-overcome differences in the attitudes and the way of thinking between ethnic Estonians and the Russian-speaking population on issues related to the current situation of and the prospects for the Russian-speaking minority in Estonia. One event that has polarised opinions, is the so-called April events, where the reasons that led to it and on the development from there on were viewed principally differently by the two ethnic groups (see Figure 3)

From the viewpoint of ethnic Estonians, the unrest was directly triggered by Russia's policy and activities of provocateurs. The role of Russia is not considered significant by non-Estonians. Ethnic Estonians think that the conflict developed because the Russian-speaking population sees history, especially the occupation of Estonia and the events of World War II differently from ethnic Estonians. Non-Estonians see the reason for the crisis in the deficient communication of the government with the non-Estonian community and in the way that the statue was removed and the remains were reburied. Ethnic Estonians see primarily the criminal side of the unrest while non-Estonians view the protest against the policy of the state of Estonia towards non-Estonians as an important reason why the events evolved the way they did.

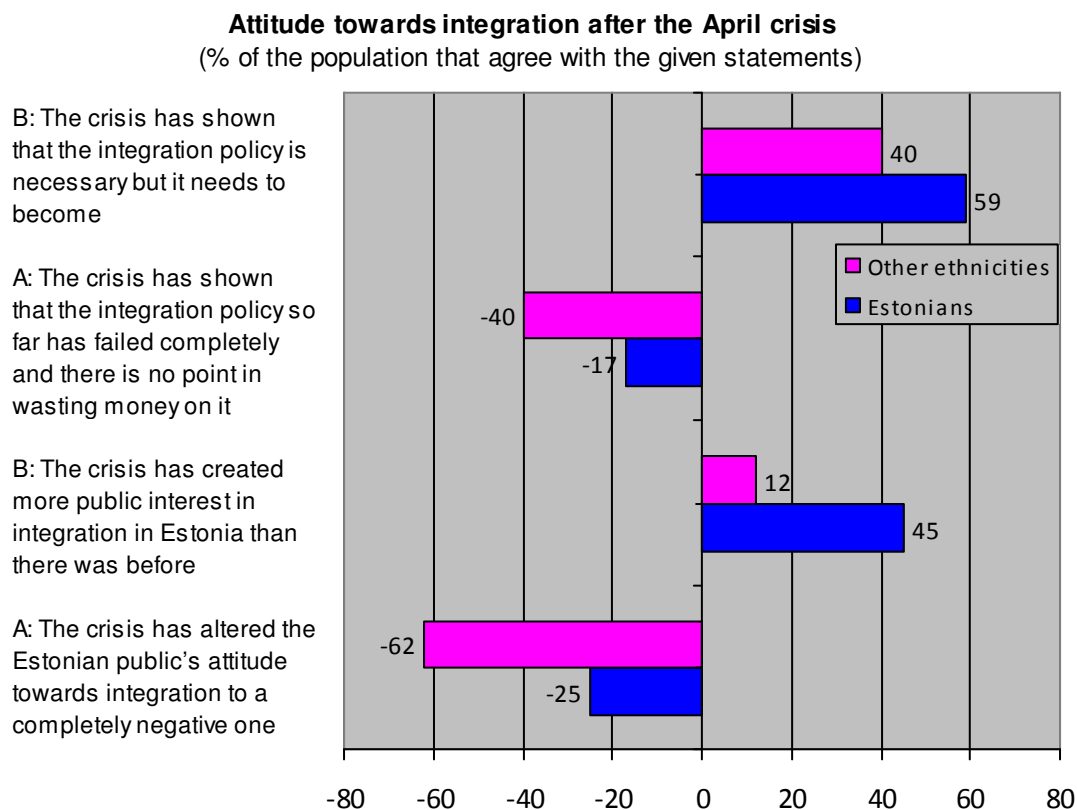
Figure 3. Opinions of ethnic Estonians and Russians of the reasons for the April crisis (average on a 3-point scale)



Despite the great differences in opinion in the interpretation of the reasons for the crises, the research results also contained positive moments from the point of view of integration. First of all, they showed that despite the seeming hostility the interethnic

relations in their specific living environments did not actually deteriorate as a result of the crisis. Secondly, contrary to the wide-spread claim in the media that the April crisis had supposedly shown that the integration policy had failed and was pointless, the majority of the ethnic Estonian respondents (59 %) and also a large proportion of non-Estonians (40 %) held a different opinion stating that the integration policy should continue and should be made more effective (see figure 4). Still, and this is especially true for the non-Estonian community after the April crisis, pessimistic views on the effectiveness of integration were prevailing. 62 % of non-Estonians and just 25 % of ethnic Estonians agreed with the statement that the crisis had somehow made the public's attitude towards integration more negative.

Figure 4. General assessment of the integration policy (TÜ/SaarPoll 2007)



Thirdly, the results of the research show that ethnic Estonians and other ethnic groups share an important view on the assessment of the importance of the principal measures of the integration policy so far – language learning and naturalisation. The opinion on the importance of support for various ethno-cultural unions and relief for social risk groups is also shared. At the same time, there are significant differences between various ethnic groups in understanding the priorities of socioeconomic and socio-political integration, and this will be discussed below in the section about the goals of integration.

The most important positive effect of the April events, however, is the beginning of a meaningful public discussion on the essence of the integration process and on its necessity and content, including the role of ethnic Estonians in the process. We must acknowledge that the Estonian public realised after the April crisis that the success of the integration policy is not only important to the Russian-speaking minority or to European experts but it is a key issue for development of Estonia, for the secure future of both ethnic Estonians and others.

3. METHODOLOGY OF NEEDS AND FEASIBILITY STUDIES

A large number of quantitative studies in the field of integration have been conducted in the previous years. It was thus possible to use the secondary analysis of the existing research results in the development of this programme. The secondary analysis of the existing studies and databases (various studies in the field of education, the 2006 European Social Research, the 2000-2006 Study of the Estonian Labour Market, opinion

polls conducted by various organisations) formed one of the research subgroups in the development of the programme. In July 2007 a standardised opinion poll on the topic of the Bronze soldier crisis was conducted in order to map the post-crisis standpoints of ethnic groups immediately after the events. The results of this opinion poll are the basis for the quantitative analysis of the goals and effectiveness of integration and the integration process target groups presented in the subsequent parts of this final report.

At the same time it transpired that the existing information is incomplete or superficial in several critical fields from the point of view of developing a new Integration programme (e.g. formation of citizen identity, cultural diversity of the school environment, and the feelings of the *integrated* Russian-speaking population in the Estonian society). Also the 2007 April crisis introduced new problems and topics to the society. This is why data from the numerous new qualitative and quantitative studies designed for this specific purpose was collected and used for the development of the programme.

Various qualitative studies – focus groups, qualitative individual interviews, brainstorming, qualitative analyses of school essays and Internet websites – comprised a relatively large part of the development of the programme.

In the context of social research, quantitative studies refer to the use of the previously standardised indicators developed by the researcher (e.g. questions and response options in questionnaires) in collecting data. Qualitative studies, on the contrary, do not use previously devised standard indicators but rather the examples presented by the people themselves are collected and generalised. Analysis subjects of such studies are quotes from the text written or presented orally by target groups, visual aids, positioning (e.g. on the web), etc. The purpose of qualitative studies is to find new important and substantial indicators and this is the reason why these are often used for studying less known topics, target groups and sub-problems. Attempts are often made to standardise the important indicators discovered with the help of qualitative studies and to determine how they are distributed in the representative sample of population and to determine the extent of their distribution and how they are related to one another. One method thus complements the other.

Qualitative research methodology is used both in the public and in the business enterprise sectors in order to have direct information about the thought patterns and/or behaviour of certain target group(s). For example – why they support one or the other of the most popular positions, how they interpret certain information, what their fears and expectations are regarding a certain change to their way of life, etc, without the respondent being limited by a framework of some sort as is the case with standardised questionnaires.

The primary method of quantitative research used in the development of the Integration programme was qualitative, i.e. in-depth interviews.

In-depth interviews differ from traditional questionnaires in that there are no standardised answers to the questions. Interview results are not analysed in bulk but rather the different variations of opinions, causal links, discussion mechanisms, etc, are presented. The answers give indication of what the different opinions, convictions and attitudes present in the given sector are. Due to a large volume of work and costs involved, and also because of the essence of the research method itself, random selection is not normally used for in-depth interviews, which would make it possible to expand the results to the whole sampled sector. There are, however, ways to transform the qualitative analysis data into standardised and indexes that can be statistically processed (e.g.

analysis of hidden content classes in media researches). It is thus not possible to conclude to what degree one opinion or the other is widespread among the target group or the whole population on the basis of in-depth interviews. Qualitative studies, however, do provide the basis for compilation of a standardised research questionnaires and polling programmes that provide statistical representation. Purposeful selection is usually used for in-depth interviews. It does not allow to expand the results to the general population but it does allow to perform a more comprehensive study of a specific target group. The main advantage of the in-depth interview method is the validity of the results – the researcher can be sure that the respondents are not forced into the framework of someone else's thoughts and can share their experiences directly.

Both expert interviews and informant-interviews were used in the studies. Expert interviews are qualitative (i.e. with free answers) interview with experts in their fields. The researches asked for expert assessments, prognoses, etc on a situation and the future development of a situation in a certain field. In the framework of the project, expert interviews with politicians, officials, school principals, leaders of citizens' unions, youth workers and people involved in preventive work were conducted.

Informant-interviews reflect direct or indirect personal experiences of the respondents and their attitude towards the studied topic. Informant-interviews were conducted with pupils and teachers of schools with Russian and Estonian language of instruction, Estonian citizens with ethnic minority background, stateless people and representatives of social risk groups.

A large portion of informant-interviews was conducted as focus groups. A focus group is a special type of a qualitative interview where the questions and topics raised by the researcher are discussed in groups with 6 to 8 members. Focus group is a group interview conducted in accordance to a semi-structured interview plan and is often complemented by various techniques that encourage creativity and/or spontaneity of the respondents or by other elements. Its aim is to achieve stimulation between the respondents themselves yet preserve a environment free of social pressure by using certain techniques. The main advantage of the focus group over personal interviews is that there is stimulation between the participants and an opportunity for debates and discussions.

The purpose of in-depth interviews for the development of the integration programme was to determine the problems relevant to the target groups and to learn to know their worldview without using structures and indicators developed by researchers (who are mostly Estonians). Another aim was to put the representatives of target groups into an active and creative position when providing information (this was possible due to the focus group format).

Interview texts, school essays and Internet web pages were analysed using the non-formalised content analysis methodology. In content analysis the information contained in the texts is systemised into keywords, or codes. The fixed codes for **formalised content analysis** are relatively laconic and during subsequent analysis the frequency of appearance of certain units under the respective codes is presented in the form of figures. The codes in the qualitative, or non-standardised, text analysis can be more complex and multi-sided. The occurrences that fall "under" them are not counted but are viewed more as a whole and in their context. Usually a full quote that was classified under a certain code is presented.

Using non-formalised content analysis has the same advantages as the interviews –the results are more relevant to the target group, full of more nuances and more valid.

4. DEFINING TARGET GROUPS AND STAKEHOLDERS OF THE INTEGRATION POLICY

The integration policy to date has been primarily addressed at either ethnic groups as a whole or some specific target groups: mainly the people with undetermined citizenship and social risk groups, as well as children and young people. There are many sides to the whole integration, and also during the last few years the differences in the social status and the level of integration across the non-Estonian population have multiplied. This is why we believe that the right course of action is to increase the variation within the integration programme and to more precisely define the target groups of the measures in different areas. In doing so we must consider the needs of groups with a different age, citizenship, education, location, social and professional status, and also their roles as subjects of the integration process.

The initial task of the needs and feasibility researches is involving the target groups in the central strategic tasks:

“In order to achieve the crucial goals, integration programme target groups are involved already at the stage of developing the programme and at the stage of compiling the implementation plan. In addition to target groups, it is also necessary to involve the third sector organisations and beneficiaries’ unions that represent those groups. Involvement here means **empowering the target groups**, i.e. the right to be part of the discussion and of the decision process on the implementation measures part of the development of the policies that are relevant to them. It is important to make sure that the target groups are involved in developing all of the important policies and accept them as their own.

Involvement of target groups is achieved through two different frameworks: (1) through needs and feasibility studies where, on the one hand, the target groups are asked about their needs and, on the other hand, they are asked their opinions on the feasibility of the proposed measures; (2) through feedback (on the strategy and the implementation plan, on the local governments’ development plans). (SIP 2008-2013 Initial Report, chapter 2.1.2.)

Typologies of non-Estonians with various levels of integration and of ethnic Estonians with various levels of readiness for integration developed on the basis of the data from the 2007 survey are presented in this report with the purpose of defining the target groups with more precisions. This is based on generalised integration indexes that define the level of integration and readiness of both ethnic Estonians and people of other ethnicities. Since representatives of other ethnic groups with various levels of integration are the main target groups for the development of the integration strategy, we shall start by presenting an overview of the integration categories of non-Estonians and then will discuss the variations observed in the Estonians’ readiness for integration.

4.1. Differences in Levels of Integration among Russian-speaking population

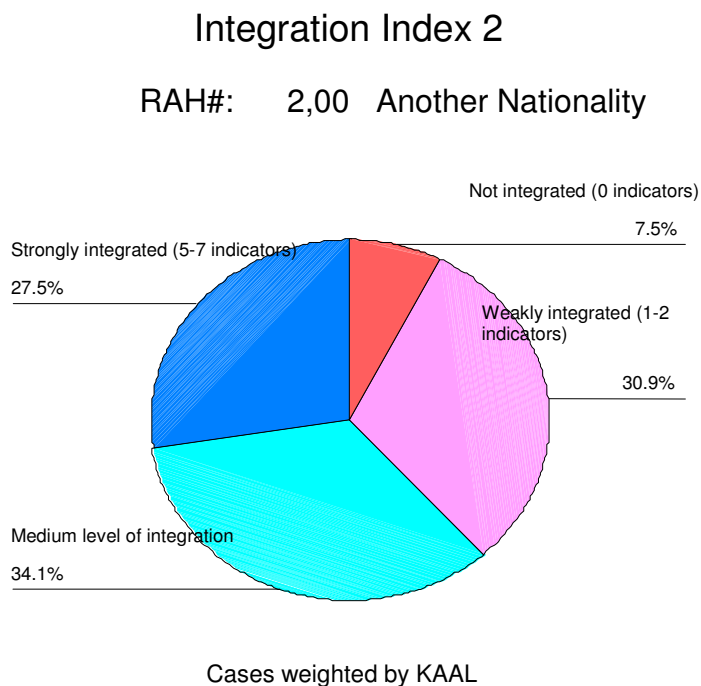
One of the greatest shortcomings of the integration policy to date has been that the Russian-speaking population has been treated, both in the media and in the politicians’ rhetoric, as a homogeneous mass. This tendency became even more evident during the

events surrounding the Bronze soldier when the group of youths rioting in the centre of Tallinn became the “embodiment” of the Russian-speaking population.

The results of the survey conducted in July 2007, shortly after the April crisis, do not support such generalised views of the Russian-speaking population. We have established an index for measuring the level of integration of the Russian-speaking population based on the seven various indicators that quantify the respondent’s attitude towards the Estonian state.

The integration index is calculated as a sum of the following indicators: 1. having Estonian citizenship, 2. having command of the Estonian language, 3. considering oneself as part of the Estonian nation (as defined constitution), 4. frequent communication between ethnic Estonians and Russians, 5. use of Estonian or both languages alternately in communication, 6. positive view of the changes that the Estonian society has undergone in the last fifteen years, 7. trust in the Estonian state. Based on the values of the integration index, the Russian-speaking respondents formed four groups: 1) those who have not integrated on any of the indicators, i.e. those who basically lack a positive connection with the Estonian society (only 7.5 % of the polled non-Estonians aged 15-74 belong to this group); 2) the 31 % that are weakly integrated (i.e. display 1-2 integration indicators); 3) one third (34 %) have the so called medium level of integration (3-4 integration indicators) and finally those of whom it can be said that they have completely integrated into the Estonian society and who display 5-7 integration indicators. There were slightly over a quarter (27.5 %) of such strongly integrated members of the Estonian society of Russian-speaking background (see figure 5).

Figure 5. Division of the Russian-speaking population based on the level of integration



From Table 1 we can see how the groups are distributed based on the indicators demonstrating state identity that are part of the integration index.

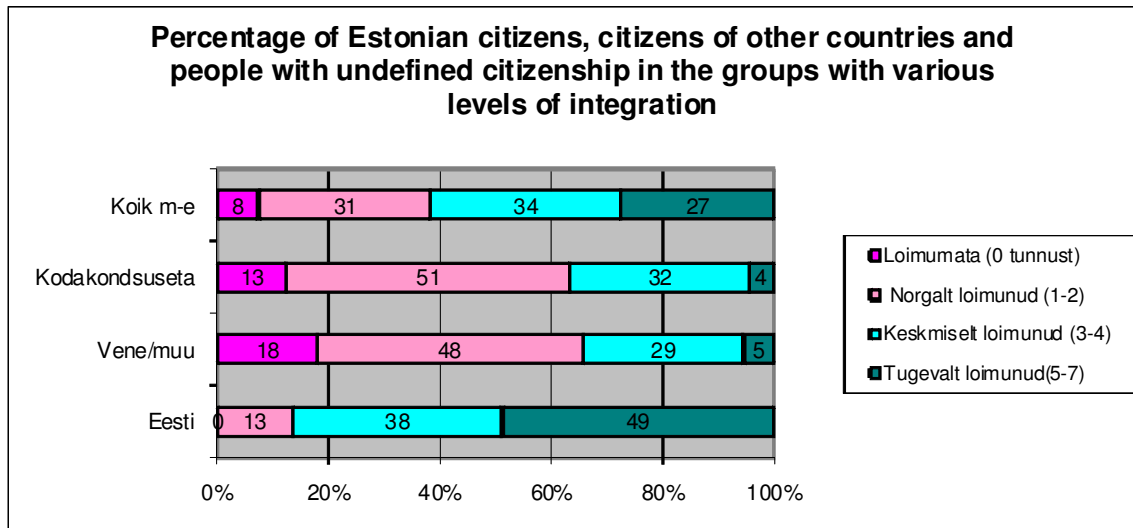
Table 1. Citizenship and attitudes demonstrating state identity at various integration levels

		Not integrated (8%)	Weakly integrated (31%)	Medium level of integration (34%)	Strongly integrated (27%)	All Russian-speaking respondents
Citizenship						
	Estonian	0	22	57	91	51
	Russian/other	62	40	22	5	26
	Undefined	38	38	21	4	23
Whether he/she considers himself/herself part of the Estonian nation						
	Yes	0	52	76	95	68
Whether he/she trusts the Estonian state						
	Does not trust	54	42	38	19	35
	Trusts	0	11	25	44	13
Attitude towards the changes that Estonia has undergone in the last fifteen years						
	Regretful	68	43	37	20	36
	Happy	0	19	26	43	27

Estonian **citizenship** does not automatically mean complete integration (see figure 6): out of the 252 non-Estonians with Estonian citizenship polled, every fourth (25%) was either not integrated or weakly integrated, 45 % had a medium level of integration and 30 % of the citizens were strongly integrated.

Composition of groups by citizenship can be seen on the figure. As expected, the strongly integrated group is almost completely comprised of Estonian citizens, but at the same time, every third person in the weakly integrated group has Estonian citizenship.

Figure 6. Relationship between citizenship and integration



Translation of Figure 6.

Kõik m-e- All N-Es

Kodakondsuseta - undetermined citizenship

Vene/muu - Russian/other

Eesti - Estonian

Lõimumata - Non-integrated (0 indicators)

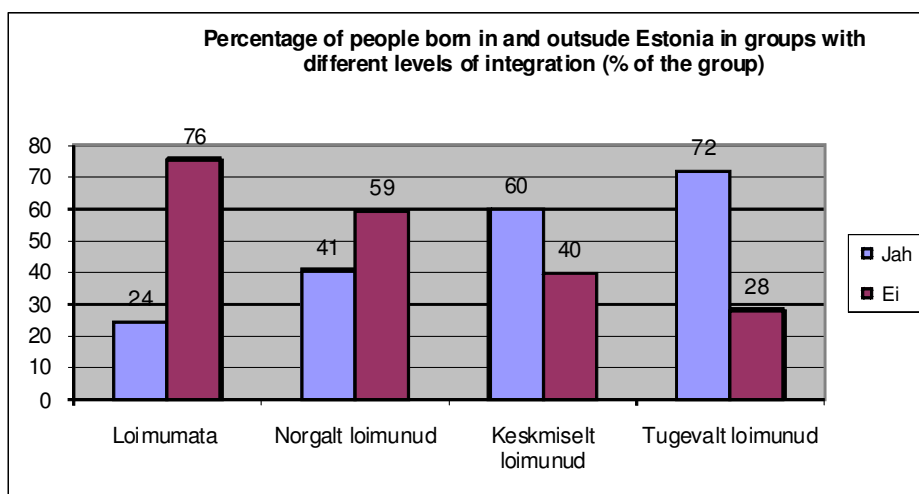
Nõrgalt loimunud - Weakly integrated (1-2)

Keskmiselt loimunud - Medium level of integration (3-4)

Tugevalt loimunud - Strongly integrated (5-7)

Birthplace is also a factor influencing affiliation to Estonia: three quarters of the people in the strongly integrated group have been born in Estonia, and the ratio is reversed for the non-integrated group (see figure 7)

Figure 7. Relationship between the place of birth and the level of integration



Translation of Figure 7.

Non-integrated; Weakly integrated; Medium level of integration; Strongly integrated
Yes; No

Command of the Estonian language is correctly considered to be the main component of integration. We can see how the command of the language and its practical use in communication between ethnic Estonians and Russians is linked with the level of integration from the fact that strongly integrated non-Estonians are characterised by everyday interaction with Estonians, and, depending on the needs, the language used for communication is either solely Estonian or Russian and Estonian alternately.

Table 2. Command and use of Estonian in the groups with different levels of integration

	Non-integrated (0 indicators)	Weakly integrated (1-2)	Medium level of integration (3-4)	Strongly integrated (5-7)	All Russian-speaking respondents
Command of the Estonian language					
None at all	51	30	9	3	17
Understands a little but does not speak	24	38	17	2	20
Understands and speaks a little	24	25	35	10	24
Speaks and writes	0	7	31	50	26
Has good command of the language	0	1	9	36	13
Has interacted with Estonians within the last week					
Has not interacted, cannot recall a single contact	32	30	6	0	14
6 times or more	0	15	47	69	40
Language used in communication with Estonians					
Only the Russian language	96	73	38	7	40
Only the Estonian language	0	3	8	18	10
Both Estonian and Russian alternately	0	21	52	74	48

At the same time people in the non-integrated or weakly-integrated groups have less frequent interactions with ethnic Estonians and the main language of communication during those contacts has been Russian.

When the level of integration of the Russian-speaking population is compared on the basis of age, education and the social-economic layers, it is clear that it was easier for the younger, better-off and better educated people to find their place in the Estonian market-economy society (see table 3).

Table 3. Sociodemographic background of the groups with different levels of integration

	Non-integrated	Weakly integrated	Medium level of integration	Strongly integrated
Education				
Basic education or less	27	23	19	7
Secondary education	57	60	57	59
Higher education	16	18	24	34
Age				

Younger than 40 y.o. 1,00 15-19	28	31	48	54
40-60 y.o.	36	42	38	30
Over 60 y.o.	36	27	14	16
Income				
Up to 3000	40	37	25	18
3000-5000	41	39	39	37
Over 5000-8000	16	21	32	42
Male	57	53	43	42
Female	43	47	57	58

It can be seen from the table that those with higher education, aged under 40 and with over 5000 kroons of income per family member are more integrated. The group of non-integrated or weakly integrated people, on the other hand, is comprised more of those with basic (and vocational) education, aged over 60 and whose income is below average – even of people living below the poverty line. The reason is not just in the cost of Estonian language training courses or citizenship examination preparation courses (although that also has its effect). The obvious link between integration and economic prosperity is two-sided. Those who have more resources are also more competitive and more motivated to overcome the cultural barriers and bureaucratic and psychological difficulties associated with one's adaptation amongst the people of another language and culture. At the same time, integration itself offers additional resources by raising one's social self-assessment and by lowering barriers for communication and cooperation between people.

As a rule, higher social status means a higher integration level. Approximately 40 % and 30 % of those non-Estonians who have reached an above-average level on the social ladder of the Estonian society are strongly integrated and integrated at a medium level respectively. The flip side of this coin – the reason why not all non-Estonians who have achieved a high status, wealth and education have also achieved a high level of integration, with almost one among every three non-Estonians with above average social self-assessment having a rather thin connection with the Estonian society – also deserves attention.

To summarise, we can distinguish four target groups of integration policy (integration categories) based on the level of being **integration**:

- A **Strongly-integrated non-Estonians** are characterised by having Estonian citizenship, good command of the Estonian language, secondary or higher education, above average income and relatively young age. Well-integrated non-Estonians consider themselves part of the Estonian nation, trust the Estonian state (even if they disagree with specific measures by the specific government), are happy over positive changes in the society and have an above average number of everyday interactions, communicating mostly in Estonian. One quarter to one-third of non-Estonians belong to this target group, primarily those from Tallinn or Tartu, Pärnu and other towns with predominantly Estonian-speaking population. The main needs: to increase their involvement in public life, feeling of being valued and their opportunities to be active partners in the society.

- B Non-Estonians with an average level of integration** are characterised by Estonian citizenship, prosperity and positive attitude towards the Estonian state, but also not the best command of the Estonian language and less frequent interaction with ethnic Estonians (characteristic of Ida-Virumaa). Alternatively, these can be people with good command of the language and relative prosperity who, however, do not have Estonian citizenship and are more detached from the Estonian state (more characteristic of Tallinn). Size of the target group: one-third of non-Estonians. The main integration needs: facilitate everyday professional and social interaction with ethnic Estonians, increase mutual trust and opportunities for participation and self-expression, and involve them in the unified information field. It is important to recognise the value of the Estonian citizenship, increase the motivation for naturalisation and tie language learning with career opportunities.
- C Weakly integrated non-Estonians** display just a couple of positive integration indicators, which may be citizenship or interaction with Estonian co-workers. They are, however, characterised by mainly low welfare, low involvement in the Estonian society and are not well-informed about what goes on in Estonia, by social withdrawal, by poor command of the language and by low trust in the Estonian state. Mostly these are people with undefined or with Russian citizenship, often with lower education and of older age. The size of the target group: almost one-third of non-Estonians, often from Ida-Virumaa. The main need: social confidence and security. Integration is possible through lessening separation, social withdrawal and preventing creation of ghettos, through learning the language and more close contacts with ethnic Estonians. Creating motivation and encouraging naturalisation is important.
- D Not integrated, marginalised non-Estonians, asocial or with negative attitude towards Estonia** – less than one-tenth of non-Estonian population, mostly non-citizens, Russian citizens or illegal residents. Main needs: abiding the law and social rehabilitation. The integration group on the level of protection of basic human rights, social help and rehabilitation.

When considering target groups for planning integration measures it is important to know that those who are better integrated, almost all of whom are Estonian citizens who know the Estonian language, are predominately young relatively better-off people with higher education born in Estonia, and there are slightly more women in this group than men. Those who have not integrated at all or have integrated weakly are, on the other hand, often poorer and older people with vocational or basic education born outside Estonia, many of whom have Russian or undetermined citizenship. It is clear that the latter category has most problems with integration and requires a different approach (more information in Russian, direct oral communication, attention to problems with coping) than those who have a medium level of integration. One-third of the latter group do not have Estonian citizenship but their education level, age and income are actually closer to the well-integrated group and in their case, for example, we are most likely dealing with problems with motivation and not with problems with ability.

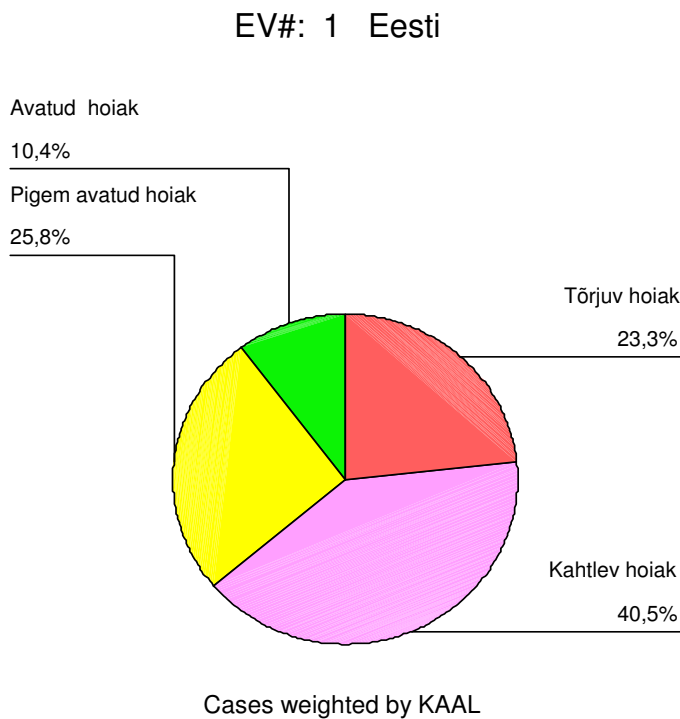
4.2. Distribution of ethnic Estonians based on the attitude towards integration

One of the important factors in the success of the integration process is the reciprocity of this process, good will by both ethnic Estonians and ethnic minorities for understanding

each other and for cooperation in the Estonian society. It is thus important, in addition to considering the levels of integration of non-Estonians, to evaluate the readiness from the part of ethnic Estonians to accept Estonian citizens of other ethnic groups as equal members of society and to involve them in the development of the Estonian society and economy, including decision-making. Using the data from the survey conducted in July 2007, it was possible to develop an aggregative index that demonstrates the general attitudes of ethnic Estonians towards the goals of integration and the relationships between nationalities. The index was developed as a sum of the following indicators: the importance of the social goals of integration, the importance of the institutional goals of integration, tolerance during close interaction with people of other ethnicity, and readiness to include ethnic minorities in the public life and to value their involvement.

The ethnic Estonian respondents aged 15-74 can be divided into the following groups based on their attitude towards integration: 36 % were characterised by clearly positive and open attitude, 40% were “doubtful”, i.e. with less positive, partly negative or uncertain attitude, and 23 % had clearly rejecting intolerant attitude towards the goals of integration and involving people of other nationalities (see figure 8).

Figure 8. Distribution of Estonians based on the attitude towards integration



Translation of Figure 8.

Eesti - Estonia

Avatud hoiak - Open attitude 10.4 %

Pigem avatud hoiak - Rather open attitude 25.8 %

Tõrjuv hoiak - Rejecting attitude 23.3 %

Kahtlev hoiak - Doubting attitude 40.5 %

It is noteworthy that the attitude towards integration is an independent indicator and its connection with the usual social divisions (age, income, belonging to a layer, gender, education) is extremely weak. Positive attitude is rarely observed among younger people

and people with higher education, and at the same time the link with social layers is minimal. The rejecting attitude is actually a little more characteristic of people of higher status (see table 4).

Table 4 Sociodemographic background of ethnic Estonians with different attitudes towards integration

	Percentage in the group with a certain attitude towards integration (%)				Percentage of the total	
	1 Rejecting attitude	2 Doubting attitude	3 Rather open attitude	4 Open attitude towards integration		
Generation						
	15-24 y.o.	21	19	21	22	20
	25-39 y.o.	24	27	30	28	27
	40-54 y.o.	25	26	26	25	26
	55-74 y.o.	30	28	23	25	27
Status (based on the income, education and social layer)						
	0 indicators out of 3 above average	39	43	38	35	40
	1 indicator above average	29	28	32	30	29
	2 indicators above average	22	22	21	27	22
	3 indicators above average	10	7	10	9	9
Gender						
	Male	52	46	45	43	47
	Female	48	54	55	57	53

The weak connection between the attitude towards integration and sociodemographic indicators, as well as its clearly deep individual essence and relative rigidity have been first noted by Jüri Kruusvall. He analysed the results of integration monitoring from 2000 and found that one-fifth of Estonians display a rejecting attitude:

The one-fifth in question is split rather equally between the age, education and income groups of Estonians. Consequently, it is most likely that the rejecting attitude among Estonians towards non-Estonians occurs on the “nest principle” (in families, territorially, among professional groups, etc)¹.

The changes that can be achieved through the integration policy are slow and linked to changes in the public sphere and media, as well as the socialising process occurring at schools. It will slowly create prerequisites for a deep cultural shift that will encompass the people’s personal values, identities and behavioural patterns. It should be said that such changes have been developing with great difficulty in the Estonian society. The assessment that the “integration has failed” that appeared as a result of the shock from the April crisis is actually a good expression of the nature of these deep processes. Namely, the setback was clearly evident on the surface, in the open sphere and media

¹ Jüri Kruusvall. *Integratsioonist arusaamine eesti ühiskonnas. Integratsioon Eesti ühiskonnas. Monitooring 2000* Marju Lauristin, Raivo Vetik (editor) TPÜ Rahvusvaheliste ja Sotsiaaluuringute Instituut, Tallinn. 2000

http://www.meis.ee/files/est_raamatukogu_uuringud/Mon2000_3Kruusvall.pdf

relationships, while, based on the opinion polls, the behavioural patterns remained largely unchanged when it comes to close personal relationships (SaarPoll 2007).

We can thus characterise the integration process on the level of social interaction as follows: the people who are ready for integration at a deep level, for real dialogue, are in the minority (forming approximately one-third of either language community) both among ethnic Estonians and among the ethnic minorities. The share of the “doubters” – those with the cautious attitude towards integration – is rather large on both sides (one-third to one half) and their attitude and behaviour can change either towards positive or towards negative based on the circumstances. At the same time there is a rather large percentage of ethnic Estonians and people with other ethnic background (one-tenth to one quarter) who have a completely negative attitude towards integration, who are not interested in integration and, consequently, are ready to impose their negative attitude and judgment among those close to them and in certain circumstances (e.g. when being in the position of the opinion leader or during a general conflict or crisis) on the whole society.

4.3. Stakeholders of integration policy

In addition to dividing the non-Estonians targeted by the programme into target groups, during planning integration policy measures in various fields or for measuring their completion, it is also important to define the stakeholders:

- **Government officials** (secretary generals of ministries, deputy secretary generals, heads of departments, human resources personnel): the main need is to increase the interest in and knowledge of integration as a process that penetrates all political spheres, and of the need to involve the people whose mother tongue is not Estonian in development and implementation of national policies.
- **Specialists in the given field in integration, employees of government organisations** who interact with people whose mother tongue is not Estonian in their everyday work (people working at the Citizenship and Migration Board, Social Insurance, Health Insurance Fund, Labour Market Board, police officers, medical nurses, social workers).
- **Local government officials and employees** who work for local governments where people of other nationalities form a large portion of the community, as well as people involved in the work of the council of such communities
- **Citizens’ associations**, both Estonian-language and not, that consider their task to support the integration process and to advance the activeness of all citizens (regardless of the mother tongue).
- **Opinion leaders**, scholars, politicians, economists, cultural workers and journalists, whose opinions and evaluations play an important role in shaping the public opinion on the contents of the integration process, its success and problems.
- **Educational workers and media**, on whom the shaping of the mentality in the society that either understands and consolidates different cultures and nationalities or sets them against each other primarily depends.

It is obvious that the success of the integration process depends more on the stakeholders’ attitudes towards integration on their level of readiness for integration and on how they personally shape the integration process than it does on any official documents.

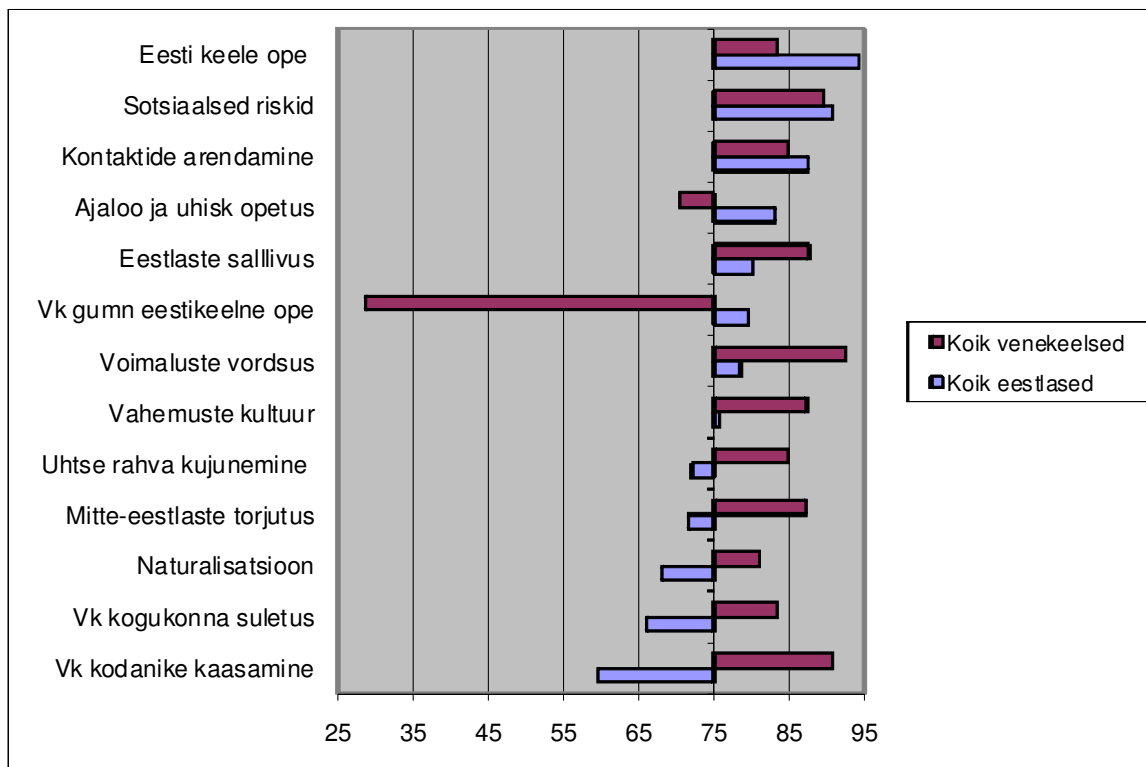
In addition to studying expectations and attitudes of the target groups, in-depth interviews with representatives of the stakeholders (politicians, state and local government officials, teachers, representatives of foundations, opinion leaders) are at the centre of qualitative studies of all fields. This allows to determine the subjective factor in the success of integration.

5. IMPORTANCE OF INTEGRATION GOALS AND ASSESSMENT OF THE EFFECTIVENESS SO FAR. CLARIFYING THE EMPHASES OF THE NEW INTEGRATION PROGRAMME

5.1. The importance of integration policy goals from the point of view of ethnic Estonians and ethnic minorities

It is important to know how much importance the ethnic Estonians and the Russian-speaking population place on the various integration goals for further development of the integration programme and for assessing the effectiveness. Figure 9, which is based on the data from the representative survey commissioned by the Office of the Minister for Population and Ethnic Affairs and conducted in cooperation between the University of Tartu and SaarPoll (hereinafter referred to as TÛ/SaarPoll 2007), gives an overview of this.

Figure 9. Percentage of the Estonian-speaking and Russian-speaking respondents who consider certain components of the integration process important, %



Translation of Figure 9.

Learning the Estonian language; Social risks; Facilitating contacts; Teaching history and social sciences; tolerance of ethnic Estonians; Estonian language of instruction in Russian upper secondary schools; Equal opportunities; Culture of minorities; Creating a unified nation; Rejection of non-Estonians; Naturalisation; Closedness of the Russian-speaking community; Involvement of Russian-speaking citizens.

All Russian-speaking respondents

All Estonians

As can be seen from the figure, ethnic groups assess the goals of integration differently.

When it comes to the most important goals of integration, the views of ethnic Estonians and ethnic minorities coincide only on the matter of fighting social ills. Ethnic Estonians consider the approach to the history of Estonia and adaptation of the state language most important. The Russian-speaking community, however, sees the goals of integration in political and economical incorporation into the Estonian society on equal terms with ethnic Estonians. For them learning the Estonian language and especially transition of upper secondary schools to partial instruction in Estonian are secondary goals. It is hard to find a consensus in this situation and requires mutual effort and readiness to agree on the common part of the principal values both on the part of ethnic Estonians and of the Russian-speaking community. The research group hopes that the changes to the emphases of the integration programme suggested below will help along in this.

The differences in understanding the meaning of integration and its goals among the ethnic groups is well-illustrated by the factor analysis, which singled out two factors of integration goals (see table 5).

The first factor is characterised by indicators that describe integration as a social and economic process: lessening inequality, advancing tolerance and inter-cultural understanding, participation in the social life as a citizen and an accepted part of the unified Estonian nation. This factor primarily represents integration target groups, the point of view of people of other nationalities, but it is also not alien to ethnic Estonians. The second factor expresses the language and cultural focus of the integration policy so far and describes integration as more of a language and education policy project, as an institutionalised activity: teaching the language, upper secondary school reform, and work with social risk groups. Predictably, this factor is more characteristic of ethnic Estonians (see figure 10).

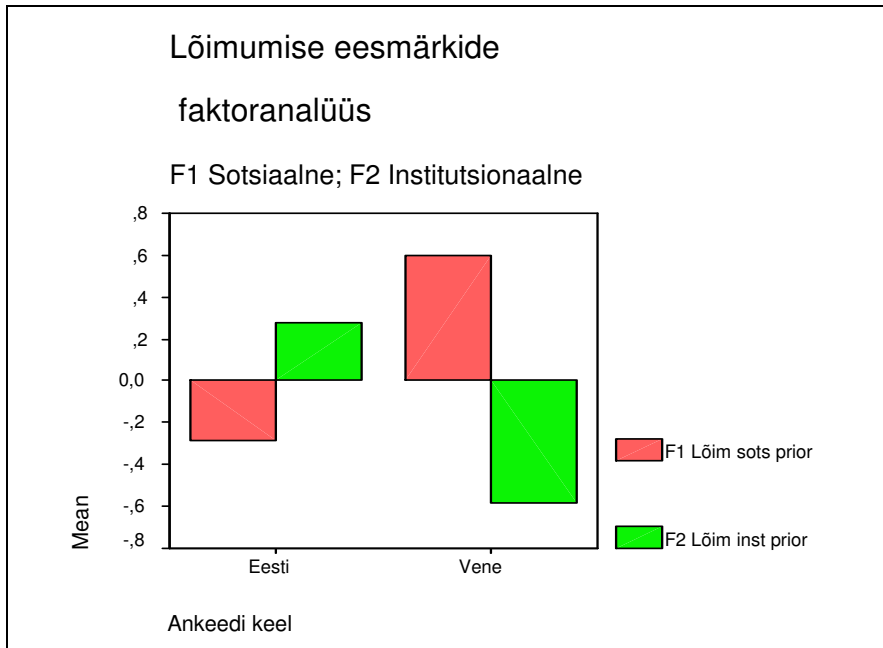
Table 5. Goals of the integration policy: analysis of the main components

	Component	
	F1 social	F2 institutional
Priority of lessening rejection	,812	,075
Priority of equal social and economic opportunities	,792	,199
Priority of tolerance	,770	,203
Priority of involvement of citizens of non-Estonian background	,769	,065
Priority of reducing closedness	,767	,102
Priority of support for minorities' culture	,711	,240
Priority of the emergence of a united Estonian nation	,630	,308
Priority of everyday interaction	,542	,523
Priority of naturalisation	,533	,293
Priority of the reform of the Russian-language upper secondary school	-,122	,838
Priority of learning the language	,178	,789
Priority of teaching history and social studies	,315	,629
Priority of lessening social risks	,405	,561

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

Figure 10. Difference in the importance of the social and institutional factors of integration goals for Estonians and non-Estonians (difference between the average value of the factor in the ethnic group and the average value for the whole population)



Translation of Figure 10.

Factor analysis of integration goals

F1 Social; F2 Institutional

Estonian Russian

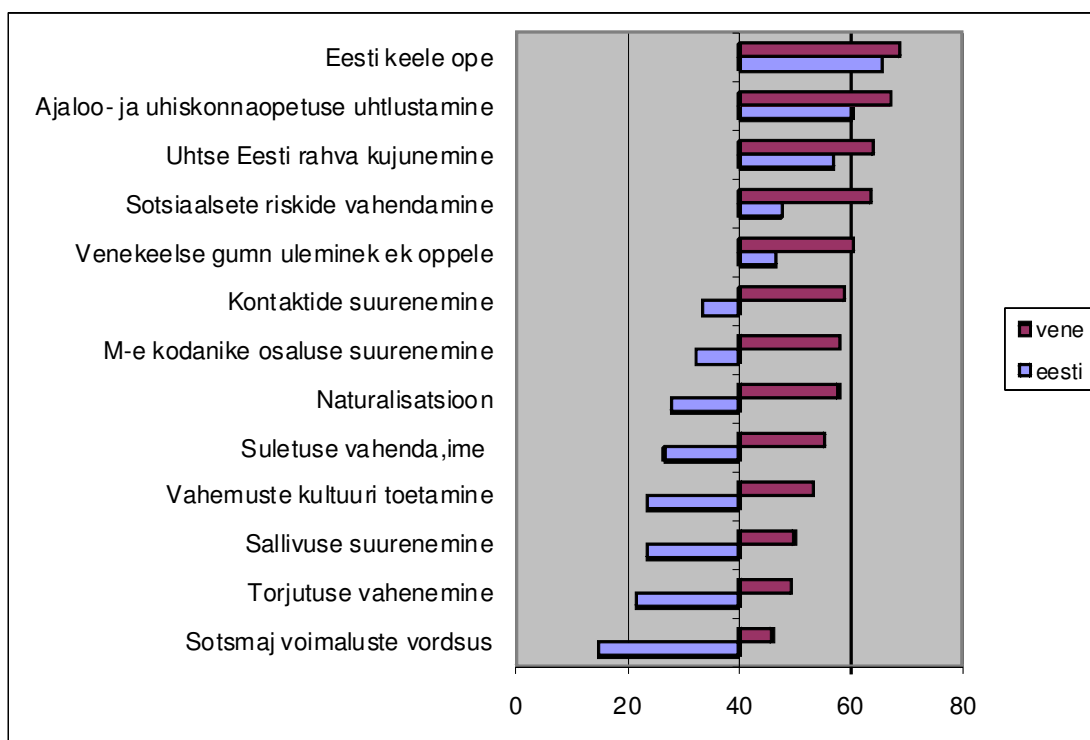
F1 Social priority of integration F2 Institutional priority of integration

Language of the questionnaire

5.2. Assessment of the effectiveness of integration

Since the priorities of integration goals are different for ethnic Estonians and Russian-speaking population, it is unsurprising that the amount of criticism when assessing effectiveness of different aspects of integration is also different between the ethnic groups (see figure 11).

Figure 11. Critical view of different aspects of integration



Translation of Figure 11.

Learning the Estonian language; Unifying teaching history and social sciences; Creating a unified Estonian nation; Lessening social risks; Transition of Russian upper secondary schools to instruction in Estonian; Facilitating contacts; Increased involvement of Russian-speaking citizens; Naturalisation; Reducing closedness; Supporting the culture of minorities; Increasing tolerance; Reducing rejection; Equal social and economic opportunities.

Russian Estonian

When we compare the assessments of the effectiveness of integration with the importance of the goals, we can see that both ethnic Estonians and ethnic minorities are most critical of the acquisition of the Estonian language, success in teaching history and social studies, the transition of the Russian upper secondary schools to instruction in Estonian, as well as creating a unified state identity and restraining social risks (crime, HIV, drug abuse). The Russian-speaking population is much more critical towards all of the topics, and the biggest differences are in evaluations of legal, political and socioeconomic integration. To generalise these results, one can maintain that one of the most important challenges for the new integration programme is to overcome the distrust for the feasibility of integration as such and the general negative attitude towards it that prevails in the Russian-speaking community. This is especially true in regard to equality of socioeconomic opportunities and opportunities to be involved in the public life as an equal partner. As has been mentioned earlier, changing the rejecting or doubting attitudes that prevail among ethnic Estonians themselves to positive ones has an important role here. Whether or not the more integrated and successful part of the Russian-speaking population, the trustworthy opinion leaders for the Russian-speaking community, will be involved in the realisation of the integration programme is just as important. As is demonstrated by the comparison of the results of the assessment of the success of the integration process so far between ethnic groups, there is predisposition to such partnership as a core of people who have positive attitude towards integration and value it

has formed in both language communities. Even though there are more negative attitudes towards integration in all sections of Russian-speaking population in comparison to ethnic Estonians, those Russian-speaking respondents who have Estonian citizenship and are wealthier and have a relatively high social status have a somewhat more positive view of integration (Table 1). This distribution demonstrates that the integration process is closely linked to broadening of socioeconomic opportunities.

Table 5. Assessment of the successfulness of integration * among different groups of ethnic Estonians and the Russian-speaking community based on the unified index (TÜ/SaarPoll 2007).

	<i>None, Weak</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Above average</i>
All Estonians	25	34	41
All Russian-speaking respondents	54	21	25
Estonian citizens (V)	50	21	30
Russian/other citizenship	58	18	23
Undetermined citizenship	60	25	15
Russian-speaking respondents: layer			
Below average	69	15	16
Average	50	25	25
Above average	41	26	33
<i>*unified assessment of 13 elements of integration</i>			

5.3. Interpretation of the contents of integration

In addition to assessing the goals of integration in the survey conducted in July 2007, one topic of the needs and feasibility research that crossed all fields was defining the contents of integration by various target and connecting groups.

Analysis of in-depth interviews and focus groups shows that ethnic Estonians and non-Estonians have developed a common understanding of the core of integration, the reason for mutual respect and appreciation between ethnic Estonians and other ethnic groups that live here being an important part of the common future of Estonia and for the opportunity and willingness to be involved in the development of the Estonian society:

“Integration, the point of it is that the ethnic groups have some sort of positive vision of the future. Not that it can be fruitful and quick if it is based on blames of the past and on that one exact vision of history and firm common values will be imposed in any case. In my opinion integration implies that there is a very balanced definition of goals. The common core that needs to be defined together is that the statehood needs to be respected by everyone living here. Our constitution needs to be respected by all nationalities” (in-depth interview in Estonian)

“For integration, for feeling a valuable person in the society, for involvement in social matters and for normal interaction it is necessary – how can I say this – it is really necessary that I feel as if I am truly a valuable member of the society” (Estonian-language focus group).

“Integration – active involvement of the Russian-speaking community in all spheres of the Estonian society and acceptance of Russian-speaking people by Estonians, equal rights for all Estonian people” (Russian-language focus group).

“I, being a Russian person, with my own culture, language, and outlook want to be part of a common goal. I accept the state as my own in my heart, but the state also needs to understand me and accept me” (Russian-language focus group).

Both ethnic Estonians and Russian-speaking respondents named command of Estonian language and understanding each other’s culture as a condition for integration:

“Integration implies that all of us have command of the Estonian language and that – not that we need to officially be Estonians – but that being at work we would feel and understand what it means to be Estonian. At the same time, during one’s free time and among one’s friends and family one could remain oneself – speak Russian, possibly celebrate some Russian holidays, but so that it does not disturb the ethnic Estonians” (Russian-language focus group).

“We all need to more or less speak one language. I am not talking about language from the linguistic point of view but I mean that we need to understand each other, we need to have that one common room, the common interaction room” (in-depth interview in Estonian).

Both sides stress the importance of behavioural culture and mutual courtesy:

“I think that this is where the courtesy and ethics line lies. You have your opinion but since you live in Estonia you do not go like shouting, you like do not go insult anyone or something like that. You still behave like, well, within some boundaries and express your opinion within some boundaries as well” (Estonian-language focus group).

“We will have cooperation and peaceful coexistence if there is, for starters, mutual respect in the relationship. Or just civilised behaviour” (Russian-language focus group).

“The most important thing when it comes both to Russians and Estonians is that the people need to be cultured and civil. Because we establish relationships and form attitudes towards other people and nationalities during upbringing” (Russian-language focus group).

At the same time quantitative studies have shown that the problem of mutual trust is a painful point for integration. From the point of view of representatives of both sides, the “other” nation is closed off within itself and does not have sufficient good will to overcome the two-sided barriers. The ethnic Estonian respondents voiced the criticism that the Russian-speaking community is closed off within itself and is not interested in discussing “Estonian matters”:

“It is just that they need to be a little interested in Estonian matters. Not to think that if it is related to Estonians or something is characteristic of Estonians then they do not want to have anything to do with that or to think that it is stupid” (focus group of Estonian youths).

In response, one of the characteristic indicators of the opinions of the Russian-speaking respondents was the clearly shared feeling that the integration policy so far has not ensured the involvement of the Russian-speaking population, has not given the sense of equal partnership and contains certain elements of imposition:

“At the moment it is as if there is the situation when we should be supporting the state in our soul, but unfortunately we are not considered citizens of this country, we are in some ways being shoved away. This is a very unpleasant aspect and it does not allow the country to become fully integrated” (Russian-language focus group).

“... the Estonians do force the Russian to study Estonian but at the same time show no respect towards Russians and categorically refuse to learn Russian. Even if just at the level of communication” (Russian-language focus group).

“Tolerance and preservation of one’s own culture because an integrated people are not “russianised” Estonians or “estonianised” Russians, they have their own “I”, their roots and culture that need to be preserved. The wish to be integrated because if it is not there then we are dealing with being forced. I think that these requirements should be the same both for Russians and for Estonians” (Russian-language focus group).

Russian-speaking respondents also put more emphasis on the fact that communication should not be based on ethnicity but rather on common universal and professional values, that speaking Estonian with an accent should not be disparaged but rather that the willingness to understand each other and communicate with each other should be valued:

“Why do we make a distinction between Estonians and Russians? Where does this difference lie? In me having a different passport, a different culture? There are no differences, we are all people, and nationality does not change the person. This is why the qualities need to be the same, people, to start with, cannot fear interaction and cannot fear when someone wants to communicate with them. They need to be willing to interact, friendly and active” (Russian-language focus group).

Ethnic Estonians also noted the need to view the essence of integration as something deeper than ethnic differences, something at the level of universal needs, and they stressed that the basis for integration is the primary need for security and the common pursuit of a better quality of life.

“The need for integration comes from the fact that the society needs to be safe, primary needs have to be satisfied, and only then we can start solving higher-level needs. Integrated country is like a good home where you are comfortable and safe. And here is where security problems come from as we want our country to last – this is also a topic of security. But the basis is still the quality of life. The principal needs of the quality of life are very simple. I need to be fed, I need to be safe and only then I can build my next needs on those primary ones. And integration is one of the key issues of security” (in-depth interview in Estonian).

Such opinion was voiced during an interview with an official conducted in Estonian, and it is a very positive sign considering that it transpired during quantitative opinion polls that the Russian-speaking respondents are discontent namely with the socioeconomic side of integration.

5.4. Priority needs of the new integration programme

Based on the results of the researches we suggest that the **emphases of the integration programme** need to be clarified and complemented considering the following:

1) The problem of social rejection of the Russian-speaking population and equality of opportunities as a goal of integration require more attention. Fulfilment of this goal does not only involve the lower part of the socioeconomic spectrum but also the opportunities for non-Estonians to reach the layers of the Estonian society with a better social and economic status. The sudden increase in the dependency of the development of Estonia on the human capital means that certain tasks become a priority. These include maximally efficient application of all of the active population, including non-Estonians, in the Estonian labour market, better education and additional training for people of various nationalities, achieving better health and stronger motivation as well as high-quality education for young people born and educated in Estonia and them remaining in the Estonian labour market. This requires the integration programme to devote more attention to the labour market and employment problems, the salary policy and also the quality of education and equality of professional and career opportunities for employees of various nationalities.

2) The naturalisation process and progress in acquiring the Estonian language have significantly changed the status- and language-command-based structure of the non-Estonian community compared to year 2000 when the previous integration programme was adopted. Today over half of the non-Estonians living in Estonia are citizens of the Republic of Estonia, 44 % actively use the Estonian language in their professional and free time interaction. The ability of the whole population living on the Estonian territory to communicate using the national language remains the long-term goal of language integration. What is added to that, however, is greater attention to the functional side of language learning including advancing the level of language command that has been achieved. This will ensure that representatives of other nationalities (teachers, officials, etc) will have equal career opportunities when it comes to the positions that require command of the Estonian language.

3) Special attention in the new integration programme needs to be given to the naturalised Estonian citizens who know the Estonian language. They represent a target group for the integration policy but as such in the integration programme they have remained in the shadow of the non-citizens in the integration programme. The attitude of the whole of the Russian-speaking population towards the Estonian state, which includes learning Estonian and valuing Estonian citizenship, largely depends on the successful involvement of naturalised citizens in the Estonian economy and public sphere. After the so called April crisis the need to involve naturalised citizens as an important partner of the Estonian state, to make them more seen and heard in the open debates in Estonia and to support their position in the society has become especially clear.

4) Legal-political and educational emphases of the problem of integration of Russian-speaking youths need to be developed further. In addition to language command, establishing a common state identity and citizenship education dimension need to be brought to the foreground, and so does the need to expand the common information and media field for the population of Estonia.

5) The integration programme so far has been almost exclusively state-centred. Considering the important role that the local governments (especially ones in Tallinn and

towns in Ida-Virumaa) play in the integration processes, the integration components that require involvement of local governments need to be accentuated. Geographical peculiarities of integration problems and priorities also need to be highlighted and provisions need to be made to allocate additional resources for these purposes to the appropriate local governments.

6) The Estonian integration policy would be more effective if it were aimed at a more individual level by emphasising the output of integration which is an increase in the prosperity and security of the people, larger involvement of integrated people and more opportunities for self-expression, strengthening one's self-assessment and identity as a result of being integrated, etc.

7) Ensuring that ethnic Estonians are more ready for integration is one of the main provisions of the success of the integration policy. Increasing mutual tolerance, developing inter-cultural communication and respect for identity and dignity of people of different cultural backgrounds is a prerequisite for successful integration in all fields.

5.5. To summarise: specifying the definition, content and the output of the integration process

Based on the results of the qualitative studies by consortium research groups, on the survey commissioned by the Office of the Minister for Population and Ethnic Affairs and conducted in July 2007 to determine how ethnic Estonians and Russian-speaking population assess integration goals and their feasibility, also considering the positions of the parties at the round-table discussions and the public debate that ensued in the media following the Bronze soldier crisis, the research group suggests **the goal, the content and the output of integration be reworded as follows:**

Integration of the Estonian society is a long-term process, **the end goal of which is for permanent residents of Estonia to become an Estonian nation with strong common state identity, shared common democratic values, using the common Estonian national language and predominantly having Estonian citizenship, and all this despite their cultural diversity.**

The principles of the rule of law, protection of personal freedoms and human rights and ensuring that all permanent residents of Estonia have equal opportunities when it comes to prosperity, education, social security, advancement of health, enterprise, free time and self-expression regardless of their ethnicity, background and mother tongue -these are the conditions for successful integration. Integration is a two-way process that relies on democratic involvement and is based, on the one hand, on respect for the language, cultural traditions and values of the native ethnos by the ethnic minorities and immigrants living here and, on the other hand, on respect and tolerance of the cultural peculiarities of the ethnic minorities by the native ethnos.

The output of integration is increased prosperity and security of the residents of Estonia regardless of the ethnic background and the mother tongue, and also unity and stability of the society that accepts cultural diversity, which ensures the security of the Estonian state and its authority on the international stage.

The difference between assimilation and integration is that the goal of the former is for the representatives of ethnic minorities to relinquish their cultural peculiarities and national identity and to completely melt into the mass of the predominant ethnos whereas the latter is based on inter-cultural dialogue where reaching a

common understanding is supported by universal values, common state and geographical identity and by the willingness and ability to understand and accept cultural differences. Even though changes (“Estonisation”) of individual ethnic identities are possible when cultures interact, it is not the goal of the integration policy. It respects the right of everyone to preserve one’s mother tongue and the ethnic identity that is based on the cultural heritage. At the same time, **overcoming ethnic separation and closedness and establishing a communication and information field that is generally based on the command of the Estonian language and on recognising cultural differences and that unites Estonians and other ethnic groups that live in Estonia** are definitely the goals for integration.

Integration can occur only as a result of personal choices and efforts on the part of ethnic Estonians and representatives of other ethnic groups. These need to be supported by the activities of state organisations, political parties, local governments and citizens’ unions and organisations aimed at establishing a legal, economic, social and intellectual environment that supports integration.

APPENDIX. SUGGESTIONS BY THE RESEARCH GROUP FOR INDICATORS OF INTEGRATION EFFICIENCY

1. INTEGRATION EFFICIENCY INDICATORS IN EDUCATION

On the basis of previous integration monitoring studies and the statistic gathered by government institutions:

1.1. Language competence

- People's self-assessment of their language competence and its sufficiency for living in Estonia
- Main means of mastering Estonian
- Passing the Estonian language proficiency examination
- Passing the Estonian language proficiency examination by students of Russian operating schools

1.2. System of education

- Proportion of the different operating languages in relation to the number of schools (and number of classes within schools)
- School leavers of schools with the different operating languages
- The number of students with the other native language in Estonian operating schools – tuition/teaching language
- The national school leaving examinations results of students of Estonian and Russian operating schools
- The number of subjects taught in Estonian in Russian operating upper secondary schools
- The number of dropouts from schools with the different operating languages

1.3. Attitudes

- Opinions on the transition of teaching subjects partially to Estonian in Russian operating upper secondary schools in 2007
- Opinions on the events of 1940.

Additionally

1.4 Further education choices of school leavers of schools with the different operating languages

- Do Russian operating schools provide students with sufficient preparation for them to have equal opportunities with students of Estonian operating schools for further education?
- The comparison of further education choices and opportunities of Russian operating school students and non-Estonian students of Estonian operating schools

1.5. Monitoring the students studying in the language other than their mother tongue

- Is the treatment of non-Estonian students in Estonian operating schools equal with those who learn in their mother tongue (concerning dropouts, those repeating a grade,)

1.6. Equality of resources of the schools operating in the different languages

- Training opportunities for teachers, including the suitable and adapted studying materials

- Teachers' opportunities for joining professional organisations should also be monitored

1.7. The communication between the schools operating in the different languages and their teachers/students, including teacher and student exchange programmes, joint events and projects

1.8. Fostering tolerance and intercultural dialogue in the system of education; increasing communication between the students of schools operating in the different languages

- An indicator to measure the extent and nature of communication between Estonian and Russian young people (measurable by the indicators used in integration monitoring)
- The young's attitude towards the other ethnic group (measurable by the indicators used in integration monitoring)
- Annual monitoring of the communication between Estonian and Russian operating schools (questionnaire for all general education schools by the Ministry of Education and Research)

1.9. Readiness of teachers of History and Civic Studies to work in the multicultural environment: participation in training sessions, development of teaching methodology, providing learning materials, assessing the learning process

1.10. Efficiency of integration measures implemented in municipal schools

- The share of the subjects taught in Estonian in Russian operating schools
- The proportion of language immersion groups in Russian operating kindergartens
- The proportion of language immersion classes in relation to all Russian operating classes
- The proportion of non-Estonian children educated in language immersion groups in Russian operating kindergartens
- The proportion of non-Estonian children educated in language immersion classes in Russian operating schools
- The proportion of non-Estonians in Estonian operating kindergartens
- The proportion of non-Estonians in Estonian operating school classes
- The proportion of non-Estonians in Estonian operating extracurricular schools
- The median value of the Grade 9 Estonian language examination of all general education schools (more complicated indicators that count dispersion can also be used)
- The median value of the school leaving Estonian language examination of all general education schools (more complicated indicators that count dispersion can also be used)

- The balance of further education choices of graduates of Estonian and Russian operating schools (Estonian operating universities, Estonian operating vocational schools, all universities, all vocational schools)

2. INTEGRATION EFFICIENCY INDICATORS IN TOLERANCE, INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE AND MEDIA

2.1 Fostering tolerance and intercultural dialogue

- proceed with measuring the characteristics of interethnic relations that are already used in integration monitoring (attitude towards multiculturalism, readiness to communicate with the other nation)
- the extent and nature of interethnic communication need constant research
- in addition to the characteristics showing tolerance, it is important to monitor the changes in so called critical groups to which particular measures are directed, for instance, school students (but also teachers, see point 3.2)

2.2. Common media space, reflection of Estonian society's cultural diversity in the media

- In order to assess the sub-goal, it is necessary to measure the media consumption and trust of the target audience.
- To develop the indicators, the type of the media channel ownership (public broadcasting vs. private) and the language (Estonian or Russian) should be distinguished in the process of measuring media consumption and trust.
- The changes in media consumption and trust level in different target groups (age, area, language command) should be continuously monitored.
- The audience research should be conducted among the Russian speaking population in order to reveal the need for local information in Russian and expectations of ERR programmes.
- The integration and the relationship between the nationalities aspects of media should be further monitored
- Media language use should be (self) monitored in order to recognise signs of national stereotypes and xenophobia

Possible indicators:

- The consumption of public broadcasting media channels by different target groups (age, area, language command) (ERR subtitled shows listed separately)
- The consumption of Estonian and foreign media channels in Russian by different target groups of the Russian speaking population (age, area, language command)
- Trust for differed media channels of Estonia (public broadcasting listed separately)

3. INTEGRATION EFFICIENCY INDICATORS IN THE LEGAL AND POLITICAL SPHERE

3.1 Citizen activeness and civic education level indicators

- Decreasing the number of obstacles for Russian speaking young people's application for jobs in government institutions and their bigger representation in government institutions;
- Non-Estonians consider their opportunities to participate in political activities and be employed in government and local government institutions equal with Estonians'. This can be measured by means of questionnaires. The target is to decrease the perceived difference in opportunities for Estonians and non-Estonians to a statistically significant extent annually;
- Integration monitoring should further observe the activeness of the Russian-speaking population in citizen associations and interest in different community activities.

3.2 Naturalisation process indicators

- The increase or maintenance of the current number of citizenship applications from people of undetermined citizenship (4,600 a year on average) measurable on the basis of the statistic presented by the Citizenship and Migration Board;
- Significant decrease in the number of children of undetermined citizenship aged up to 15 and improving the parents' awareness of the simplified citizenship acquisition procedure;
- The number of training courses or information days about the simplified Estonian citizenship acquisition for children conducted for local government officials and social workers;
- To apply integration studies to the motivation of the people of undetermined citizenship to apply for Estonian citizenship and the obstacles they face in the process as well as their awareness of the prerequisites and the process of citizenship acquisition.

3.3 Measuring discrimination

- Decreasing the perception of discrimination in society felt by the different national groups;
- Increasing people's legal awareness including the awareness about the nature of discrimination;
- The number of training sessions and information days about discrimination and intercultural communication conducted for government officials, local government officials, journalists and other important target groups;

3.4 Public service indicators

- Availability of official information in Russian and the target groups' satisfaction with the availability of official information;
- The increase of government officials' and local government officials' awareness about integration and the number of training session and information days.

4. INTEGRATION EFFICIENCY INDICATORS IN THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SPHERE

We suggest the Laeken indicators to measure the general socio-economic integration. These comprise the data on social unity and inclusion gathered by EUROSTAT within the national statistic dataset. Laeken indicators are analysed by gender, age, household type. **Thus in the context of integration, the ethnic dimension should be added to measure social-economic integration.**

4.1. Laeken indicators:

- At-risk-of-poverty rate (poverty threshold at 60% of income median);
- Income distribution inequality - S80/S20 income quintile share ratio;
- Long-term unemployment rate; proportion of persons living in unemployed households
- Proportion of early school leavers not in education or vocational training;
- Proportion of individuals describing their health as poor or very poor;
- Proportion of persons with elementary or lower education level.

4.2. Proportion of the HIV/AIDS infected among Estonians and non-Estonians

4.3. Registered crimes committed by Estonians and non-Estonians

4.4. Indicators worded in the strategy grouped by sub-goals of social-economic integration:

(1) Increasing non-Estonians' competition capability in the labour market

- Ethnic income gap between Estonians and non-Estonians (grouped by education and age)
- Employment rate and the employment rate gap between Estonians and non-Estonians (grouped by education and age)
- Unemployment rate and the unemployment rate gap between Estonians and non-Estonians (grouped by education and age)
- Proportion of Estonians and non-Estonians in the public sector and its dynamics
- Proportion of Estonians and non-Estonians as top executives and its dynamics
- Proportion of Estonians and non-Estonians at the different stages of state funded higher education

(2) Increasing the non-Estonian population's business initiative

- Lifelong learning of Estonians and non-Estonians (self-perfection, participation in training sessions in the last 4 weeks)

(3) Better social service targeting

- Proportion of Estonians and non-Estonians applying for and receiving living allowance and the ethnic gap
- Proportion of Estonians and non-Estonians applying for and receiving social benefits and the ethnic gap

4.5. Within the framework of integration monitoring, the subjective welfare of Estonians and non-Estonians should be observed. The following questions/indicators are suggested on the basis of internationally used comparative research methodology:

- Subjective assessment of the household's financial situation;
- Sufficiency of financial resources and the correlation of expenses;
- Satisfaction with one's financial situation, working conditions and relationships, health, security, personal and family life etc. Retrospective assessment: has the given sphere of life improved or worsened in comparison to the state of things five years before? Future expectations: will the given sphere of life have improved or worsened in five years?
- Emotional-psychological welfare: how often does one feel depressed, happy, etc.
- Social inclusion and the perception of personal acknowledgement measured on the basis of such statements as 'What I am doing is not appreciated' or 'I feel excluded from society' etc.

5. INTEGRATION EFFICIENCY INDICATORS ON THE LABOUR MARKET

- The indicators are to be developed by analysing labour market indicators by all gender and age groups (i.e. not only young but also middle-aged and elderly employees should be observed).
- In addition to the employment rate, other labour market success indicators should be taken into consideration. These are, for instance, salary and occupational segregation because ethnic economic inequality can be displayed by these characteristics even if the employment rate indicators are generally high.

6. INTEGRATION ACTIVENESS AND EFFICIENCY INDICATORS FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

6.1. Systematic monitoring and analysis of the existing data

- The annual number of days of participation in the training sessions organised by the State Chancellery per official of a local government
- The number of Language Act regulation violations fixed by the Language Inspectorate per capita
- The number of injunctions/fines issued to local government officials by the Language Inspectorate for the absence of the language proficiency certificate

or/and the actual Estonian language proficiency lower than stated in the certificate in relation to the total number of officials.

- The number of injunctions/fines issued to local municipal institution employees by the Language Inspectorate for the absence of the language proficiency certificate or/and the actual Estonian language proficiency lower than stated in the certificate in relation to the total number of employees.
- The amount of state integration programme resources in the consolidated budget of a town or borough per capita (or the proportion in the budget)
- The number of general education, extracurricular education, youth work, leisure and social sphere institutions that have presented state integration programme projects in relation to the total number of institutions (sensible for the units with the population of non-Estonians constituting at least 10-20%)
- The number of Estonian operating education institutions as partners in state integration programme projects in relation to the total number of such institutions
- The number of people involved in state integration programme projects in relation to the total population of a borough or town
- The number of Sunday schools active in the town or borough in relation to the number national minority culture associations active (registered?) in the town or borough

6.2. Indicators for which the input is to be gathered at the location or for which the data has to be measured separately:

- The proportion of the officials of the other nationalities in town or borough governments (as institutions) in relation to the proportion of people of the other nationalities in the population
- The annual number of training session days per local government official
- The amount of financial support of integration activities in the local budget per capita
- The number of people having successfully completed the rehabilitation programme in relation to the number of people initially involved in this programme
- The comparison of Estonians' and non-Estonians' satisfaction with the service provided by the local government officials
- The comparison of Estonians' and non-Estonians' satisfaction with the availability of information about the activity of the town or borough government or council and the validated regulations.
- The comparison of Estonians' and non-Estonians' satisfaction with the public services provided by the local government (may be grouped by services: school education, kindergarten education, extracurricular education, social services, also transport, property maintenance, traffic management, municipal services)



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State Integration Programme 2008-2013
Final Report on Needs and Feasibility Research

Part II

Integration in Education

Public Contracting Authority: Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Estonia

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Unofficial Translation

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1. INTRODUCTION

The system of education is undoubtedly one of the key factors of integration within society: on the one hand, education fosters the command of a language of individuals involved in the process of integration. On the other hand, it is the directing force in the process of socialisation. The improvement of the language command of non-Estonians was one of the main objectives of the previous integration programme and it continues to receive attention in the future as well. Estonian language is especially important in connection with the transition of teaching a part of subjects in Estonian in upper secondary schools currently operating in Russian. At the same time, the processes occurring in society have brought out the necessity to change the focus points emphasised so far and to start paying attention to other aspects influencing the extent of integration in society. Thus, it has become apparent that so called 'April events' clearly outlined the need to pay considerably more attention to the issues of shared state identity and citizenship education than before. That means changes in both separate subjects and in the whole education system on a larger scale. Moreover, the fact that the previous integration programme focused mainly on non-Estonians and on a slight degree to national intolerance characteristic of Estonians have emphasised the necessity to raise cultural diversity awareness further and, particularly, to foster cross-cultural communication. Estonian economy largely depends on human resources, which more than ever emphasises the paramount contribution of education to the training of qualified and skilled labour force. It means that providing students with equal opportunities for accessing high-standard education is crucial.

The current research provides an overview of the non-Estonians' command of language with a purpose to determine further needs in the following aspects: (1) The partial transition from Russian to Estonian as a language of instruction in some subjects at the upper secondary level schools; (2) its impact on teachers' and students' attitudes and expectations. The latter aspect is analysed in order to determine the bottlenecks in the process and the prospects requiring further attention. Additionally, young people's communication with the young of other ethnicities (hereafter meaning '*all other ethnicities represented in schools operating in the other language*') and participation in extra-curricular activities is explored in order to gain a deeper insight of possibilities to foster integration and cross-cultural dialogue. Finally, the connections between History and Civic Studies, multiculturalism, and the identity of an active citizen are examined.

1.1. Methodology

Research methodology in this study is compiled on the basis of secondary analysis of the previous empirical research on the topic conducted in Estonia and on an overview of theoretical resources available. In the course of research, the following steps were followed:

- The secondary analysis of data from the study “Ethnic relations and the challenges of integration policy after the ‘bronze soldier’ crisis” conducted by the University of Tartu and the social and market research company Saar Poll.
- The secondary analysis on the issue of language command was based on data from the study called “Me. World. Media” conducted by the Institute of Journalism and Communication of the University of Tartu in 2002 and 2005.
- **Three focus groups including teachers, head teachers, and extra-curricular organisers from Tallinn, Narva, and Tartu** were interviewed in order to collect information about the target group’s attitudes, concerns, and expectations about the partial transition from Russian to Estonian as a language of instruction in some subjects at the upper secondary level schools. The additional purpose was to obtain information about joint activities of schools operating in Estonian and those operating in Russian; and to collect visions for the formation of integration policy.
- **Two focus groups including students from schools with the Russian as a language of instruction from Tallinn and Jõhvi** were interviewed in order to obtain information about the target group’s attitudes, concerns, and expectations concerning the partial transition from Russian to Estonian as a language of instruction in some subjects at the upper secondary level schools. In addition, the interviews were aimed to collect information about joint activities in both types of schools: Estonian or Russian being a language of instruction; to accumulate visions for constructing integration policy; and to have an overview of history studies in the schools.
- **Three dyadic interviews with teachers, head teachers, and extra-curricular organisers from the school Russian being the language of instruction from Pärnu, Valga, and Mustvee** were conducted in order to acquire information about the target group’s attitudes, concerns, and expectations related to the partial transition from Russian to Estonian as a language of instruction in some subjects at the upper secondary level schools. The goal was also to obtain information about joint activities from both type of schools: Estonian or Russian as a language of instruction and to explore visions for developing integration policy.
- **Four face to face interviews with the heads of schools with Estonian as a language of instruction from Kiviõli, Keila, the Pirita part of Tallinn, and Kohtla-Järve were conducted** in order to obtain information about how the partial transition from Russian to Estonian as a language of instruction in some subjects at the upper secondary level schools can impact schools with Estonian as a language of instruction. Further, the interviews aimed to collect information about joint activities from both type of schools with Estonian as well as Russian being the language of instruction; and to gather visions in order to shape integration policy.
- **A questionnaire was conducted**, assisted by the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research, **among schools’ liaison personnel** in order to get an overview about joint activities of schools with different languages of instruction. Schools operating in Russian were also asked to comment on their teachers’ and heads’ involvement in professional organisations.
- **A brainstorming session involving historians and teachers from schools operating in different languages** was conducted in order to collect ideas and suggestions on how to improve the multicultural aspect in History and Civic Studies and how to strengthen the concept of the identity of an active citizen in the curriculum.

The qualitative analysis is based on the transcripts of all interviews and focus group sessions compiled in the course of research. The transcripts are the grounds for qualitative research, but they are not available to the public due to the privacy guarantee provided to the participants of the focus groups.

In addition to the authors of the report, Valeria Jakobson (focus groups), Kristina Kallas (interviews), Marju Lauristin (historians' focus group), Külliki Korts (historians' focus group), and Enely Siirmann (the analysis of the information obtained from schools' liaison personnel) also contributed to the research.

2. LANGUAGE COMMAND

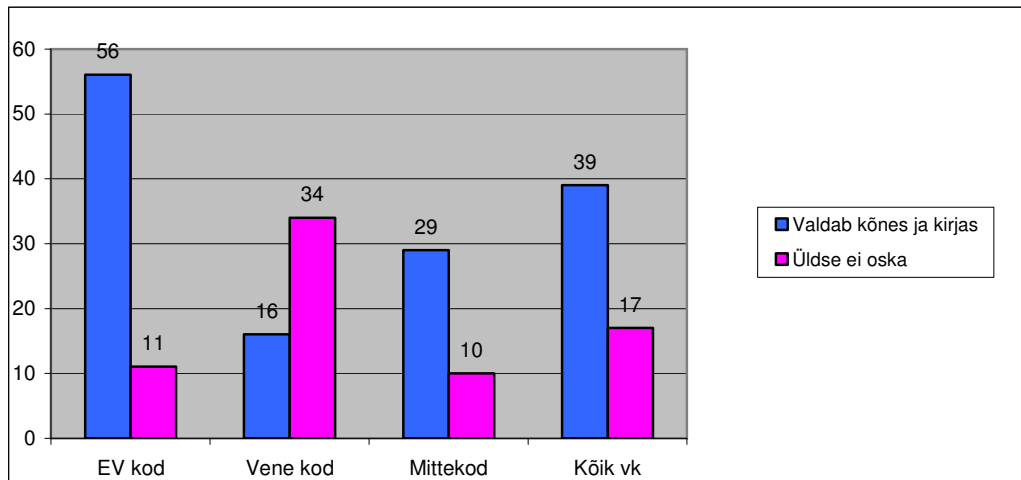
The Estonian Russian-speaking population's (self-assessed) command of the Estonian language was constant in 2002-2005 (Tartu University, 2005; see Table 1). In general, Estonians assessed their Russian language command higher than Russians in Estonia estimated their Estonian language command. That could be caused by the fact that Russians might have more opportunities to have their Estonian language command tested (school, official documents) and thus, they are more critical of their language skills.

Table 1. Language command of Russian-speaking population in 2002-2005 (the percentage of respondents aged 15-74) (Tartu University, 2005)

	2002				2005			
	No skills	Some skills	Speaks and writes	Fluent	No skills	Some skills	Speaks and writes	Fluent
Estonian	12	61	18	9	15	59	20	6
English	49	39	9	3	42	42	13	3
Finnish	83	16	1	0	85	13,5	0,5	1
German	69	29	2	0	73	24	2	1
French	96	4	0	0	95	4	0,2	0,8

Although the command of Estonian language is a prerequisite for obtaining Estonian citizenship, language skills and citizenship do not fully correlate. The correlation of citizenship with the command of language on the basis of self-assessment can be found in Figure 1: while 39% of Russian-speaking population in 2007 had sufficient command of both spoken and written Estonian according to the results of a questionnaire, the corresponding percentage of Russian speaking Estonian citizen is much higher (56%). The figure clearly states that obtaining the citizenship is not the final point of integration but language command does not necessarily bring about the change in one's state identity. The most surprising fact is, however, that 29% of population with no citizenship assess their Estonian language command as sufficient. The example at hand shows that there is a necessity to study the correlation between non-Estonians' command of language, citizenship and state identity more extensively than the current project enables.

Figure 1. The language command of non-Estonians possessing different types of citizenship (self-assessed, Tartu University/Saar Poll, 2007)

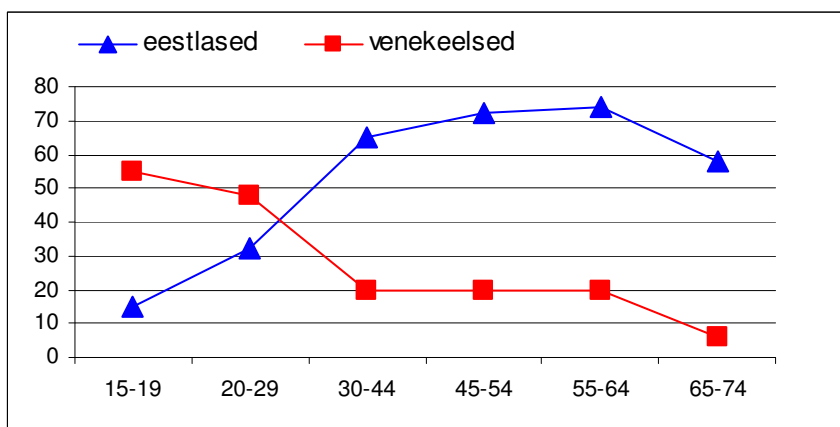


Translation of Figure 1.

EV kod – Estonian citizenship
 Vene kod – Russian citizenship
 Mittekod – No citizenship
 Kõik v k – All Russian speakers

The age-related breaking point after which the Estonians' command of the Russian language starts decreasing and the Russians' command of the Estonian language starts increasing is around 30. (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Russian/Estonian language command in relation to age and ethnicity in 2005 (Tartu University, 2005)



Translation of Figure 2.

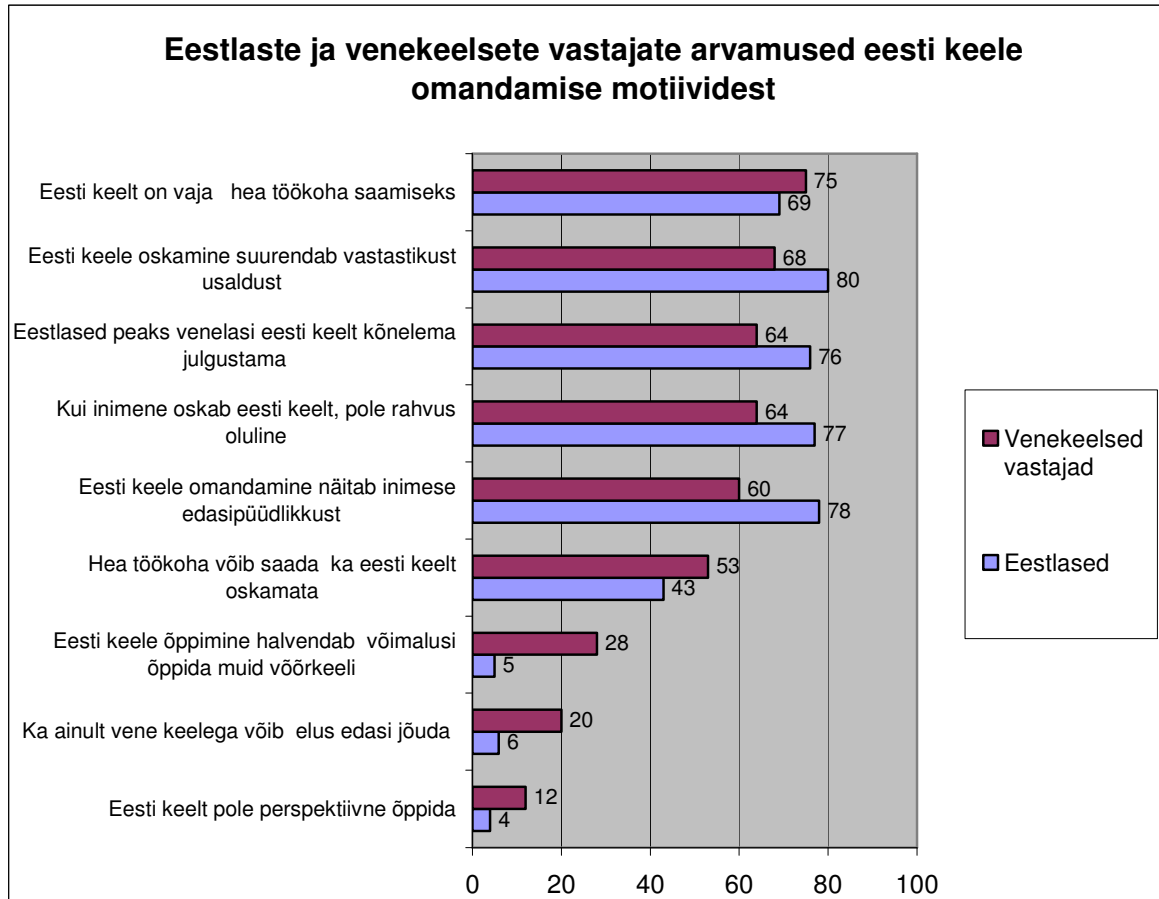
Eestased – Estonians Venekeelsed – Russian speakers

The importance of the Estonian language in society has increased during the last decade due to legislation, educational programmes, media and other means of influence. Still, the

emergence of the social meaning of language in public conscience is a complicated process that can only partly be influenced by the state's administrative activity.

From the international communication and trust point of view, the value of the Estonian language has increased in the eyes of both Estonian- and Russian-speaking population. In response to the questionnaire in 2005 (Tartu University, 2005), 80% of Estonian and 65% of the Russian-speaking respondents thought that if a non-Estonian speaker learns the language, it, first of all, increases mutual trust with Estonians. Moreover, 77% of Estonians and 64% of Russian speakers find that if a person speaks Estonian, their ethnicity is of no importance. At the same time, the integration value of the Estonian language in the eyes of Russian-speaking population is somewhat lower than in the eyes of Estonians. That shows Estonians tend to overestimate the importance of Estonian language as the main factor in the development of relationships between the communities. The majority of Russian-speaking population finds that a command of the Estonian language is, first and foremost, needed in order to find a decent job. Still, quite a large proportion of respondents is convinced that, being a qualified specialist or having personal connections and friends in high places, can increase chances of finding a good job even without proper language skills (Figure 3). The opinions mentioned above were consistent with a trend of slight increase confirming this opinion over the past ten years (the research was started in 1995).

Figure 3. The reasons for learning Estonian as seen by Estonians and non-Estonians (Tartu university, 2005)



Translation of Figure 3.

The opinions of Estonian and Russian-speaking respondents on the motivation for learning Estonian

Eesti keelt on vaja hea töökoha saamiseks - Estonian language is needed for finding a decent job

Eesti keele oskamine suurendab vastastikust usaldust - The command of the Estonian language increases mutual trust

Eestlased peaks venelasi eesti keelt kõnelema julgustama - Estonians should encourage Russians to speak Estonian

Kui inimene oskab eesti keelt, pole rahvus oluline - If a person speaks the Estonian language, the nationality ethnicity is of no importance

Eesti keele omandamine näitab inimese edasipüüdlikkust - Learning Estonian proves a person's determination

Hea töökoha võib saada ka eesti keelt oskamata - One can also find a good job without speaking Estonian

Eesti keele õppimine halvendab võimalusi õppida muid võõrkeeli - Learning Estonian decreases the opportunities to learn other languages

<p>Ka ainult vene keelega võib elus edasi jõuda - One can also succeed in life speaking only Russian</p> <p>Eesti keelt pole perspektiivne õppida - There are no long-term benefits to learning Estonian</p> <p>Venekeelsed vastajad – Russian speakers</p> <p>Eestlased - Estonians</p>

The main motivation for learning Estonian for non-Estonians is still employment. That is why the issues of language instruction are discussed and necessary actions are supplemented on the part of the current report. These recommendations include the analysis of social and economic integration, which emphasises the connection of language command with educational and career choices of non-Estonian school graduates and workers' career decisions.

The issue of language and identity has emerged in numerous public discussions in the process of integration, and even the possibility or concept of so called 'Russian-speaking Estonian identity' has been discussed. The issue of correlation between a command of the Estonian language and Estonian identity is a complicated theoretical problem that has been actively discussed, for example, also in connection with the identity issue of the youngest, last generation of Estonian émigrés who do not speak Estonian any more. The latter problem has not been studied within the framework of the project at hand. However, the analysis of correlation between state identity and ethnic-cultural identity is presented in the section on legal and political integration, not in the least with a view to avoid simplistic approaches and unrealistic targets in the new integration programme.

3. TRANSITION OF UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOLS OPERATING IN RUSSIAN TO PARTLY TEACHING SUBJECTS IN ESTONIAN

The transition of upper secondary schools operating in Russian to partly teaching subjects in Estonian is one of the central problems of the current research. It focuses on understanding the attitudes, concerns and expectation of the two main target groups, students and teachers, in order to better direct and facilitate the process of transition and, on a larger scale, integration processes as such.

The implementation of bilingual education within the education system is determined by three groups of factors earlier referred to by Spolsky and his co-authors, Baker and Baetens Beardsmore (Housen, 2002):

contextual factors are the macro-level factors shaping the students' attitude towards and motivation for learning the target language. Additionally, the resources important for the implementation of the bilingual education model play an important role;

output factors are the objectives stated for bilingual education and the actual results and

operational factors include various procedures and processes that directly contribute to the implementation of bilingual education model.

The three types of factors stated above affect the implementation of bilingual education in Estonia and create the background for the various attitudes of the target group. Thereof, the following factors are more thoroughly analysed in the Estonian context in order to establish the basis for a more accurate analysis of the variety of judgements of students and teachers.

Contextual factors

The researchers of bilingual education bring forth the idea that contextual factors have a stronger influence on language command than the specific characteristics of a bilingual education programme (Baetens Beardsmore, 1992). That is why even a particular chosen bilingual education model is not as important as in what kind of context that model functions.

The distribution of the population and the status of the languages greatly influence the possibilities of implementation of bilingual education. The students residing in the areas where a large part or the majority of the population does not speak the target language and a minority language prevails do not feel that another language is in any way necessary for professional or social communication (Housen, 2002). If the school atmosphere does not encourage communication in another language, it is rather apparent that students' and also teachers' motivation for learning that other language will be weaker than in the areas where a school functions within the target language environment. The findings of the current research confirm this point of view. Teachers from the North-East of Estonia (*mostly populated by Russians*) claimed that numerous parents who do not speak the language or are willing to learn it clearly influence the choices and attitudes of their children.

Let the following opinions of teachers from Narva serve as examples:

For instance, in my class there are students who do not learn the language on principle. They are in the 4th grade and are already reluctant to learn it.'

'Numerous families see themselves never having to leave Narva and do not view things in a broad perspective. Thus, they don't think learning Estonian is necessary.'

'Exactly, either in Narva or outside Estonia. The outlook is as follows: they either want to stay in Narva for the rest of their lives or emigrate.'

'It is thought that it [Estonian] is not in demand.'

Both the students with low motivation for language learning as well as their parents do not make particularly high demands upon Estonian language instruction in schools, which is why schools lack the motivation for improving Estonian language instruction. One teacher stated that publicly expressed negative attitude towards learning Estonian also exists among some teachers from the North-East of Estonia:

'Once we conducted a questionnaire for the teachers in our school and the results were put up on the notice board. There was one question about whether teachers personally considered Estonian necessary. I do not think it was right for some to answer "no, I don't need it." It should not be shown that explicitly because children observe it. It cannot be like this if you live in Estonia.'

The context of the northeastern part in Estonia is undoubtedly a factor that makes the introduction of bilingual education more complex. Still, the work with our focus groups shows that highly motivated students, who think of their future in terms of staying in Estonia and receiving higher education here can also be found in that region. Their vision of future includes remaining in the country which serves as their motivation for language learning, differing significantly from that of the previously mentioned students and teachers,. Students with higher motivation have a significantly more positive attitude towards the introduction of bilingual education compared to those who demonstrate low or the lack of motivation. Highly motivated students are not that against to the partial transition from Russian to Estonian as a language of instruction in some subjects at the upper secondary level schools as their poorly motivated mates from the North-East of Estonia:

'It [subject instruction in Estonian] is nothing special for me. I have no problems with Estonian; so if I must learn in Estonian, I will.'

'When I first heard about this transition, I was scared. How would I be able to learn in Estonian if I didn't use it for communication, had no Estonian friends, had no experience? But when we had passed through a certain stage, I realised it was possible to learn that way. It will also make our life better and easier in the future. Everyone will have to learn in Estonian in universities after the 12th grade anyway.'

Schools operating in Russian that mainly function in Estonian speaking areas display a significant emphasis on Estonian language command. Furthermore, they have started using Estonian as a language of instruction in some subjects years before the partial transition was officially supposed to take place. While operating in the Estonian speaking environment, these schools had no difficulties finding teachers with a good command of the Estonian language and offering their students opportunities to communicate with Estonian speakers. At a certain moment, it might become a problem to find teachers with a good command of the

Russian language in Estonian speaking areas to provide students with the consistently good quality of teaching their mother tongue.

The previously described situation perfectly illustrates the importance of context in language learning as well as emphasises how different the approaches to the introduction of bilingual education employed by schools in different areas have to be. The schools functioning in the Estonian speaking environment with a relatively positive inclination to the necessity of teaching some subjects in Estonian and have long-term experience of using Estonian for subject teaching, cannot be treated in the same way as schools in the mainly Russian speaking environment, whose attitudes are rather negative and the experience of using Estonian for subject teaching is limited.

The second important aspect in implementation of bilingual education concerns **languages the model is aimed at**. In the case of a one-way model which requires one part of the population but not the other to obtain bilingual education (which is also true for Estonia), those transferred to bilingual education perceive a certain degree of discrimination (Baetens Beardsmore 1995 quoted in Housen 2002). That, in turn, influences the results of language acquisition process. In the course of this research, some of the interviewed students also gave examples of their perception of a certain degree of unjustness, as in the North-East of Estonia:

'I would also like to say that Estonians do strongly encourage Russians learn Estonian but do not show any respect for Russian themselves and refuse to learn Russian on principle. Even on the level needed for communication. They do have Russian language lessons in school, but they just don't want to learn this language – I know quite a lot of people with such an attitude.'

It is apparent from this comment that students feel discriminated against and pressured to change, which cannot be (completely) ignored in the transition process.

The background of a school's students and their **home language(s)** can also influence the process of language acquisition. If a school contains students from a great variety of language backgrounds, it is considerably more heterogeneous and thus, more perplexed in terms of the studies in comparison with homogeneous schools. Numerous ethnicities are represented at schools operating in Russian in Estonia, and the students' home language backgrounds can also be rather diverse. At the same time, the experience of the European School shows that the differences among the students' levels of language command at the beginning of studies should not be a big problem if the language is taught using appropriate methodology and allocated a sufficient amount of time (Housen 2002). At the same time, the inherent differences between the first and the second languages that can influence the relative ease or difficulty of language acquisition have to be taken into consideration.

In addition to the previously mentioned factors, the importance of the **language command of teachers** in bilingual education cannot be underestimated. It is considered good practice when the teachers of a bilingual school speak the target language as their mother tongue or are high-level bilinguals (Baetens Beardsmore, 1992). The teachers whose language command is not on a sufficiently high level cannot set tangible examples for students or offer them such versatile, correct and appropriate input for language acquisition as teachers with an excellent language command (Housen 2002). Moreover, it is important that teachers are able to help students at the initial stage of studies. In Estonia, especially in the North-East, teachers with

the necessary level of language command clearly seem to be a serious issue concerning the introduction of bilingual education. The fact that the average age of teachers is rather in the elderly range combined with their attitude towards learning Estonian acquired over time does not exactly contribute to the success of language learning. Notwithstanding extensive language instruction the teachers have had, many of them have not become high-level bilingual speakers. The Russian speaking teachers in Estonia feel they are incapable of setting examples for students because of their insufficient Estonian language command, which is the reason success of the transition has been seriously hindered by the qualifications of teaching staff.

For instance, teachers have expressed the following points of view:

'If one [a teacher] cannot express him or herself clearly enough, what authority [over students] are we talking about?'

'It is the most important that the teacher is not afraid him/herself. We ourselves are sometimes afraid of making mistakes. It also depends on the listener – some do not pay attention to grammar mistakes but care about the content part, but there are also those who nag over the smallest possible mistakes and thus deprive people of confidence. Similar situations may occur with children. We are probably not proficient enough ourselves to help our students become as successful as possible.'

The language courses that are one of the key factors of teachers' language command have been criticised a lot. For instance, a teacher from Narva said:

'... we received certificates saying that we had attended 400 hours of language lessons. 400 hours is a large number; one could teach an elephant talk in such a long period. But there were 16 of us in the group and no result at all.'

So far the effect of additional training has been insignificant due to several reasons. The most disturbing issue is that teachers' additional education and re-training has taken place alongside their work, occupying their leisure time. The teachers apparently consider a requirement to attend courses on Saturdays or after classes unjust, and the situation is also a giveaway sign of an inefficient planning, which directly influences the quality of the result. For instance, teachers have mentioned that

'teachers' work schedule could also be taken into account – after teaching classes the whole day teachers have to be able to run to their courses late at night.'

'Last year, Jelena and I attended courses here in the college, and the three-hour sessions took place three times a week. Now imagine in what state we were by the time we had made it to language classes in the evening; naturally, the courses were relatively useless'

Moreover, the availability of additional training has been a problem; the courses only took place in larger towns such as Narva or Tallinn. The level and the qualifications of educators teaching the course, the content of the courses (at times downright primitive) and the methodology (the inability to take into account the characteristics of the course students) have also left teachers dissatisfied.

An example brought by a teacher of History and Civic Studies from Tartu: 'The drawback of the course was the fact that we were taught by Estonian philologists... well, we were given...'

lessons by Estonian philologists who had no idea about methodology... and another thing was that they gathered together practicing school teachers... and started telling them how to stand up when you go to write on the board, how to clap your hands... can you imagine that, learning how to stand up... to teach your subject...'

Narva teachers: 'The objective [of the course] was to train teachers who would start teaching Civic Studies in Estonian. But the number of such teachers was not enough to comprise a group, so teachers of other subjects were placed there too. ... methodology, which is very important for teaching, was virtually nonexistent... I learnt nothing new at these courses.'

'And those group tasks when they give you questions and want people to discuss them. What is there to discuss when we should be dealing with elementary things? Some need to improve their grammar, others something else. There is certain methodology for those needs, but none of it was used. Those contemporary methods would probably be useful to retain the existing level if it was already sufficient to participate in discussions.'

A lesson assessment conducted in one school operating in Russian during a literature lesson taught in Estonian also provides reasons to believe that most teachers lack the necessary skills to contextualise the subjects taught in Estonian (and concerning the Estonian state and culture) for the non-Estonian students in order for students to perceive certain connections within subjects. This demonstrates the inadequacy of teachers' training which, in its turn, significantly hinders the success of teaching.

In addition to teachers' language command, students' language command also plays an important role in the transition. The representatives of schools operating in Russian are convinced that students who have only learnt Estonian in language lessons will not, by the end of basic school, have reached the level necessary for starting to learn some subjects, especially more complicated ones, in Estonian at the upper secondary level. That brings forth the fear that subject studies will become secondary in comparison with language studies. Although students will apparently acquire some of the subject's terminology in Estonian, it is feared that their knowledge of the subject itself will be clearly insufficient. The studies in the subject will mainly consist of translation one way or another. It is especially formidable concerning the subjects with a difficult and bulky content, for instance, History, Civic Studies or Geography. Teachers are concerned that some upper secondary school subjects are rather difficult to understand in one's mother tongue, let alone learning them in Estonian. That is why it is feared that the students' knowledge will be insufficient.

Some examples of students' opinions are presented below:

'... a lot of my classmates have problems with Estonian, and the transition is certainly going to be difficult,, despite the fact that only some subjects will be taught in Estonian. Some already have difficulties learning certain subjects, and having to learn them in a foreign language will make it really hard.'

'Now many don't speak Estonian well, and it will certainly be very difficult for them to learn in Estonian. As a result, they might improve their Estonian, but they won't obtain thorough knowledge in other subjects.'

'There will certainly be a situation when you'll first have to translate the material into your mother tongue and only then you'll be able to study it thoroughly'

'We had Geography in Estonian. Surely, a lot depends on the teacher; if the teacher only writes something on the board and mumbles something to herself while you have no wretched idea as to what you have written down in your notes, that is absolutely useless. And then we get our test papers and cannot use our notes. As if we understood what we had written there! When we go to the teacher and tell her we don't understand she just hands us dictionaries and that's it. In fact, we didn't get any smarter while studying that subject.'

Teachers' opinions:

'If students pass the exam in Estonian at the pre-intermediate level, then how are they supposed to participate in Civics Studies in the given language being at that pre-intermediate level? Or let's take the History of Estonia, the subject to be taught in Estonian in two years, as an example – studying this subject demands good command of the language. In my opinion, it is very difficult to do at the pre-intermediate level of Estonian, if not downright impossible.'

'if they study Geography in Estonian, their marks are lower.'

In their turn, gaps in knowledge further influence the choice of state examinations and thus, further education opportunities. Without taking the state examination in, for instance, History, one loses access to certain fields such as law, for example.

Teachers' opinions:

'Often children can't even retell texts in Russian; they have difficulty doing it even in their mother tongue. My daughter is now studying Geography in Estonian at school, but this is ridiculous... surely, those lessons do not add any knowledge and won't add any... in form 10, for example, they just repeat the names of cities in Estonian learnt by heart... at the end of form 12 one can take a state examination in Geography, but, of course, my daughter is not going to take it. Why should she choose this subject if she has a chance to get far better results in the subjects taught in Russian?'

'The same situation is true for Civic Studies; young people are not going to choose this examination.'

'What competitive opportunities are we talking about if by the time of graduation from upper secondary school a person has not acquired sufficient knowledge in a certain subject? If they had an opportunity to study Geography and Civic Studies in their mother tongue, their knowledge of the given subjects would be significantly better.'

In addition to anxiety about the acquisition of specific subjects, there are also concerns about the limited argumentation and rhetorical skills. Some teachers believe that if students do not learn to express their point of view and debate in their mother tongue, for instance, in Civic Studies lessons (which also concerns writing essays); there is no way those skills will be learnt in Estonian.

'I would also like to add that Geography and Civic Studies imply that students talk, express their opinions; and now imagine that we deprive students of upper secondary school of an opportunity to express their point of view and defend it in their mother tongue. They will not learn to form sentences, and they will not be able to express their ideas in a clear and sophisticated way in Estonian.'

'And there is another issue; one of the lesson and examination task types in Civic Studies is writing an essay. How could a Russian-speaking student taking the Civic Studies examination

write an argumentative essay on a political issue in Estonian? Such specific topics are not found among those for essays at the intermediate level examinations in Estonian, in which there are mainly simpler topics related to our everyday life. How should a student be able to write on a political topic?'

One of the contextual factors that should be mentioned is a **general readiness for the process of transition**, which has clearly influenced the general attitude towards the transition. Focus groups have given a rather clear-cut picture of how the mistakes in transition planning have created strong resistance to the introduction of transition. First, the deprivation of freedom of choice and decision making rights at school in a situation when schools' opportunities for transferring the instruction in some subjects to Estonian and the students' readiness for that differ greatly causes considerable disapproval. Depriving of freedom of choice in schools and the likelihood of not having a possibility to access the solution most suitable for a certain school abridges schools' the confidence that teaching some subjects in Estonian will fulfil its objectives. Teachers believe that teaching subjects in Estonian must be approached considering the schools' readiness, students' abilities and parents' wishes.

'It doesn't have to be forced upon schools. Let schools decide on the extent and timing.'

'I teach in two classes, and one of these is like... quite strong and there it could be... but the other class is like... they don't even understand the topic in Russian, and teaching the subject in Estonian to them... how to teach if they don't even understand elementary Estonian? That is why I am so much opposed to it; there should be the freedom of choice.'

'There should indeed be the freedom of choice; anyway, you are integrated, you provide competition, you develop and whatever else, but all of that should happen on an individual level... depending on one's abilities.'

'But, excuse me, learning in the language of science beginning with the first form... well, I used to learn too, but children must be given the freedom of choice. It is evolution that's needed in which everything takes place quietly, in a determined, thoroughly planned, analytic way, not revolution... it is the mistakes that should be analysed and corrected before every new step is taken... that is, one step forward, two steps back.'

The actions of the government are also highly criticised; the transition is regarded as a dubiously conducted process; schools feel abandoned in the process of transition.

School head and teacher, 'But what has the ministry done for it? Virtually nothing. Nothing was done to start the process.'

As to the preparation, it is also criticised that, notwithstanding the fact a decision to introduce the transition was made years ago, the participants do not feel that the preparation was lengthy, clearly outlined and thorough. The transition is still perceived as an overnight change, which makes the participants feel scared and insecure as to the consequences. The insufficiently thorough preparation and its short period did not exactly manage to reassure schools of the success in transition due to several reasons. First of all, there exists a rather common opinion that the transition in its current form should have been initially introduced in several schools only as a pilot project in order to try out the chosen approach, analyse its impact on participants and gather information about the aspects needing improvement. A pilot project would have implied testing the teaching materials and the methodology as well. Uncertainty prevails in a situation where an Estonian literature textbook arrives at schools at the end of June and the teachers who are supposed to start teaching by it have not been

consulted in the process of textbook development, let alone pilot tryouts of the textbook. Schools lack a good example that would prove their correctness of choice and support in transition.

The students' opinions also show that the transition is regarded as a drastic change within a short time period which is the reason for the negative attitude towards the change. The points of view expressed by the students show that the need for this transition has not been sufficiently explained. Teachers also find that students have not been sufficiently informed about the transition.

Output factors

Fishman (1976, quoted in Housen 2002) determined that **bilingual education can have three different objectives: language maintenance, enrichment or transition**. Language maintenance emphasises the conservation of a minority language whereas enrichment aims at adding second language command without endangering the first language. Transition, in its turn, means fast substitution of one language for another, not actually accompanied by the advantages brought on by real bilingualism (which is the case with the first two objectives).

The objective of the transition of instruction in some subjects to Estonian in upper secondary schools is stated as follows: 'the main objective of the transition of instruction in some subjects to Estonian is to increase the competition provided by Russian speaking young people. Better Estonian language command is helpful in entering universities and learning there in Estonian, as well as acquiring Estonian citizenship and finding employment. Thus, Russian speaking young people will obtain a certain advantage in the job market as they are fluent in more languages.' (Ministry of Education and Science, 2007). Dismissing the specific model of bilingual education known as a 'language immersion,' it can be claimed that there is no content-bound concept of bilingual education in Estonia. There is no document that would review the broader background and the whole concept of the transition, which is why it is rather difficult to analyse the situation in Estonia in accordance with the previously stated three objectives. On the basis of the available information, it can be claimed that Estonian approach contains some elements of all the three objectives. The abolition of the Russian language is not intended; and teaching can further be conducted in Russian concerning 40% of the curriculum, which refers to the maintenance objective; still, fluency in both Russian and Estonian combined with subject knowledge refers to the enrichment objective. Nevertheless, the aim is not stated clearly, which yields to differences in interpretation by different target groups. In the analysis of bilingual education in Latvia, Housen (2002) points out that the fact of bilingual secondary education being directed at the transition to unilingual higher education still reveals the objective of the transition. This idea is largely true for Estonia as higher education is predominantly available in Estonian. A poor definition of the concept has apparently influenced the attitudes of different target groups and caused negative judgement to prevail. Clear description of the transition content would have increased preparation of target groups for a change and eliminated numerous fears (for instance, the fear of poorer Russian command). The enrichment objective seems essentially positive, and it is possible to decrease the fears and insecurity of target groups by setting such a goal and emphasising the cognitive, psychological, and social abilities accompanying functional bilingualism. Researchers of bilingual education have stated that bilingual people have generally broader reasoning abilities, higher intelligence coefficient and creativity, better

communicative sensitivity. They demonstrate meta-linguistic awareness earlier than unilingual individuals (Baker, 2001). Such understanding as well as the fact that functional bilingualism is considerably difficult to achieve solely by language learning has not yet been grasped by teachers in Estonia. The focus groups have clearly demonstrated the need to educate teachers on language learning and bilingualism.

The poorly chosen approach and insufficiently planned transition have brought on numerous negative attitudes which complicate the advancement for further stages. The transition is a perfect example of poorly introduced changes. The initial concept was not thoroughly planned or explained to target groups which did not contribute to understanding or the certainty that the upcoming changes were positive. Poor preparation caused resistance. Insufficient knowledge about bilingual education contributed to the emergence of various superstitions and fears.

For instance, a teacher in Tallinn thought,

'But if the state tries to force something upon its people, naturally, it will not cause anything but opposition.'

'Up to now it has looked like the destruction of Russian upper secondary schools.'

Insufficient awareness is apparently the reason why the transition is interpreted as a threat to Russian schools and cultural institutions. The decrease in using of Russian as a teaching language is seen as a threat to the maintenance of Russian culture in Estonia, which, in its turn, brings forth protesting spirit among teaching staff and creates the atmosphere that does not support the transition. Moreover, the strong connection between Russian as a language of instruction and Russian culture may become problematic from the point of view of other ethnic minorities. In the course of the research, one of former school heads clearly stated the concern about tendency towards the Russification of other Russian speaking ethnic minorities (Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Tatars etc.) in schools operating in Russian and their Estonianisation in schools with Estonian as a medium of teaching. The latter directly defies the purpose of culturally diverse society and shows the necessity for incorporating these issues and principles of multiculturalism into the curricula of schools operating in Estonian or Russian. The focus groups consisting of Russian-speaking young people also revealed that students of different ethnic backgrounds attending schools operating in Russian felt obliged to adopt Russian national values.

The slight lack of awareness among teachers that has fed the emergence of different speculations and superstitions can also have a significantly negative effect on students and their further education opportunities. It sometimes seems that, due to their own insecurity, teachers tend to overdramatize the situation and their pessimistic outlook can be transferred onto students. For instance, the fact that teachers with negative attitude can influence students' choices by discouraging them from continuing their studies in an Estonian speaking secondary school or university. This discovery identified by the study of social risk groups is extremely regrettable and should receive more attention. The latter aspect could also benefit from raising students' awareness about various education opportunities and busting the myths common among students in order to contribute to a better realisation of young non-Estonian people's potential. The latter issue also touches upon the schools' and teachers' critical role in the integration of young; it is important to realise that schools and teachers can significantly

influence the further course of students' lives, including the effect on choices that would foster young people's smooth integration.

Operational factors

Curriculum and language teaching strategies play an important role in the introduction of bilingual education. The distribution of languages, the extent of bilingual education, and the relationship between the first and the second language are central factors in the curriculum.

If not the transition to the second language, but the maintenance of the minority language and achieving functional bilingualism is the objective of bilingual education in the end, it is important to guarantee that the **curriculum** pays as much attention to the first language as necessary for it not to suffer, at the same time reserving enough time for an improvement of the second language (Housen 2002). Housen (2002), referring to the works of Baker (1996) and Skutnabb-Kangasi (1995), states that if the students' first language is not dominant in the school environment, it is still not advisable to increase the amount of schoolwork conducted in the second language up to more than 50% of all schoolwork during the first eight years of school. In Estonia, the official transition to bilingual schoolwork starts by gradually adding subjects taught in Estonian in upper secondary school. Moreover, some schools' initiative was to start teaching subjects in Estonian earlier, depending on the particular school's opportunities. We can compare the Estonian model, in which subjects taught in Estonian are added at a rather late stage, to other well known good practices in Europe. For instance, the European School model and the Luxembourg model in which the second language is taught when students start school and subjects taught in the second language begin at the elementary level. It seems that late start, unusual for Europe, does not contribute to the enrichment objective. The official beginning for teaching subjects in the second language at the upper secondary level allows to question the aim of students becoming functionally bilingual as the time allocated for this process is too short. The schools where students start bilingual learning earlier have better chances of achieving the enrichment objective.

The importance of environmental factors has been mentioned before, but in the context of the effectiveness of bilingual education it is vital to pay attention to the connection between school environment and curriculum. The language environment at school should be the basis for the distribution of time allocated for different languages in the school. Still keeping in mind the objectives of maintenance and enrichment, it is important to pay relatively more attention to the Estonian language in Russian speaking areas and to the Russian language in Estonian speaking areas. Currently, it is necessary to recognise regional peculiarities and adapt the requirements accordingly.

As to the **extent** of bilingual education, researchers emphasise its long-term duration through multiple education stages so that language skills, including writing, could fully develop in both languages (Housen, 2002). In Estonia, there are numerous schools operating in Russian that start teaching subjects in Estonian rather early. Still, if it is not a consciously planned process but a rather chaotic way of teaching odd subjects, there might not be any substantial results.

The relationship between the languages in use and the connection between these and other subjects significantly influences the effectiveness of bilingual education. On the basis of

theoretical justification and good practices in bilingual education, the following can be concluded (Housen, 2002):

- In the first two years all subjects should be taught in one's mother tongue. Meanwhile, it is very important to acquire the basics of the second language.
- Both the first and the second language should be taught throughout the school years to develop a structural competence in both languages.
- For the development of functional bilingualism, some subjects should still be taught in the mother tongue, so that the first language command does not suffer.
- The second language should first be added in a form of language classes and should have been taught at least for three years prior to employing it as a medium of teaching other subjects.
- The second language as a medium of teaching should first be used for less cognitively demanding subjects such as Physical Education or Art, etc.
- The use of second language as a medium of teaching more cognitively demanding subjects should start at the latest (at the end of lower secondary school) as learning these subjects requires cognitive academic language skills in the mother tongue.

As to the transition in Estonia and previously stated context, two issues emerge that are not exactly in accordance with the framework at hand. First of all, the start of teaching subjects in Estonian at the beginning of upper secondary school seems rather late because, in theory, students' second language command at the level sufficient for learning some subjects in this language should have been achieved several years before. This might imply that a certain period of time is wasted. At the same time, the studies conducted in Estonia show that 87% of lower secondary schools already use Estonian as a language of instruction in some subjects (NS Emor, 2006), which essentially means that in the majority of schools students' language potential is realised in time.

Still, the other issue is the choice of the first subject to be taught in Estonian. Currently, this subject is Estonian Literature which by no means can be referred to as a less cognitively demanding subject but rather vice versa. However, the study by TNS Emor (2006) shows that in elementary schools the subjects taught in Estonian are mainly applied and creative kind. The same goes for the subjects, including several additional Science and Humanities subjects, taught in Estonian in the lower secondary level. This finding seems to justify the choice of Estonian Literature as the first subject taught in Estonian at the upper secondary level. Nevertheless, considering the fact that the choice of subjects taught in Estonian depends, in the first place, on the availability of a correspondingly trained teacher and not on intrinsic motivation, there is reason to be worried whether subject instruction in Estonian is conducted in accordance with students' skills and knowledge. For instance, premature introduction of highly cognitively demanding subjects taught in Estonian can make a negative impact instead of positive as students' development cannot keep up with the requirements. For example, the students participating in the focus group in the North-East of the country mentioned Geography lessons in Estonian in which the language level was far above of the students' skills. As a consequence, development was nonexistent in both the language command and the knowledge of the subject. Such negative experience directly influences further attitude towards the subject learning in Estonian and, in a broader context, its effectiveness.

There are two more aspects of paramount importance related to the operational factors: a **methodology** of teaching subjects in the second language and **how language lessons are**

conducted. Teachers responsible for subject teaching in the second language should have had special training in order to conduct integrated subject and language teaching. The acquisition of subject knowledge alongside language skills requires the type of learning process in which communication plays a primary role, for instance, inclusive group work, etc. At the same time, language classes should rather focus on formal aspects of the language, especially grammar, than communicative ones. Subject lessons in the second language and language classes should essentially complement each other, fostering students' development in different ways. Our focus groups demonstrate that so far teachers' training has been conducted in two ways: (1) teachers of the Estonian language have been retrained to teach some other subject in Estonian (Literature or History of Music, for instance) or (2) Russian-speaking teachers have learned Estonian to teach their subjects in Estonian. Such direction of training has apparently not enabled educators to pay much attention to methodological aspects, which is why methodological readiness is far from perfect.

The level of Estonian language skills of students attending schools operating in Russian is to be regarded as an operational factor. The level of Estonian language skills should be the one required for studying subjects in Estonian. Teachers believe that numerous subjects to be taught in Estonian in upper secondary school, for instance, Civic Studies, History, and Geography, demand a much higher level of Estonian language skills than those at the beginner's level reached by the end of a lower secondary school. The Estonian language command of students from schools operating in Russian is generally defined as poor (Vare, 2004). The reasons are believed to be the facts that the requirements for state examinations do not coincide with actual requirements for learning; assessment criteria are inadequate; the approach to teaching provides limited opportunities; the number of Estonian language classes is not sufficient; teachers are not competent enough; and studying materials are too few and of insufficient quality. Focus groups also mentioned some of the aspects listed above, emphasising the need for general improvement of the Estonian language command.

To conclude the analysis above, the following aspects complicating the introduction of bilingual education can be mentioned:

- the use of same inflexible approach for all schools regardless of regional peculiarities or contextual factors, which decreases the effectiveness of transition in the most critical regions;
- the absence of base for the concept of transition to subject teaching in Estonian i.e. the fact that the goals stated are not accounted for, leading to insufficient and poorly organised information, which has caused defence reaction, protest and negative attitude of the target group;
- the absence of a coherent approach as to the position of the subjects in the curriculum taught in Estonian, including the analyses of the previous experience of a school, which would be consistent with the theoretical basis of transition and with the experience of other European countries;
- miscalculations in the preparation process of transition, especially in training the teaching personnel, have caused negative emotions and failed to instil the feeling of readiness.

Possible impact

The previously analysed factors are very important for the effectiveness of transition in Estonia. Some factors have been mentioned, but several other aspects not referred to before are discussed in the current chapter. Generally, judging by the information obtained from the focus groups, it can be concluded that highly motivated, determined and successful students have no difficulty learning some subjects in Estonian because they have set a goal for obtaining knowledge and language command to pursue further education in Estonian. It is the less able that cause concern and thus, in particular, need teachers' attention and any kind of assistance.

Next, it is important whether the transition might influence the school network as the result of the relocation of students. There is a bigger flow of Russian speaking students to vocational schools than ever before. The reason being that it is not required to study upper secondary school subjects in Estonian in vocational schools. This aspect has to be taken into consideration, although it brings on different opinions. Points of view also differ as to the preference for schools operating in Estonian. On the one hand, there exists a belief that non-Estonian students interested in mastering the language and obtaining higher education and further working in Estonia will choose schools operating in Estonian to complete secondary education. They would use this opportunity regardless of some subjects being taught in Estonian in upper-secondary schools operating in Russian. It is often the case that parents choose to send their children to elementary schools operating in Estonian as without doing so, later an insufficient language command can become a problem. The interviews conducted in schools operating in Estonian confirm this point of view that Russian speaking families choose to send children to schools operating in Estonian at the early stage of education.

Teaching some subjects in Estonian has had a negative impact on the number of teachers in schools. Teachers having problems in mastering the language and facing a psychological barrier feel humiliated and are forced to quit working in schools. It was also emphasised that there might exist rotation of teachers among schools in Tallinn. Teachers forced to leave one school go to work in another educational institution with less strict requirements. It seems that headmasters of Russian speaking schools set lower demands for teachers.

Another of the possible impacts mentioned is the fact there might be instances of Estonian language learning simulation, when neither a teacher nor the students have sufficient command of the language. Some teachers find that teaching subjects in Estonian fosters teachers' professional development if they are interested in it. In a broader context, there are concerns about the survival of Russian speaking intelligentsia as if it were threatened by subject teaching in Estonian.

As to the possible impact of transition of teaching a part of subjects in Estonian in upper secondary schools currently operating in Russian on the schools operating in Estonian, it can be concluded based on interviews, that schools operating in Estonian will not be affected much. Most of the schools operating in Estonian hold the opinion that the changes in school population will not be drastic because the Russian speaking families that place great importance on their children mastering Estonian have already sent their kids to schools operating in Estonian. Moreover, it is believed that the inflow of Russian speaking students at the stage of upper secondary school will not be substantial as schools operating in Russian fail

to provide their students with the necessary Estonian language command. As the additional flow of Russian speaking students to schools has not been predicted, it is felt there is no need for a particular preparation or planning in schools for that to occur. The opinion that some Russian speaking students might choose to transfer to schools operating in Russian in case the level of teaching Estonian is better in those institutions has also been expressed. It is thought to be unlikely though that teachers could be lured away from schools operating in Estonian because they are expected to find the atmosphere prevailing in the schools operating in Estonian far more agreeable than in school operating in Russian. The school environment in institutions operating in Russian is considered to be unusual for teachers from a school operating in Estonian; and the arrangement significantly different. Schools in smaller settlements lacking teachers consider it acceptable for teachers to combine work in several schools, which can influence the organisation of studies to a certain extent.

Although the heads of schools operating in Estonian, in general, do not perceive any critical necessity for assistance in connection with rather large numbers of Russian speaking students in their schools; local council officials believe the issue is worth attention. The representatives of schools operating in Estonian and education officials in the North-East of the country find that it is important to provide financial and methodological support for schools operating in Estonian as their workload has significantly increased due to the growth in the number of Russian speaking students. It is also believed that Estonian as mother tongue needs support in schools operating in Estonian in the North-East.

Suggestions

In order to successfully introduce subject teaching in Estonian, it is necessary to state the objectives of transition, i.e. bilingual education clearly (maintenance / enrichment / transition) so that schoolwork could be organised according to the aim. Provided that the objective includes maintenance and enrichment, there should be individual approach to every school taking into consideration the environment it has been working in. The environment and the opportunities provided by a certain school should determine further steps to be taken. On theoretical considerations and relying on the best practices of European countries mentioned before, the effectiveness of bilingual education in every school should be reviewed, with a special attention given for students first to be provided with sufficient second language knowledge to start using it for learning other subjects and a subject teaching in Estonian to begin with less cognitively demanding subjects.

It is important to proceed with providing schools with information on the features and usual characteristics of bilingual education, including Estonia's own good practices, as well as the efforts to dispel various fears. More attention should also be paid to students, including the popularisation of subject learning in Estonian and raising students' awareness about the opportunities of higher education in Estonian.

Moreover, the performance of critically important schools needs improvement in regards to the means of improving the quality and availability of training. The creation of teacher postgraduate training network in order to guarantee the availability of further training should be considered. Thereat, the organisation of joint subject-related courses for teachers from schools operating in Russian or Estonian is of great importance in order to ensure that the

knowledge provided is even and supports the development of Russian speaking teachers' Estonian language skills.

It is of paramount significance to provide schools with necessary learning materials. Of the latter, textbooks customised to the needs of students learning subjects in a second language are especially necessary. Here it is important to involve Russian speaking teachers in textbook development and testing these textbooks thoroughly before using them on a larger scale. The methodology applied to teaching is also a very important aspect in need of substantial improvement. For example, a methodology centre providing the necessary support for teachers would be helpful. The centre would provide regular consultations for teachers, information, and support in teaching material development. It would also be a part of the network uniting similar institutions in other countries and facilitating international collaboration, organising training courses and psychological counselling; and conducting research. In addition, the centre could contribute to raising multicultural awareness and monitoring the situation from the multicultural perspective.

It is also important to support schools in order to enable teachers' participation in additional training courses. Improving Estonian language teaching also requires attention: it is essential to enable schools to approach language teaching in a more flexible way (for instance, dividing students into groups as necessary, hiring assistant teachers) and to associate language learning with extra-curricular activities that would provide students with opportunities for more language practice. In order to foster subject teaching in Estonian and to develop intercultural education, it is relevant to initiate regular and , long-term exchange programmes for teachers. In order for exchange programmes to succeed, the participants need sufficient preparation (mentors, clarifying the tasks, organisation of work, financial support etc.). In order to make subject teaching in Estonian effective and bring the subject closer to students with another (non-Estonian) cultural background, it is necessary to teach the subjects transferred to Estonian in the context of Estonia at the same time giving Russian students an opportunity to compare it with the context they are already familiar with..

Various subject teachers' associations are a valuable resource, giving opportunities to develop evenness and professionalism within the system of education. Up to now, the role of teachers from schools operating in Russian in professional subject teachers' associations has been rather modest. By means of involving both Russian and Estonian speaking teacher into the associations, it is possible to support the development of unified shared competence and the process of transition, offering Russian speaking teachers who are to start teaching subjects in Estonian the support of mentors.

Students' more optimistic attitude towards the subject learning in Estonian compared to the one of teachers', makes the former a valuable resource for facilitating the transition. Consequently, it is important to involve students in assisting of the transition process more actively than before, for instance, by founding a student board within the Ministry of Education and Research.

4. EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES IN SCHOOLS AND COMMUNICATION WITH OTHER ETHNICITIES

Learning does not only take place on the basis of learning materials, but is also assisted by experience and applying the obtained knowledge in practice (Batelaan, 2003). The same principle is valid for some aspects of integration, for example, the development of attitude towards other ethnicities. On the one hand, school can provide students with the knowledge that an attitude towards other ethnicities (hereafter meaning '*all other ethnicities represented in schools operating in the other language*') should be neighbourly and respectful or that communication between people of different origins is enriching. However, if a school does not offer opportunities to test the knowledge in real life, it will largely remain abstract.

One of the objectives of current research is to analyse how students in schools in Estonia communicate with young people of other ethnicities and to find out how the communication in question has influenced the students and whether closer communication instils positive attitudes in terms of integration. A small questionnaire was conducted in schools with that purpose in mind. The issue was also discussed with students' and teachers' focus groups.

So far, the studies in Estonia concerning contacts between people of the different ethnicities (hereafter meaning '*all ethnicities represented in schools operating in Russian and Estonian*') show that Estonian and non-Estonian young people do not communicate often. For instance, the monitoring of integration of 2005 (Proos, 2006) shows that the role of childhood friends and acquaintances (15-30%) and various hobby groups (3%) in Russians' acquisition of Estonian is rather insignificant. The survey among 8th grade students (Kruusvall & Tomson, 2004) revealed that 30% of students had no contact at all with other ethnicities; 44% regularly communicated with one person; 21%, with two people; 5%, with three people; and 1%, with four people of other ethnicities. Estonian girls communicated with other ethnicities the most (1.3 people on average, and only 18% never communicated with any non-Estonians). Russian girls were in contact with other ethnicities the least (0.8 people on average, and 42% did not communicate with Estonian young people). The questionnaire conducted for a group of 15-19 year olds by the University of Tartu/SaarPoll in 2007, after the so called 'bronze soldier crisis' shows that 12.6% of Estonian youngsters regularly communicated with many (6 or more) Russian or Russian-speaking people; 43.7% of Estonian young people did not communicate with non-Estonians at all; 35/6% had a few acquaintances among non-Estonians. It appears that around 80% of Estonian young people communicate with Russian young people very little or not at all. The places for communication are usually work (22%), shops (20%), streets (17%), means of public transport (16%), groups of friends (13%), and educational facilities (11%). Only 5% of respondents reported such communication during sport activities.

The figures above show that young people from different ethnicities have generally little communication with each other; and if it takes place, it is rather scarce. Due to rare communication and the absence of personal relationships, the young's attitudes are likely to be affected by stereotypes, social representations or their relatives' experience. Kruusvall & Tomson (2004) state that young people from different ethnicities usually have a negative impression of the relationships between various ethnicities. Half of the respondents thought that there is hostility and defiance between Estonian and Russian youngsters; 30% believed

there is avoidance of communication; and 12% stated there was mutual fear between the groups. The study shows that the attitude depends on a number of people from the other ethnicity one communicates with. For instance, 50% and 68% of the students who regularly communicated with three or four people from different ethnicity thought the relationship between the young was normal; 28% and 50% respectively thought it was friendly. However, 18% of students who did not communicate with other ethnicities believed the relationships between Estonian and Russian youngsters to be normal; and 7%, to be friendly. Data gathered by SaarPoll in 2007 also shows that the young who have little communication with people of other nationalities feel unfriendly and hostile. They also perceive little friendliness or positive attitude. However, the young who communicate with individuals from other nationalities have a more positive impression of their relationships. The results show that little communication usually causes negative attitude and more communication allows to predict more positive attitude. The questionnaire conducted in school confirms this hypothesis.

The questionnaires about communication came back from 112 schools, 69% of which operate in Estonian and 38% in Russian. The rest of schools are bilingual. The respondents were mainly from upper and lower secondary schools; those from elementary schools formed less than 10% of the respondents. As to the number of students, the schools fell into more or less equal parts. There were small schools with fewer than 100 students (33.9%), schools of an average size with 101 to 500 students (42%), and large schools with over 500 students (24.1%). Regionally, the majority of respondents were from Harju County (22.3%), Lääne-Viru County (17.9%) and Ida-Viru County. Half of Russian speaking respondents came from Harju County and the other half, from Ida-Viru County. The majority of Estonian speaking respondents came from Lääne-Viru County, followed by Pärnu and Tartu Counties. Harju county schools are underrepresented in the latter respect, having returned only 8 questionnaires.

One of the advantages of inter-school activities, teachers' professional associations and other kind of activeness, for instance, additional training courses, is the communication between teachers from schools operating in different languages. In general, the research shows that teachers from such schools are isolated and communication is rare, which influences schools' enthusiasm concerning joint activities. Thus, only 40% of the respondent head teachers from schools operating in Russian are members of Estonian Head Teachers Association, which means that numerous schools are not involved in social inter-school activities. Moreover, 19 schools operating in Russian (63%) stated that less than a half of their teachers were members of subject teachers' associations. Only 6 schools said the majority of their teachers were members of subject teachers' associations. The language issue is apparently one of the causes of little activity in subject teachers' associations. Lack of activity, in its turn, separates teachers from schools operating in different languages and thus, decreases the opportunities for cooperation.

It emerged from the responses to the questionnaire that a majority of schools operating in Russian had had joint events together with schools operating in Estonian, whereas almost two thirds of the latter stated they had not communicated with schools operating in Russian in form of joint events and activities. Assuming that schools keeping in touch with the schools operating in another language were generally more eager to fill in the questionnaire, it can be stated that numerous schools operating in Estonian ignored the questionnaire as they did not communicate with schools operating in Russian. Some schools operating in Estonian, for

instance, chose not to fill in the questionnaire claiming that they were not involved in the activities listed there. That, in general, implies that schools operating in different languages are not eager to communicate and facilitate their students' communication with one another.

Considering the regional aspect of schools' joint activities, it is clear that schools operating in Estonian participating in joint events are mainly situated in Harju County (6 schools) and Lääne-Viru County (6 schools). Only 3 of the 10 schools surveyed in Tartu County participated in joint events. As to schools operating in Russian, those located in Harju (15 schools) and Ida-Viru (11 schools) counties were the most active in joint events. This is a rather predictable result, considering the proportion of Russian speaking population and the number of schools operating in Russian in these areas. In the areas where there are few or none schools operating in Russian, it is more difficult to develop contacts with them and the communication between such schools is less likely.

The review of the sponsors of joint events gives an idea of how and by which parties the events are initiated as financial opportunities greatly influence the nature of the activity. It appears that one of the main sponsors of joint activities for schools operating in Russian has been the Integration Foundation (mentioned concerning 38% of the events). Thus, it is logical to conclude that project sponsorship of the organisation mentioned above has fostered activity in schools operating in Russian and given them opportunities to further develop integration. As to schools operating in Estonian, the Integration Foundation is not listed as the biggest sponsor; it is mentioned only 6 times. The main sponsors in this case are local councils and the schools themselves. Other important sponsors of schools operating in Russian are also local councils and the schools themselves (both mentioned in relation to a quarter of events).

Reviewing the events more thoroughly, it appears that the ones organised in schools operating in Estonian have mainly been the events incorporating several activities (so called complex events) and cultural events. That is also true for schools operating in Russian. Other popular types of happenings for schools operating in Russian are camps, camping trips, and sports events; for schools operating in Russian, student exchange programmes and camps.

The frequency of events is one of the indices showing how important the development of multiculturalism is for a school. The schools were asked to describe up to 5 events in the questionnaire. Most schools operating in Estonian named one to two events, whereas most schools operating in Russian mentioned 5 events (15 instances). In the last 5 years, there have been organised two to five events in schools operating in Estonian. Schools operating in Russian fall into two categories: half of them have had two to five events in the same period; and the other half, more than 5 events during the same amount of time. The results stated above indicate a considerable level of activity in schools operating in Russian; so, it can be stated that the events are regarded to be useful as they are organised repeatedly. The level of activity in schools operating in Estonian is lower. However, as there are few schools having organised only one event in the past five years, it can be concluded that the schools have had positive experience of organising the events and organizing activities appears to be a repetitious phenomenon.

In addition to the information about joint activities conducted together with schools operating in another language, the schools were asked about their cooperation with other organisations uniting various ethnicities. Around half of the schools mentioned such communication exists. The differences between schools operating in Estonian or Russian cannot be traced. The

responses show that the schools which have organised joint events with schools operating in another language are more likely to cooperate with such organisations. Consequently, if a school places importance at the activities fostering multiculturalism, such activities tend to be versatile.

This short questionnaire has not enabled the researchers to assess opinions about the joint events. That issue was raised during the focus groups sessions and interviews with students, head teachers, teachers, and extracurricular activities organisers. In general, all respondents mentioned above inferred that a one-time short event did not have any potential for creating new long term relationships. On the contrary, several long term and regular events were more likely to create new contacts and relationships (for instance, communication that started in a camp usually lasted afterwards). Some respondents optimistically believed that any type of youth joint activities could be successful and interesting. Still, the general opinion is that an event must be focused on something interesting and captivating for the participants, not solely on a language learning (that is one of the main interests of schools operating in Russian, but it does not motivate Estonian speaking students much). The events based on common interests, according to the respondents, could include theatre projects, youth TV show projects, historical research, making films, field trips, labour camps, friendship classes. The participants of our focus group found that lectures alone have little potential for effectiveness. Thus, it is important further not to concentrate on increasing the number of various one-time events, but to find out what the young's common interests are. That would help to create more long-term and meaningful joint activities that would offer valuable experience to all participants.

Joint activities help develop mutual understanding between the young from different ethnic backgrounds. The common opinion is that joint events increase tolerance, help students get acquainted with other cultures, dispel superstitions, and offer the young opportunities for comparison. Joint activities are considered to be especially valuable because real life cooperation helps to overcome the communication barrier created by the media and, sometimes, the family.

Student: "Let's take, for instance, language camps. When you go there, you can see and understand how Estonians live and how they communicate with each other. It's different."

Student: "It shows [during joint activities] that Estonians and Russians can communicate with each other."

Student: "That young people understand one another; that there are no conflicts."

Student: "Then people wouldn't think that Russians are bad and one can't communicate with them."

Moderator: "So, it is necessary for people to see the real situation, isn't it?"

Student: "Yes. So that they wouldn't judge the situation by what they hear in the news or some other source: Russians are hostile to Estonians; Estonians are hostile to Russians; both ethnicities hate each other."

Student: "And certainly not by what they hear from their parents and grandparents."

Student: "Some tell their children, 'Don't you mess with Russians or go anywhere with them, or they'll beat you up.' Or the same is said about Estonians. That shouldn't be happening."

Teacher: "When they [students] have got acquainted with one another, they don't care if someone is Estonian, Armenian, Georgian or whatever else. They do not feel any barriers, and that's what is important in school years. "

Russian speaking young people also find that communication with Estonians is necessary to cope in an Estonian speaking environment at work.

Students from schools operating in Russian emphasise that Estonian speaking students tend to reject and be afraid of starting communication with Russian speaking students but do not display negative attitude once communication has started.

Teachers: "Well, of course, it is [possible to achieve results] because trust is developed; that insurmountable wall disappears; fears disappear."

Student: "I have understood that when Estonians communicate with Russians, they have nothing against them and there is no negative attitude. But the Estonians who have never had any contacts with Russians do not understand them and can sometimes be hostile."

Student: "Actually, they are afraid of Russians."

Student: "They really are afraid, but also as much interested in communication as we are."

Moderator: "Is it right that Estonians do not usually initiate communication?"

Student: "Yes, although they are also interested in it."

Student: "They want to, but don't dare."

The opinions quoted above show that schools, especially with Estonian as a language of instruction, do not prepare students for communication with other ethnicities. Little knowledge and insufficient skills in intercultural communication do not facilitate the development of communication. This circumstance also forces student to act reserved, which could be interpreted as intolerance or rejection by other ethnicities. Thus, the development of knowledge and skills necessary for intercultural communication is very important in school, so that students would gain confidence in communication with students of other ethnicities. Cultural differences such as the aspect of Estonians being traditionally characterised as culturally more individualistic than, for example, Russians with their rather developed cultural collectivism should also be taken into consideration (Toots, Idnurm and Ševeljova, 2006).

Teachers from Tallinn, considered to be rather more politically conscious in their attitudes than the rest, stated that the results of joint events are influenced by the processes occurring in the country. It is difficult to instil the feeling of common identity in the course of joint activities when common identity is not perceived in the country and the processes at hand are rather dividing than uniting. Apparently, the teachers' opinion was greatly influenced by the feelings resulting from the so called 'bronze soldier crisis'.

Teacher from Tallinn: "But if the feeling of common identity is destroyed at the state level..."

In general, the opinions expressed by the focus group show that joint events have a certain potential in creating a feeling of common identity, but the process is a long-term one and is influenced by the students' family background. Moreover, it is important to start joint events at an early age when children's opinions are still incipient.

Teachers from Tartu: "Well, it depends on the child's family and its attitudes, because children feel and imbibe everything."

"The younger the people are, the less they associate themselves with history. Estonia is their home country. What is there to argue about? The older the people are, the more obstacles [to communication] there appear."

It can also be stated, on the basis of responses by the focus groups, that the full potential of some joint activities has not been realised as the limited number of participants did not enable all the people interested to take part in the activities. For instance, a student from the North-East mentioned that

"The students were active indeed. Many of us would have liked to take part, but the number of participants was limited. When vacancies appeared, there was a long waiting list."

Sometimes the lack of money limited the opportunities for participation. For instance, the obstacles for participation in joint events mentioned by Narva school representatives are the lack of financing and the participation fees which were supposed to be paid by students .

It is assumed that some of the events were not efficient enough due to the lapses in organisation. For instance, student exchange programmes imply preparation on both parts - the student and the receiving school and family. The roles of participants should be clearly defined for the exchange programme to be efficient. If the preparation does not receive much attention, a project might not be as successful as planned:

Student from the North-East: "He [the student participating in an exchange programme] didn't like it as they didn't get much attention in that school and in the classes. The attitude was, like, there are some boys and girls from a Russian school, let them sit quietly and not disturb anyone. He wasn't lucky with the family either. I don't know what kind of families other students were staying with, but there was no active communication in this family. I think there were two boys, but they didn't communicate much. He just got food and lodgings there."

In order to prevent unsuccessful exchange programmes, the participants should be made more aware of the importance of preparation. Also, more attention should be paid to explaining their roles to everyone involved in order to maximise the efficiency of a project. Preparation means, for instance, that the exchange students receive information about the school and the family they are going to stay with beforehand. Also the exchange of contact information between a student and the receiving school, family or a certain student should take place before the project starts. Additionally, the receiving school should appoint a counsellor or mentor and explain what a student is supposed to do in classes, etc. The teachers and families should also be informed about what is expected of them during the exchange programme.

The Russian students' interest towards and readiness to initiate joint events is remarkable, but it seems they lack the knowledge and skills to realise their ideas. The young feel they are not skilled enough to write and conduct projects. It is sometimes felt that a school is not sufficiently supportive: even when a good idea emerges, a teacher's or extracurricular organiser's help is needed to exchange contracts with a partner school and make the event come to life. A solution to this problem could be training the students, especially if a school

cannot find teachers or extracurricular organisers to develop the students' initiatives. Another solution could be deciding how to apply students' initiatives more efficiently.

Teachers from Tallinn schools operating in Russian complain about the lack of resources and project managers. For a teacher, writing a project is an additional task; and there is no time for that alongside the main job responsibilities. At the same time, schools lack the financing to hire project managers.

In planning joint activities for schools operating in Estonian or Russian, it should be taken into consideration that the cooperation of schools in the European direction by means of European educational programmes is gaining momentum. The situation should be monitored so that the cooperation with European schools would not create cooperation gaps in relation to the schools operating in different languages in Estonia. One focus group mentioned that active participation in European Socrates Comenius projects can cause distancing from schools operating in Estonian. A possibility to unite schools operating in different languages in Estonia by involving them in European educational cooperation should be mentioned here. Both Estonian and Russian speaking students experience similar feelings in the process of communication with so called "strangers" from outside, which fosters the feeling of common identity. Partnership with other countries in this context creates multidimensional multiculturalism and facilitates the rapprochement, mutual understanding and tolerance between teachers and students from schools operating in Estonian and Russian.

Generally, the vision of joint events and opinions of their impact are similar for the representatives of both Estonian and Russian operating schools. Students are not opposed to joint events; still, schools operating in Estonian display a certain lack of motivation or need to communicate with schools operating in Russian. Schools operating in Russian value the language aspect, which is not that relevant for schools operating in Estonian; but more general objectives, such as multiculturalism and integration are understated. That might be the reason for schools operating in Estonian being less active in initiating joint events.

Suggestions

To conclude the above mentioned, the following points should be considered in the further integration process:

- Joint events for Estonian and Russian operating schools apparently foster integration when both parties have common interests, events are well organised and have long term objectives.
- Students need special skills and knowledge for communication between different ethnicities. Thus, the issues of intercultural understanding and communication should be integrated into schools' curricula. The introduction of such principles requires considerable changes in the curricula and training for teachers, head teachers and other school personnel. In order to influence young people in Estonia in terms of their attitudes and the relationship between ethnicities, the changes should incorporate a substantial amount of practice (increasing students' experience of communication with other ethnicities and learning other cultures).
- It is important to involve the representatives and experts from both Estonian and Russian operating schools as well as the ones with international work experience in the development of a multicultural curriculum.

- Students' initiative in joint activities of Russian and Estonian operating schools should be fostered and supported by providing information, and organising the necessary training and project competitions.
- In developing cooperation within European educational projects, attention should be paid to the opportunities that facilitate integration process in Estonia by preferring the projects that would unite schools operating in different languages.

5. HISTORY AND CIVIC STUDIES TO SUPPORT MULTICULTURALISM AND CITIZEN IDENTITTY

The role of History and Civic Studies has received extremely little attention in the process of integration so far. Still, there are obvious signs that the issue needs a more thorough approach. Research shows divergence in how Estonians and non-Estonians regard history (Vetik, 2006). The so called ‘April crisis’ provides an example of different attitudes towards recent historical events and how different interpretations of the past can divide society. Additionally, the fact that increasingly larger amount of students from other European Union countries and beyond are entering Estonian schools shows the necessity to reconsider teaching methods that are currently being used. Whether History in school should or can promote single national identity in the country is an issue to be discussed separately. The main challenge clearly important for fostering integration is to what extent History and Civic Studies can unite or divide people from various ethnicities.

Teaching History changed greatly in Estonia after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The Marxist-Leninist approach to the past was substituted by the nation-centred approach, bringing back the spirit of History taught in schools in 1920s-1930s. One ruling narrative started replacing another ruling narrative, picturing Estonia as predestined to become a nation state. Ahonen states that History teaching did not include a single minority narrative; the ruling narrative regarded all non-Estonians as occupants (Ahonen, 2001). Lagerspetz points out that in addition to the ambition to communicate the story of becoming a nation state, the desire to join the European Union supported the need to draw a clear border between the East and the West. That, in its turn, meant acknowledging that the Russian historical element in the history of Estonia was out of the question on principle (1999, quoted in Ahonen 2001). Thus, History teaching in Estonia became clearly focused on one perspective, which did not support social involvement. Groups not represented in the ruling narrative are not considered a part of the historical community (Ahonen, 2001). Exclusion from the historical community, in its turn, limits opportunities for the shared future and feeds possible conflicts. In order for History teaching to foster involvement, it must recognise alternative historical narratives so that people with other experience would also feel as a part of the historical community. Shared and diverse discussion about the past enables constructive argument and different future perspectives (Ahonen, 2001). Openness and abstaining from imposing one version of history on society fosters the development of democratic citizen culture among students.

The guidelines for teaching History in the twenty-first-century Europe, approved by the Committee of Ministers (2001), the Council of Europe (2002) and the European Ministers of Education (2003), promote the principles of fostering multiculturalism and democratic citizen education. Consequently, in addition to openness and avoidance of communicating one truth, teaching History and Civic Studies that would foster integration should consider the following objectives:

- Accepting the existence of different interpretations of the past, outlooks on life, and cultural backgrounds; avoiding prejudice and stereotypes;
- Respect for human rights and the principles of rule of law;

- Common historical inheritance and its interpretation at the national, regional, European and global level;
- The role of interpretations of the past in the development of common collective identity;
- The skill to regard controversial events taking into consideration different facts, opinions and perspectives;
- Awareness about Europe, the most important events in European history, and their importance on the local, regional, European, and global levels;
- Understanding the nature and reasons of devastating events including the ideologies behind them;
- The influence of past events on the present: society, economy, geography, etc;
- Interpreting facts by means of a cross-cultural approach;
- The differences in the meaning of the same events to different people;
- the nature of history as a constructed set of tales and concepts based on memories, research results and other interpretations; the role of studying sources and evidence, making conclusions and speculations in the development of historical knowledge.
- Distinguishing between different types of statements (for instance, factual statements, conclusions, speculations);
- Critical information analysis skills including the recognition of warped judgement and the evaluation of a source's trustworthiness;
- Self-reflection skills including the ability to recognise the development of one's knowledge, concepts, values and opinions.

Striving to achieve these objectives requires the development of numerous significant skills among students. Developing the students' ability to think critically is one of the central priorities of multicultural way of teaching History. It means that students are stimulated to contemplate and discuss information they receive actively and have a possibility to participate in the development of narratives (Al-Haj, 2005). It is important to avoid passive learning and to foster students' development as independent thinkers. The latter means abandoning the lecture-based teaching method and concentrating on more democratic active teaching methods. Multiculturalism is supported by open teaching. This method features using diverse information sources, creating connections between the subject and students' personal experience, encouraging students' cooperation and expressing their opinions and doubts, providing opportunities for discussion and self-assessment. It also implies preference for research learning and international projects, the emphasis on connections between subjects, avoidance of leading students to hasty decisions in favour of one or another point of view, and enough time dedicated to controversial issues enabling students to study them thoroughly and discuss them from different perspectives (Committee of Ministers, 2001; Council of Europe, 2002; European Ministers of Education, 2003).

The connections between integration and History and Civic Studies as a research topic has not received much attention in Estonia. History and Civic Studies were one of the topics discussed by the Russian speaking student focus groups conducted in Tallinn and Jõhvi within the framework of the current research. The students submitted questionnaires about History. , Historians and History teachers had a brainstorming session. The shortcomings of teaching History were also mentioned in the questionnaire for History teachers conducted by the National Examinations and Qualifications Centre (REKK) in 2004. A study into citizen

culture of the young by Anu Toots, Tõnu Idunurm and Maria Ševeljoveljova gives an overview of the situation in Civic Studies (Toots, Idunurm, & Ševeljova, 2006).

The research by Toots and her co-authors (Toots, Idunurm, & Ševeljova, 2006) shows that History and Civic Studies subject teaching have improved in comparison with the year 1999 and teaching is much less focused on facts and dates learnt by heart. Still, it can be said that teaching remains rather conservative than supportive of active citizen education. Thus, the research states that it is usual for students to work with a textbook in History and Civic Studies lessons (more than 80% of respondents), to learn dates and terminology by heart (82%); great emphasis is placed on learning facts and dates (78%); a teacher gives a lecture and students take notes (53%). The opinions expressed by the Russian-speaking students in the focus groups also state that listening to a teacher or reading a textbook and filling in the tasks in the workbook afterwards are the main activities for students during History lessons. The questionnaire conducted by REKK also shows that lecturing is the most popular teaching method, followed by independent study and discussion. Projects, field trips and research papers are used modestly. However, Toots' study shows that students think they have opportunities to express their opinions in the lesson (78%), teachers encourage them to have opinions (76%), various aspects of the problems are presented (74%), and different opinions are discussed (67%). The focus group participants believe that various explanations of the past are quite often discussed, and some of the students also think they have had a chance to work with information sources in the lesson. Still, there are just a few instances of discussing the trustworthiness of different interpretations of the past and of developing learners' skills by means of different activities (for instance, role play games, projects, excursions).

The most troublesome is the type of lesson in which students' active participation is second to none. For instance, students from Tallinn said:

Student: 'Last year [we were] in Form 9, and the curriculum said 'World War II'. Guess what we did for the whole year? Copied the content of the textbook into our notebooks and filled in the workbook. Nothing else. For a year. Once we watched the movie 'Names in Marble' about Estonian partisans.'

Student: 'Our teacher is mainly silent in the lessons. We do not speak either. We write and throw the workbook away at the end of the year. We read ourselves, learn from different opinions and develop our own opinions. Everyone understands history as they wish. The teacher does not explain anything and everyone sticks to their own opinion.'

Student: 'We usually have lectures. The teacher gives us facts. We work with documents.'

Students: 'Any discussions that started were immediately terminated by the teacher.'

It is not surprising, then, that REKK has specified some of the most worrisome aspects of what type of knowledge is acquired in such lessons. First of all, teachers find it difficult to achieve the required level of orientation in historical sources or information skills (students must be able to find, choose, refer to, analyse and critically assess different historical sources and viewpoints). Another learning objective achieved with great difficulty is self-expression and argumentation skills (students must be able to present the results of information research orally, visually, or in writing; compile thesis and research papers, write argumentative essays on history; participate in discussions of history, work with maps). The third problematic area is developing empathy (students are able to reconstruct the life of people having lived in the

past, imagine their outlook of life) which makes it difficult for students to understand the reasons for different interpretations of the past events by different ethnicities. These concerns expressed by teachers show that insufficient attention is paid to the development of the skills mentioned above in the subject lessons or that the required amount of attention is not possible to deliver.

The latter aspect is undoubtedly affected by teachers' lack of training but also by the pressing influence of the national school leaving examinations, which was expressed during the brainstorming session. The pressure to communicate a factual knowledge in the lesson is a direct result of the national examinations that call for the specific factual knowledge. The National Examinations Centre does not give teachers many opportunities to contribute to students' and their skills general development in the lessons, but forces everyone to concentrate on the topics for the examinations.

'I think that the national examinations are ... the main problem. Teaching in Form 12 is inevitably national examination-centred. The students' approach is also rather pragmatic. Those who want a certificate with good results and a good grade point average will learn by heart exactly what is needed. Honestly, there are no opportunities or time for discussions, for work with information sources or documents.'

Obviously, the pressure of the national examinations is one of the aspects complicating the introduction of changes in the content and organisation of teaching. The role of the national examinations in History and Civic Studies teaching seems to be one reason that the opportunities of developing multiculturalism and supporting education for active citizenship in the lessons are limited. The national examinations are also one of the reasons why teaching (and the teacher) is forced into a certain framework, and historians are supposed to reach a conclusion on universal historical truth whereas the logic of multicultural teaching is just the opposite, emphasising the multitude of stories and truths.

Additionally, the training of many teachers can be insufficient for developing the skills of students mentioned to the required extent. Success-oriented teaching methods imply the type of preparation quite different from what conservative teaching methods need. That is why, apparently, numerous teachers have mentioned the necessity of additional training in methodology. To what extent the above mentioned pedagogical objectives of teaching History are considered important and whether teachers have sufficient resources (knowledge, skills, time, teaching materials) is another issue to be discussed. That, in its turn, is closely linked to the problem of examining the availability of materials; schools operating in Russian are especially in need of additional materials for teaching the History of Estonia.

The fact that History teaching in Estonia is far from being multicultural has been stated in different forms by the students in our focus groups and the teachers participating in the brainstorming session. First of all, non-Estonian students and teachers feel that the history taught in the lessons and presented in the textbooks contradicts the interpretations of the past provided by the immediate circle and other sources (the Internet, TV, books); the latter might not be represented in school or be too controversial to deal with. For instance,

Moderator: 'Can it then be said that the parents' opinion is different from what is taught in school?'

Student: 'Even more, teachers' opinion is different from what they teach. They teach what is written in the textbook... , but their opinion, I think, is different.'

Moderator: 'Do you think so, or have you heard their opinions?'

Student: 'When the teacher is reading a chapter from the textbook and the class is laughing, and the teacher's intonation is quite telling, what does it mean?'

Moderator: 'Do teachers also express other opinions in class, or just show that other opinions are possible but do not state them?'

Student: 'They say that alternative opinions are possible, but don't say which.'

Student: 'It was interesting when we were studying 'Occupation'. The teacher told us she couldn't share her opinion. The textbook says so, and it was so, end of story.'

Student: 'We are taught history from a slightly other angle compared to them [out parents]. In a way, history has been changed, and that is why our points of view do not coincide with our parents' opinions.'

Student: 'Let me bring you an elementary example. You go to the father with your history textbook, ask him to read a chapter and explain it to you. After he's read it, the answer you get from him is that he can't explain things to you as they were taught differently.'

Such situations show that teachers lack the knowledge and skills to help them deal with sensitive or controversial topics. Instead of actively addressing sensitive topics in the lesson, they distance themselves from such issues; and students are left alone with their questions and doubts. If critical thinking and the skills for orientation in various information sources are not taught, there is a danger that students will adopt the attitudes that deepen the controversies in society. Controversial issues are denied the attention they require. At the same time, that is what needs to be focused at, so that students could learn to discuss and argue and orientate in the multitude of opinions. The enormous number of sources of information and opinions available nowadays stresses the necessity to develop students' critical thinking abilities and source of information trustworthiness assessment skills.

Teachers were also worried that they feel the "wrong" and "right" history interpretation in school, characteristic of the Soviet period, is emerging again. For example,

'... [I] understand that however I teach, there are attitudes that develop in the family. If the family says it isn't so, then textbooks lie...'

'In fact, Russian speaking students are apparently in the same situation as Estonian speaking students in the past. There was certain dissociation; one thing was said at home, and another, learnt for school and written in textbooks. It was all there in Estonian schools. Now it is happening in Russian schools; [name] from Tallinn University, who has taught Russian speaking students, can tell you they said that to him. 'But at home they say so. That's how it really was. Well, ok, it's different in the textbook, let it be.' This dissociation is what's happening.'

However, teachers are not at all sure how to deal with this situation; and they stress the importance of preparation. The above said also shows that hidden curriculum affects History teaching greatly and needs special attention. Hidden curriculum should be researched further as it greatly influences the attitudes that students develop after leaving school.

The round table for historians and History teachers highlighted numerous problems complicating History teaching in a multicultural way and as "our" history. In addition to the

problems linked to the national examinations, some important aspects of teacher training and lack of resources should be taken into consideration.

For example, teachers are concerned about the enormous density of the History course originating from the desire to give students an extensive generalising overview of history and important events from all the historical periods. Such objectives, however, do not leave much time to deal with the development of critical thinking and the skills necessary from integration perspective. On the other hand, the desire to create a general concept makes the past a thing in itself; which does not help to regard things from the point of view of how the past helps us understand the present. The aspect of understanding history as a practical skill needed to understand the past and form the future receives no attention.

Another aspect mentioned is the issue of teacher's role and their recognition of it: teachers have to acknowledge they play a critical role in developing student's attitudes and opinions. Otherwise, teaching creates controversy instead of understanding. For instance, a History teacher from a school operating in Russian in Tallinn said,

'Teachers have enormous opportunities. We all work according to the national curriculum; we all talk about the same facts, but you can order and state the facts in different ways. You can cause a problem, but also dissect a problem. That means, find points of contact and explain how certain problems emerged. And I think it is extremely important to teach sympathy, teach people to feel others' pain. This is the task we are to fulfil. If we fail to teach sympathy, teach both sides to understand each other, we will create hatred.'

Historians also believe that how events are represented including which concepts, interpretations and emotions are accompanied is what determines the content of teaching. This is also the aspect that is influenced by teachers and the authors of textbooks the most.

Historian: 'I don't believe teaching [History] should be reduced to the truth and lie; it's not black and white. Truth can be presented in different ways. I don't think the problem is that teachers lie and truth is spoken at home; it is rather what values are attributed to which events. The problem is that if your textbook says Russians have occupied Estonia since the beginning of time, this will cause opposition even if we casually mention that the idea has its point. But what meaning do we attribute to it? Do we apply those modern terms like occupation and similar to bygone days? And I don't believe it's the struggle of truth and lies. It's rather the struggle of different interpretations, values and emotions. And I believe it is up to teachers and textbook writers to present those facts in an acceptable way, not the nationalistic mess they often become.'

History teaching in Estonia can be described as narrative-centred, characterised by linear mode of narration as if about one continuous process. Such an approach does not leave many opportunities for different interpretations, which is not exactly in line with the principles of multicultural education. If linear narrative is replaced with the approach acknowledging diversity and changeability of historical processes, different interpretations and approaches will be possible. These, in their turn, will foster empathy and involvement. By offering students several sources of information about events, it is possible to create a multitude of stories and develop critical thinking and understanding. Such an approach also implies that the way of regarding History as a subject should change. For instance, one historian gave an example: first teacher and then students should develop an understanding of a History lesson not as a place to learn about the truth. It should be the place to receive basic factual

information and learn to develop one's own opinion using different informational sources and assessing the information critically. History lessons should not create an illusion of knowing all history, but should stimulate argument about the key moments in history with an adequate use of examples.

Textbooks pose another problem. Currently, textbooks written in Estonian are being translated into Russian. In addition to the late arrival of textbooks to Russian operating schools compared to the schools operating in Estonian due to the slow process of translation; from the cultural point of view, the textbooks translated literally are not suitable for non-Estonians. By now, Estonian Literature teaching in Russian operating upper secondary schools has been transferred into Estonian, and preparation for transferring History has started. Still, the meaning of these steps and their influence on cross-cultural communication as well as the translation of one culture into another cultural context and code has not fully been realised by teachers. Literally translated textbooks cannot instil the needed concepts for students as there is no connection between these concepts and students' background and surroundings. In order for concepts to emerge, establishing connections is crucial. That, in its turn, requires thorough meaningful practice (including additional training) and the involvement of specialists in the field (cultural psychologists, semioticians, and anthropologists).

While planning the changes in History teaching, it is necessary to remember that historians have different opinions as to what objectives and opportunities History presents in the integration context. Another issue to remember is that history and teaching it are in a complicated relationship resulting from the differences in objectives and expectations.

Historian: 'I think it is a very important problem that the pedagogical representation of history is only one way of representing it, but very specific and different from the one we [historians] choose here at this table.'

Additionally: 'For example, the majority of historians write about history without considering its so called pedagogical effect. Without considering teachers and students, and these so called historians' expectations of history are entirely something else than teachers' expectations.'

The points mentioned above indicate the necessity to review History curriculum and complete its updating. The renewed curriculum would allow more time for discussing different interpretations of history and development of critical thinking and discussion abilities among students instead of learning dry facts by heart. Problem-centred approach to history would stimulate and improve students' understanding of history remarkably.

There is one aspect that significantly complicates teachers' preparation and introduction of changes into History and Civic Studies as well as, more broadly, other subjects. Namely, the problem lies in the ability and motivation of teachers of Russian operating schools, especially in Tallinn, to participate in the unified education system including additional training in methodology. For example, only one Russian speaking teacher has participated in the Summer School for History teachers, and only one is a member of Tartu branch of the professional association. It might seem that additional training offered by Russia would partially compensate for missing the training in Estonian, but that would clearly influence the content of teaching and the values communicated to students. Training a new generation of

teachers could be one of the solutions to this problem, and students have also expressed agreement on this resolution.

Professional subject associations present resources and opportunities for uniting teachers from different schools. The Association of History Teachers has paid attention to involving Russian speaking teachers. However, their opportunities are usually limited due to the language barrier and institutional weakness because the activity of the association is based on voluntary community initiative. Teachers' overwhelmed with everyday workload do not enable them to dedicate sufficient time to the association's activities. A separate person should be hired to pay more attention and meet particular needs of Russian speaking teachers and the issues of teaching on a larger scale. However, the association cannot afford this solution. Thus, associations clearly need financial support.

As to solutions, students think that joint seminars and discussions between Estonian and Russian operating schools would facilitate orientation in each other's beliefs and foster mutual understanding. Students see that discussions emphasising different visions and the arguments behind them would develop empathy and broaden the scope of various interpretations and meanings. Additionally, teacher and student exchange programmes among schools would serve the same purpose. Students also expressed that both Estonian and Russian speaking authors should be involved in textbook development so that the material would present events from various perspectives. Literature is another opportunity to foster a better understanding of stories of different ethnicities.

The current analysis emphasises teaching History, but most issues brought up here are relevant for Civic Studies as well. The main common point is whether schools operating in different languages support the development of students in possession of general democratic and citizen values. If they do, the system of education fosters social integrity by developing citizens of common state identity. If not, there emerges a threat of deepening social division and conflicts. Thus, it is important to focus on teaching democratic values; and the development of common state identity and empathy plays a significant role in the process. In its activity, the Council of Europe has paid considerable attention to citizen education issue; so examples and principles are readily available.

To foster democratic values, it is essential for schools to make the values paramount; and it is important to strengthen the connections between the school and society as a whole. It is necessary to emphasise that the issues of state identity and citizen education, being a part of communicating the main principles of general democratic values, are not confined to the objectives of History and Civic Studies lessons, but should permeate the whole curriculum. Thus, it is important to decide how to horizontally integrate these principles into different subjects and topics, which makes it an issue of inter-subject integration. Socially active well-known individuals from the media could be invited to Civic Studies lessons in both Estonian and Russian speaking schools to create connections between what is taught in class and a broader social context.

Suggestions for the integration programme

To summarise the points stated, the following aspects deserve attention:

- Complete the process of updating History curriculum so that currently used single perspective approach would be substituted with the multiple perspective approach to support social integrity.
- Design and conduct additional training for History teachers in methodology and problem centred approaches to support the development of multicultural and engrossing teaching.
- Design the principles of general democratic values and citizen education and integrate these into the curricula on all levels of education.
- Develop communication and joint activities between Estonian and Russian operating schools, emphasising the joint activities concerning historical and social issues in order to foster the development of students' empathy, argumentation skills and citizen consciousness.
- Inviting socially active well-known people to Civic Studies lessons within the framework of a particular programme to create connections between what is taught in class and what is happening in society.
- Develop cooperation between History and Civic Studies teachers in Estonian and Russian operating schools (joint training courses, other events) and support professional subject associations institutionally.
- Conduct a study of teaching Estonian Literature and Estonian History in Estonian in Russian speaking schools from cultural-psychological and cultural-semiotic points of view to discover the hidden curriculum of these subjects and their effect on students' attitudes and values as well as cross-cultural translation.

6. CONCLUSION

The main topics of current education research are the following issues: the transition of teaching some subjects in Estonian in currently Russian operating schools and the attitudes related to that; concerns and expectations of target groups; multiculturalism in school and the communication between schools operating in different languages; multicultural History and Civic Studies teaching; and a language command of the minorities. The research discovered several important aspects to consider for further developments. In addition, it became apparent that numerous other key issues relevant to integration such as hidden curriculum or the connections between language command, citizenship and state identity needed further research and analysis.

To conclude, it can be said that similar problems and key issues emerged in all the studied areas. Thus, teachers' additional training is of paramount importance for the implementation of bilingual education model, the introduction of multicultural curriculum and the development of History and Civic Studies teaching. The target group of key importance consists of the people who will implement the curriculum. The approach to their training and developing their aptitude should be systematic, thorough and well planned because the effectiveness of integration process in Estonia will greatly depend on them.

Professionally written learning materials that take into consideration all the peculiarities of the target groups are also of paramount importance in several areas. It is impossible to implement bilingual education effectively in the absence of necessary learning materials. Similarly, it is impossible to foster cross-cultural dialogue if the language of textbooks prevents students from mutual understanding.

Students as a resource have been largely underestimated in integration planning. The students with more positive attitude towards the introduction of teaching some subjects in Estonian and teachers with good ideas about promoting communication between the young need more involvement. They could also provide valuable information for the implementation of different policies.

Teachers professional organisations such as subject associations have also received little attention. Yet, these are the organisations that could support the management of reforms in numerous aspects if they possessed sufficient resources.

The current research also clearly shows that it is absolutely necessary to update curricula in order to support integration. The curricula in use do not, for example, meet the need to introduce multicultural topics or pay attention to the education of active citizens or teaching empathy.

7. INTEGRATION INDICATORS IN EDUCATION

According to integration monitoring results and statistics gathered by the national institutions so far, the following aspects of integration effectiveness in education can be observed:

Language command

- People's own estimation of their language command and its sufficiency for living in Estonia
- Main methods of learning Estonian
- Passing examinations in Estonian on certain levels
- For students of Russian operating schools, passing the examination in Estonian

Education system

- Relative importance of operating languages in educational facilities (for schools, within separate classes as well)
- Graduates of schools operating in different languages
- The number of students whose mother tongue differs from an operating language in schools, pre-school facilities, hobby clubs
- National school-leaving examination results of students from schools with different operating languages
- The number of subjects taught in Estonian in upper secondary schools operating in Russian
- The number of students dropping out of schools operating in different languages

Attitudes

- The attitude towards the transition of teaching some subjects in Estonian in upper secondary schools in 2007
- The attitude towards the events of 1940

It is definitely important to proceed observing the aspects mentioned above.. In addition, several other perspectives deserve attention and enable a good overview of the integration process. One of these should definitely concern further education choices of graduates from schools with different operating languages. Namely, whether schools operating in Russian provide their students with a sufficient preparation to continue education on equal terms with graduates of Estonian speaking schools. It is a very important issue. Further education choices and opportunities of students with other mother tongue than Estonian who graduate from Estonian operating schools and those of graduates from schools operating in Russian should also be explored.

Since the number of non-Estonian students in Estonian operating schools has considerably increased in recent years, more attention should be paid to observing the educational choices of these students. Whether non-Estonian students are treated equally in comparison to Estonian speaking students (in terms of dropping out of school, repeating a year, being assigned assistance in studies) is particularly relevant.

As to the quality of education, it is essential to monitor equality concerning the resources of schools operating in different languages. These resources include opportunities for additional teacher training and the availability of necessary learning materials, adapted in case there is a need for it, and teachers' opportunities for membership and activity in professional organisations.

The communication between schools with different operating languages and their representatives certainly reflect integration. Research has so far shown that the communication is not frequent; that is why it is crucial to monitor.

More attention is surely to be paid to what type of citizens schools with different operating languages educate. Current research allows to believe that the schools in question educate citizens with different values. At the same time, the events of recent years have given reason to believe that teaching History in schools in Estonia does not foster integration. That is why teachers' attitudes should be monitored more thoroughly and extensively.

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Final Report on Needs and Feasibility Research

Part III

Tolerance and Intercultural Dialogue, Integration and Media

Public Contracting Authority: Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Estonia

Külliki Korts
University of Tartu
Institute of
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1. INTRODUCTION

By joining the Council of Europe framework convention for the protection of national minorities, Estonia has accepted the obligation 'to foster tolerance and intercultural dialogue; encourage mutual respect, understanding and cooperation of the country's population regardless of their ethnic, cultural, language or religious identity, especially in education, culture and media.' These principles are also found in the designed integration programme. The programme is based on the assumption that the integration is a bilateral process supported by democratic participation. On the one hand, it is based on the minorities' and immigrants' respect for the language, cultural traditions and values of the majority population. On the other hand, the majority population is also expected to respect and be tolerant to the cultural peculiarities of national minorities. Mutual trust between people is also strongly linked to their trust in political institutions (e.g. Lühiste 2006: 479). In the context of Estonia, it is especially important in connection to the Russian-speaking population who tends to identify political institutions with the ethnic Estonian majority. Thus, the trust in institutions is based on trust in ethnic Estonians and the opinion on their' attitude towards ethnic minorities.

With tolerance and the improvement of intercultural dialogue as an objective, it is impossible to limit the necessary measures to only one sphere; this principle underlines all aspects of the integration programme. However, certain public institutions, especially media and the education system, play a vital role in fostering tolerance and intercultural dialogue.

This is why the experience of school pupils in communication with their peers of the other ethnicities (hereafter, people with a different mother tongue) including schools' activities for improving communication between the young of the different nationalities (see the chapter on education and integration) has been thoroughly analysed alongside the attitudes towards the other nationalities and special attention is paid to the extent of communication with them characteristic of the rest of the population.

Readiness for integration and the attitudes related to that vary considerably among both the majority population and the minorities. That is why it is essential to monitor which attitudes and opinions are predominant, on the one hand, among the political and social elite and, on the other hand, in public discourse including the media. The attitudes of the political elite are reviewed in the chapter III. Media discourse has been under continuously studied in the Media Monitoring of Integration, which should certainly continue in the period of implementing the new Integration Programme.

One important but so far insufficiently studied aspect in the process of integration is the improvement of mutual understanding within the whole population of Estonia (apart from strengthening the state identity and citizen values) by means of expanding the common information and media field. That is why the current report focuses on analysing the media consumption habits and information needs of the Russian speaking population.

Considering the above mention factors, the main issues questions tackled in the report are following;;

- 1) What is the nature of communication between the two ethnic groups and attitudes toward each other (including school students as a specific group)?
- 2) What are the media consumption habits of the Russian speaking population and their expectations from the local Russian and Estonian speaking media?

The report is divided into three parts. The first part analyses tolerance among different groups of the population on three levels: general attitude towards the other ethnic groups, readiness to share the same social space with people of the other ethnicity, and actual extent and nature of communication. The analysis is based on the secondary analysis of earlier representative quantitative surveys.. The second part analyses more thoroughly a group less represented in the quantitative study: the attitudes of school students and their communication patterns with people of the other ethnicities. The underlying assumption in this research is that the school is one of the central places shaping the youngsters' attitudes. Alongside the secondary analysis of a quantitative dataset, data from focus groups and essays discussing interethnic relations in Estonia written by pupils were analysed. The last part focuses on the media consumption habits of the Russian-speaking population and their evaluation of being adequately informed, based on both the quantitative data and the analysis of thematic focus group.

The following studies were conducted within the project:

- Secondary analyses of the research “Me. World. Media” conducted by the University of Tartu in 2005 and of the study “Interethnic relations and challenges of integration policy after the ‘Bronze Soldier’ crisis” conducted by SaarPoll in 2007.
- **2 focus groups** (one with pupils from schools with Estonian as language of tuition, other with pupils from schools with Russian as the language of tuition) studying pupils' experiences of interethnic communication and related attitudes (September 2007)
- **Focus group** consisting of Russian speaking-media consumers (October 2007)
- The analysis of 27 essays on the topic ‘My positive and negative experiences of communication with ethnic Estonians/Russians’ written by 5th, 9th, and 11th graders (October-November 2007)

Additionally, Triin Vihalemm (focus group, essays) and Valeria Jakobson (focus groups) contributed to the research.

2. CONTACTS BETWEEN RUSSIAN- AND ESTONIAN-SPEAKING POPULATION: AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS OTHER ETHNIC GROUP

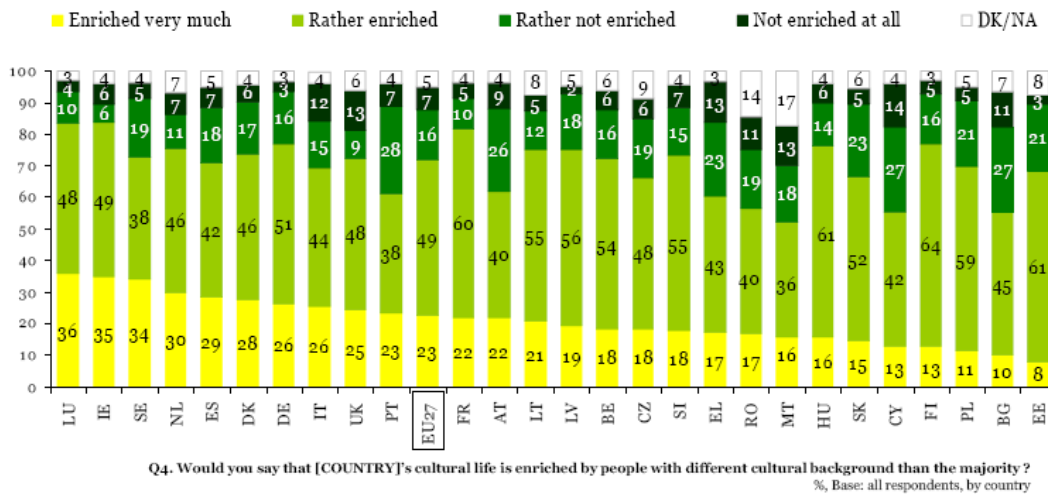
2.1 Introduction

Research on tolerance can be conducted on two levels. The first is the general, abstract level of individuals' attitude towards minority groups in general, for instance, cultural minorities or disabled people. The other level concerns individuals' readiness to share social and personal space with the representatives of certain minorities. Abstract tolerance towards minority groups does not necessarily coincide with the attitude towards a certain religious, ethnic or other minority group. The readiness for communication with the other group can be significantly influenced by the evaluation of their attitude towards us or their broader appreciation of cultural diversity. A person's appreciation of cultural diversity might not be expressed in positive attitude towards a particular minority or majority group if the absence of reciprocity is perceived (Tropp 2006:535).

Previous research in intergroup communication has proven a strong connection between the frequency of communication between the groups (including ethnic) and positive and negative attitudes (stereotypes) (Tropp: 533). The studies conducted in the last decades show that the connection between the frequency of communication and the attitudes is tenable if negative rejection prevails in the communication between the groups. In many societies, there have been significant changes in this respect. Although multiculturalism is losing its appeal on the political level, the appreciation of diversity has become a widely accepted norm. Also, positive attitude towards the representatives of the other ethnic groups does not necessarily imply personal positive experience (Tropp: 534).

The last pan-European Eurobarometer survey shows remarkable differences that old and new European Union member countries display as to their assessment of the impact of diversity on the society (see figure 1). The population of old European Union member countries (with few exceptions) regard the enriching impact of people of other cultural backgrounds on average more important than the population of new member countries. The population of Estonia is one of these displaying the most scepticism on the issue.

Figure 1. Assessment of the enriching diversity impact on society's cultural life



Source: Eurobarometer Flash 127. Intercultural dialogue in Europe. November 2007, lk 6

At the same time, the connection between the attitude towards another ethnic group and the extent of communication with the members of this group emerges clearly regardless of the proportion of ethnic minorities in the given community. That shows the two directions of the process: experience fosters the development of positive attitude while positive attitude fosters the development of communication.

The population of Estonia occupies the last place among the European Union member states concerning both questions from the study: the assessment of the enriching impact of minorities on the majority's culture and the extent of communication between people of the different ethnic background. Thus, it can be assumed that the shift of attitudes characteristic of Western Europe communities does not apply here.

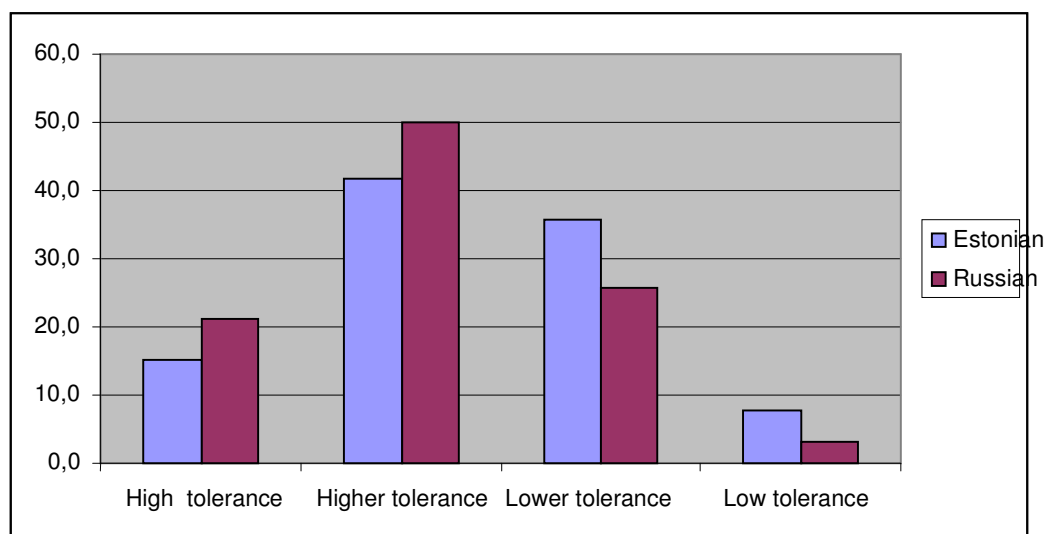
Both levels of tolerance analysis are important for the research conducted to support the integration programme. While the general attitudes towards the minority groups prevailing among the majority groups can influence the state's minority policy by means of public opinion, the attitudes towards a particular ethnic group indicate the possibility of conflicts and tension between the ethnic groups at the grass-root level.

2.2 Research results

2.2.1 General tolerance towards minority groups

In the survey conducted in 2005 (see Figure 2), **there emerge** differences between Estonians and ethnic minorities as to their opinions of the enriching role and position of minorities. Ethnic Estonians are characterised by relatively intolerant attitude towards minorities: 43% agree with at least one negative statement about minorities' position and role in the community. The Eurobarometer survey of 2007 shows a similar result; however, as it does not separately analyse the population of Estonia by ethnic groups, this partly levelled the strongly negative attitudes of the majority population.

Figure 2.¹ The division of ethnic Estonian and Russian-speaking population on the basis of attitudes towards minority groups² (University of Tartu, 2005)



At the same time, noticeable differences between the ethnic Estonians and Russian-speaking population disappear if only the attitudes towards other minorities of the society (subcultures, life style) are taken into consideration (statement 3). Negative attitudes were expressed by half of the Estonian speaking respondents and those of the other ethnic groups- Similar trends can be observed in various social-demographic groups: positive attitudes are more common among the young and people with higher level of education. The population of Estonia follows the trends of the rest of Europe in this respect: younger people or those with higher level of education appreciate cultural diversity more (Eurobarometer Flash 127). The abstractly declared tolerance is linked to the signs of general personal open-mindedness, such as the interest in what is happening in the world, experience of travelling abroad, foreign language command, and readiness for change. All of these are in inverse relationship to valuing order and security as opposed to individuals' freedom and fears of the degradation of common values and morale.

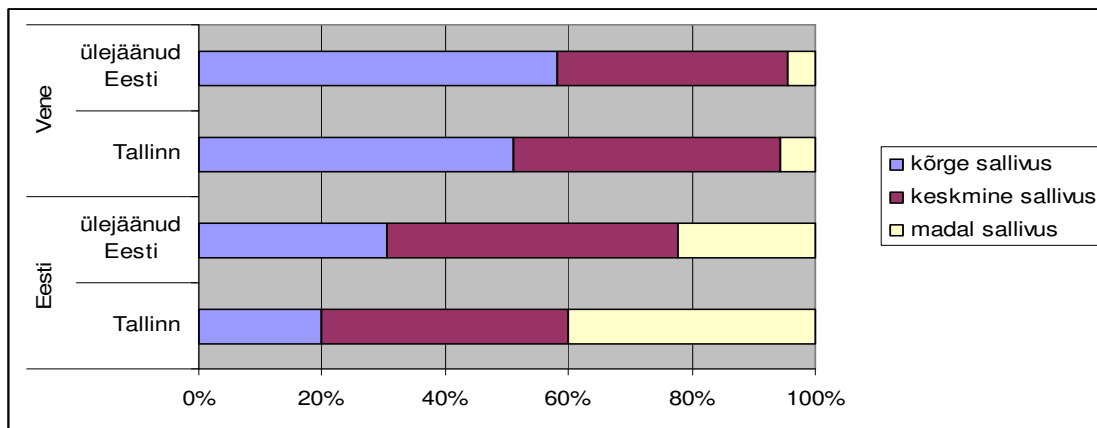
¹ Hereafter the language of the questionnaire stands for the ethnic group.

² 1. A: Exposure to different cultures enriches the community, encourages development. – B: Cultural differences cause conflict between groups and break the community into pieces; 2. A: It's better to let minorities live by their values and norms; introducing norms for everyone would violate human rights. – B: Minorities should comply with the majority's choice and follow its values and behaviour norms; 3. A: I have nothing against people whose life style is considerably different from the community's average displaying it publicly. – B: people can behave as they like at home and among close friends, but it disturbs me when they publicly display their deviant life style. (Each statement is rated on the scale of 0 to 4; out of 12 points, 0-3 mean high tolerance, 4-6 mean higher tolerance, 7-9 mean lower tolerance, 10-12 mean low tolerance).

2.2.2 Relationships between ethnic Estonians and Russian-speaking population

Abstract tolerance to minority groups is not necessarily expressed by the attitudes towards a certain other ethnic group. People's readiness to share social and personal space on different levels of familiarity, from living in one building to family relationships, is a widespread way of assessing tolerance on a personal level.³ According to the study conducted by the University of Tartu and SaarPoll in 2007, a quarter of ethnic Estonians are characterised by a low tolerance towards Russians (see Figure 3). The negative attitude among ethnic Estonians is the strongest in Tallinn in comparison to the North East of the country and the rest of Estonia. The study shows the negative attitude among up to 10% of Russians with little difference between inhabitants of Tallinn and the rest of the country. Among ethnic Estonians, the youngest (15-29) and the oldest (56-75) age groups display the lowest level of tolerance, among Russians, it is also the youngest age group.

Figure 3. Distribution of population based on the attitude towards the other ethnic group⁴ (TÜ/SaarPoll 2007)



*High tolerance: 0-3 points; average: 4-10; low: 11-20

Translation of Figure 3.

Vene – Russian

Eesti – Estonian

Ülejäänud Eesti – the rest of Estonia

Kõrge sallivus – high tolerance

Keskmine sallivus – average tolerance

Madal sallivus – low tolerance

³ How do you feel about.....

* living in the same building with an Estonian/Russian?

* being in one hobby club or association with Estonians/Russians?

* working for an Estonian/Russian boss?

* having an Estonian/ Russian doctor?

* becoming an Estonian's/Russian's relative ,e.g. through marriage

Scale: 0: Totally positive, it wouldn't bother me...; 5: it would bother me a lot.

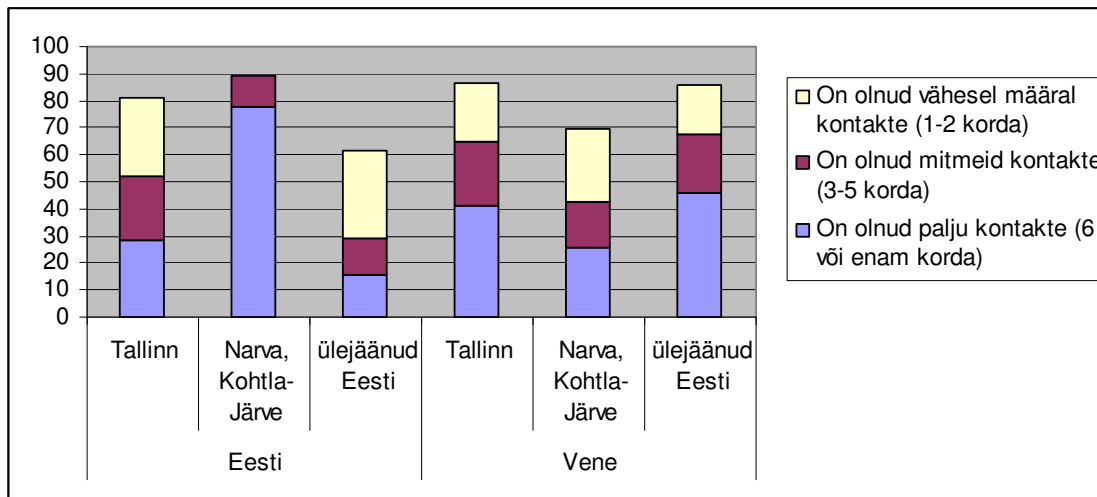
⁴ Defined by the language of the questionnaire

2.2.3 Interethnic relations and the frequency of everyday communication.

The extent of everyday communication with the other ethnic group is an important indicator for the analysis of the attitudes towards the other ethnic group (Hayes 2006: 456).

As Figure 4 shows, two thirds of ethnic Estonians and one third of minority population state that their communication with the other ethnic group in everyday life is minimal. Relative detachment of the ethnic groups characterises Tallinn, where around a half of ethnic Estonians and more than a third of Russian-speaking population describe their communication with the other ethnic group as nonexistent or minimal. While the frequency of communication among Russian-speaking inhabitants of Tallinn from the youngest age group is slightly higher than average (67% state they have 3 or more instances of communication), it is lower among young ethnic Estonians (38%).

Figure 4. The frequency of communication among ethnic Estonians and Russian-speaking population (TÜ/SaarPoll 2007)



Translation of Figure 4.

Vene – Russian

Eesti – Estonian

Ülejäänud Eesti – the rest of Estonia

On olnud vähesel määral kontakte (1-2 korda) - few instances of communication (1-2 times)

On olnud mitmeid kontakte (3-5 korda) – several instances of communication (3-5 times)

On olnud palju kontakte (6 või enam korda) – numerous instances of communication (6 or more times)

As to the analysis of the types of communication between ethnic Estonians and Russian-speaking population (see Table 1), in case of both ethnic groups unintentional communication, for instance, in shops, in the street or public transport, is predominant. Communication among friends and acquaintances is scarcer. One type of commonly shared space, particularly in Tallinn, is the workplace (although the questionnaire does not allow distinguishing between communication with colleagues and clients).

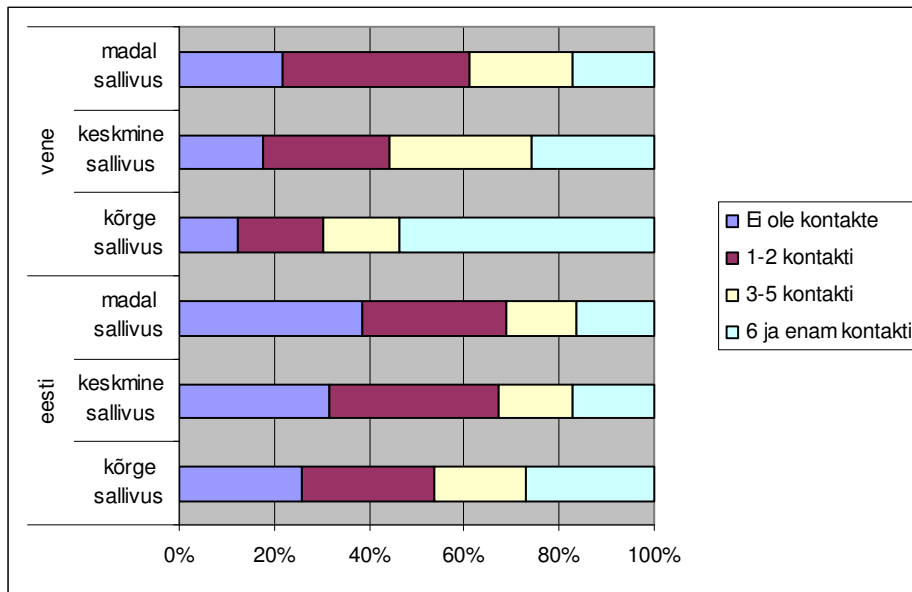
Table 1. Communication between ethnic Estonian and Russian-speaking population (%) (TÜ/SaarPoll 2007)⁵

Communication has taken place...	Estonia		Tallinn	
	Estonian	Russian	Estonian	Russian
... at work	37	47	53	53
... in a shop or shopping centre	20	51	36	58
... in the street, in the park	18	29	19	25
... in my house, street	17	35	33	42
... on the bus, train or other means of public transport	13	28	22	30
... in the bank, post office or other public institution	11	35	15	37
... in my circle of acquaintances	8	28	25	24
... at a health facility	5	25	13	23
... in my circle of friends	4	15	6	11
... at an educational facility	4	6	6	4
... in my family, among relatives	3	10	5	6
... on the Internet: discussion boards, chat rooms etc.	3	8	3	6
... in a bar, pub, cafe	2	9	4	8
... in the town or county council	2	7	2	5
... at the government institution	1	11	5	12
... at a night club, disco	1	6	5	5
... in a sports club	1	6	4	6
... at courses or training classes	1	4	3	2
... at a hobby club	1	3	1	1
...in an association/ political party/ volunteer organisation	0	3	0	2

A positive attitude towards the other ethnic group is usually supported by the experience of deep personal communication with the representative of that group. Negative attitudes and stereotypes are fuelled by everyday superficial communication, often negatively charged (misunderstandings caused by insufficient or nonexistent command of Estonian or Russian language, for example, conflicts in shops, public transport, in the street, especially among the young). The significant number of people with the negative attitude, especially among the ethnic Estonians living in Tallinn, might be explained by the predominance of accidental communication over personal relationships with the representatives of the other ethnic group. Figure 5, showing the connection between the extent of communication and the level of tolerance, supports this hypothesis.

⁵ Please, remember in detail all the instance of communication with Estonians/Russians or Russian speakers in the past week. Mark all the situations in which you communicated in the previous week in the list below.

Figure 5. Frequency of interethnic communication and tolerance. (TÜ/SaarPoll 2007)



Translation of Figure 5.

Vene – Russian

Eesti – Estonian

Kõrge sallivus – high tolerance

Keskmine sallivus – average tolerance

Madal sallivus – low tolerance

Ei ole kontakte – no communication

1-2 kontakti – 1-2 instances of communication

3-5 kontakti – 3-5 instances of communication

6 ja enam kontakti – 6 or more instances of communication

The attitude of the Russian-speaking population is also related to its general opinion about the social and political development of Estonia and its society and the trust in government institutions. The extent of communication with the other nationality and the attitude towards it correlate directly with the level of education, workplace status and the level of being informed about what is happening in Estonia. This shows a connection between the attitudes of the Russian-speaking population and the general level of integration in society. The attitudes of ethnic Estonians towards the other ethnic groups are related to the degree of openness in the definition of who belongs to the “Estonian nation.”

2.3 Conclusion

The analysis shows that the increase of tolerance in the society, among the national majority and minority alike, is a lengthy process; and so is the strengthening of the identification with the state. The process is supported or slowed down by the processes in other areas of integration: legal and political (feeling of affiliation with the state, access to information, common media space), educational (the integration of the multiculturalism principle into the curriculum), and social-economic (social and economic security, relationships at work,). In order to reach the target, a complex approach is required also in the Integration Programme.

2.4 Suggestions for the Integration Programme

- In developing tolerance and intercultural dialogue, it is not possible to confine oneself only to the measures in one area. This principle should permeate all the areas of the integration programme and be the general goal of the integration process.
- While designing the measures, it is advisable to concentrate on the institutions that are the most important in developing tolerance and intercultural dialogue, namely, the media and the educational institutions.

2.5 Suggestions as to the indicators

- proceed with the indicators used for measuring interethnic attitudes are already used in integration monitoring (attitude towards multiculturalism, readiness to communicate with the other nation);
- include indicators measuring the frequency and nature of interethnic communication;
- in addition to the indicators measuring tolerance, it is important to monitor the changes among members of the groups to whom particular measures are directed, e.g., schoolchildren (but also teachers). The presence of intolerance or insulting discourse in the media should also be monitored.

3. SCHOOL STUDENTS' COMMUNICATION WITH THE OTHER NATIONALITIES AND ITS CONNECTION TO THEIR ATTITUDES

3.1. Introduction

Earlier studies have shown that in interethnic relations, negative attitudes are prevalent among young people in Estonia (Kruusvall 2004, Integration Monitoring 2005). Similarly to the analyses presented in tolerance studies (see Tropp 2006), the research among Estonian pupils shows that level of tolerance towards the other ethnic group is closely linked to personal experience of communication with the other group. A positive attitude is supported by regular personal communication with the representatives of the other ethnic group (friends, people interested in the same hobbies). A negative attitude and stereotypes are fuelled by superficial everyday communication that is often negative. One of the central institutions that can foster the spirit of tolerance and intercultural dialogue in the young and the whole society is the educational system. It both develops the attitudes and fosters communication experience. As the Estonian school system is linguistically divided, systematically fostering the communication of students from schools with different language tuition, both through in-class and in extracurricular activities, is a very important aspect. That is why the study focuses on analysing the connection between the attitudes of Estonian school pupil towards the other ethnic group and actual communication between the young of the different ethnic background living in Estonia.

3.2. Research results

As shown by questionnaire on interschool contacts conducted in schools (within the education study), apart from the areas of the country where in the Estonian-tuition schools are in the minority, they have generally been passive in developing communication with Russian-language schools. It also appears that schools operating in Russian cooperate more closely with schools abroad within different pan-European projects (Comenius) than schools operating in Estonian. This surely gives students an opportunity to experience cross-cultural dialogue, but does little for developing communication with ethnic Estonians and the Estonian society.

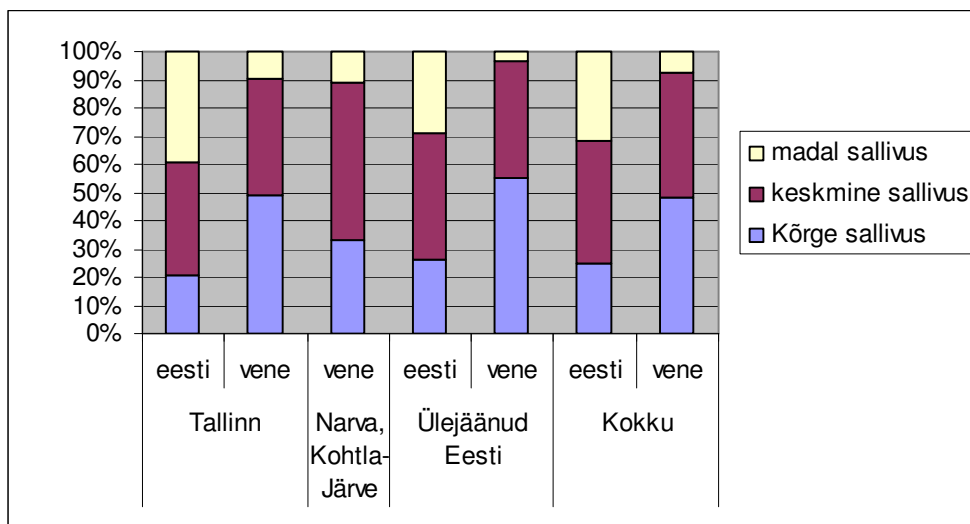
The results of the survey conducted in spring-summer 2007 (TÜ/SaarPoll) show that a third of ethnic Estonian youngsters aged 15-24 living in Tallinn communicate frequently with people of the ethnic background (more than three instances of communication in the past week); more than a half have had very seldom contact (see table 2); the contacts are even rarer in the rest of Estonia. The communication of Russian-speaking youngsters with ethnic Estonians is more frequent. Still, both in Tallinn and Estonian-dominated parts of the country, there is a considerable number of young people who claim they have not communicated with ethnic Estonians in the past week despite sharing common social space.

Table 2. Communication with the other nationality among young people aged 15-24 (in the past week) (TÜ/SaarPoll 2007)⁶

		No communication	Little communication (1-2 instances)	Moderate communication (3-5 instances)	Many contacts (6 or more instances)	Don't remember
Tallinn	Estonian	16,3	53,1	12,2	16,3	2,0
	Other ethnic group	15,0	17,5	25,0	42,5	0,0
Narva, Kohtla-Järve	Other ethnic group	29,4	17,6	17,6	29,4	5,9
Other	Estonian	44,2	33,1	10,4	11,7	0,6
	Other ethnic group	9,7	16,1	19,4	54,8	0,0

The analysis of the attitudes towards the other ethnic groups shows that ethnic Estonian young people's tolerance is lower in comparison to those of the other ethnic groups. Low tolerance is most common among ethnic Estonian **young people** in Tallinn (see Figure 6), where regardless of the ethnic composition of the population there is less close personal communication with the other ethnic groups and more superficial contacts in the street, public transport, shopping facilities.

Figure 6. Distribution of 15-24-year-olds according to the attitude towards the other ethnic group. (TÜ/SaarPoll 2007)⁷



⁶ Ethnic Estonian youngsters from Narva and Kohtla-Järve are excluded due to the too small size of the group.

⁷ See Figure 3 for the index explanation.

Translation of Figure 6

Vene – Russian

Eesti – Estonian

Kõrge sallivus – high tolerance

Keskmine sallivus – average tolerance

Madal sallivus – low tolerance

Ülejäänud Eesti – rest of Estonia

The feedback from focus groups and pupils' essays also shows that in the absence of family relationships the communication beyond the limits of one's own ethnic group is scarce. That is caused by the linguistically separated education system and relatively separate leisure activities; the experience of communication with the other group is superficial and often negative. There is considerable group of youngsters, both among ethnic Estonians and ethnic minorities who cannot recall a single instance of contact (apart from that in the street or public transport) with somebody of the other ethnic group, even in Tallinn, regardless of sharing the same social space. Among the recalled instances of communication, the everyday negative ones in the street, public transport and shopping facilities prevail, especially in Tallinn.

Negative experiences are mainly linked to the misunderstandings due to insufficient or nonexistent language command and to the conflicts between children or young people in the street.

'I have communicated with them in shops, for instance, they were shop assistants.' (Grade 5, Tallinn)

'They ask something in Russian, which I don't understand.' (Grade 5, Tallinn)

'A bad experience is when a shop assistant doesn't understand me.' (Grade 5, Jõhvi)

'When a Russian is smoking, walking towards me with several friends, speaking Russian, they sometimes seem suspicious to me.' (Grade 5, Tallinn)

'My positive experience is that I hate Russians because they start yelling obscenities at me and calling me names.' (Grade 5, Tallinn)

As the survey also shows, some Russian children and young people from Tallinn do not experience any personal communication with Estonians:

'I don't communicate with Estonians much.' (Grade 5, Tallinn)

'Estonians don't make friends with Russians in my neighbourhood.' (Grade 5, Tallinn)

'I communicate seldom, the experience isn't very good, all friends are Russians.' (Grade 5, Tallinn)

'I have no Estonian friends and I doubt I will ever have any.' (Grade 5, Tallinn)

A generally negative image, to which personal positive experience at school, sport club or among relatives is often compared, is common among young ethnic Estonians (especially in Tallinn):

'My first memories of Russia as a country of quarrelsome and destructive people date back to the disturbances of April 2007.' (Grade 5, Tallinn)

'Usually it is horrible to see in the 'News at 7' how they have beaten up someone or burgled some place.' (Grade 5, Tallinn)

'I don't exactly like Russians; but I don't communicate with them they just might be ok.' (Grade 5, Tallinn)

'I have a couple of Russian friends. They are totally normal.' (Grade 5, Tallinn)

'I have this Russian friend, who isn't like all usual Russians, who speaks Estonian and is totally nice.' (Grade 5, Tallinn)

'Personally, I know only a couple of exceptional Russians who are fun and pleasant to talk to.' (Grade 5, Tallinn)

'I have a relative who is Russian but quite fun.' (Grade 5, Tallinn)

'There are some classmates one of whose parents is Russian, but, of course, we speak Estonian because we all go to an Estonian school. We get along all right.' (Grade 5, Jõhvi)

Similar connections between the attitude and experience can be noticed among Russian children and young people, but the general attitude is more positive due to a greater number of positive communication experiences and better language command:

'I don't see any differences between the nationalities.' (Grade 5, Tallinn)

'I'd like to have some Estonian friends to practice the language.' (Grade 5, Tallinn)

'I like talking to them, learning the language and the culture.' (Grade 5, Tallinn)

'I try to practice the language and improve my skills: in shops or something.' (Grade 5, Tallinn)

At the same time, many Russian young people feel that young ethnic Estonians have no interest in them and even display rejecting attitude:

'Yes, sometimes it happens that they see the 'bad Russian' in me, but I try not to notice that.' (Aged 18, Tallinn)

'A lot of Estonians don't want to communicate with Russians and vice versa.' (Grade 5, Tallinn).

'But my friends say they have also met such Estonians who say we have to go back to Russia, that Estonia is not our home country. Estonians also call Russians 'tibrad'[transliteration of a Russian obscene expression]... this situation is very sad and depressing.' (Grade 9, Sillamäe)

Similarly to Estonian children and young people, Russians also contrast personal experience or attitude to the common negative image:

'It's not right to say that Estonians are the worst of all.' (Grade 5, Tallinn)

'Russians say Estonians are bad, but they are also people.' (Grade 5, Tallinn)

'I don't know why my Russian friends don't like Estonians; we live in one country and all are people.' (Grade 9, Sillamäe)

In other areas of the country where one ethnic group is clearly dominant, a more open-minded attitude prevails. Russian young people living in the areas where ethnic Estonian population is dominant display the most open-minded attitude and they also communicate with ethnic Estonians most often. The town of Jõhvi is an exception. There, the boundaries between the ethnic groups in communication are blurred. There are numerous bilingual young people as well as those who speak Estonian or Russian fluently and multinational classes. That is why national division is not clear.

'There are mainly Russians living in my street. That is why I play and talk to Russian children. Thanks to this communication, I have started understanding Russian and even speaking it.' (Grade 5, Jõhvi)

'Relationships can be good or bad with either Estonians or Russians. I have good Russian and Estonian friends.' (Grade 5, Jõhvi)

A separate category consists of the North-East towns where the young Russians' general attitude towards ethnic Estonians is usually positive, but personal experience of communication is little or nonexistent.

'I have only communicated with two Estonians; they are teachers from my school. I like talking to them.' (Grade 9, Sillamäe)

'I meet Estonians very seldom. Estonia is a country and there are a lot of Estonians.' (Grade 9, Sillamäe)

'I really want to learn Estonian and go far away to speak it there.' (Grade 5, Sillamäe)

'I don't communicate with Estonians much and I think this is my main problem in learning Estonian. I like learning foreign languages but don't have an opportunity to talk to native speakers.' (Grade 11, Sillamäe)

'We will learn Estonian faster if we hear it in everyday life.' (Grade 11, Narva)

'I wish we had a "friend class" from an Estonian school!' (Grade 9, Narva)

The analysis of the essays shows that ethnic Estonian and Russian speaking children display the pattern of a classical tolerance analysis case. The negative, rejecting background attitude is dominant in the communication between the groups, which is supported by personal negative memories or contrasted to personal positive experience. The extent of communication and the attitude also correlate strongly. Solitary examples of positive communication (a single classmate, friend, relative) are opposed to the general negative image whereas more extensive communication (for example, in Jõhvi in the family) influences the general attitude. Pupils from the towns of North-East with the Russian language predominant are, however, an exception as the youngest group has virtually not been introduced to Estonian culture and ethnic Estonians in the lessons and their personal experience is minimal.

To conclude the results of the study, it can be claimed that in the absence of close family relationships spontaneous communication between ethnic Estonian and Russian young people is relatively scarce (apart from language camps and sport events). Everyday communication in the streets or in public service facilities rather instils negative attitudes. Taking into consideration the importance of communication experience in developing tolerance to the other cultures, the education system plays a paramount role in creating opportunities for students' communication by means of developing relationships between schools. However, it should be remembered that whatever happens in a school is strongly linked to the processes in its environment. The negative impact of the spring of 2007 events is felt in numerous essays, both in the opinions about the other national group and in descriptions of particular situations (the decrease in communication or its disappearance).

The analysis of feedback from focus groups with ethnic Estonian and Russian youngsters shows that occasional one-instance events (friendship evenings etc.) are not enough for developing communication between the young of the different ethnic groups. Activities guaranteeing the cooperation of the same groups in the long term perspective should be encouraged and preferred. The results of the quantitative questionnaire also state that schools with Russian-language tuition are more active in initiating communications between the schools operating in the different languages. The interest displayed by schools with Estonian-language tuition, with several spectacular exceptions, is weaker. The differences in expectations and level of readiness are also expressed by pupils' feedback: ethnic Estonian pupils think that the events organised in order to foster communication seem unnatural and not efficient enough:

'I feel that I'm just wasting time, I dunno. It's always like they bring some guys there and then yeehaa, they're Russians. Like they are not some weird animals, some guys brought here from the other end of the world or something, I dunno. Like they ain't that different.' (Young man, 18, Tallinn)

That once again shows that in order to achieve the objectives, the focus should be placed on long term events based on common points of interest, which state the communication between the nationalities as a pleasant side-effect, not the main goal. The research also shows that pupils of some schools have displayed more initiative in organising joint events than teachers and the head, which is why numerous ideas have abated. The dissemination of information to students can also be a problem in this case: it is not forwarded to students by the administration, and is distributed in Estonian beyond the school itself. That is why it is advisable to foster and encourage students' initiative in the development of inter-school projects and to forward the information about such projects to the students' council directly.

3.1 Conclusion

The development of communication between the youngsters of the different ethnic groups, both in the formal educational system and extra-curricula activities, does not only foster the development of cultural tolerance and the appreciation of multiculturalism among the young people in Estonia. It would also balance the negative attitude created by negatively charged everyday communication. As the feedback from the North-East towns, where the Russian language predominates, shows; the communication between the young of the different nationalities is an important way of improving the Estonian language command of Russian speaking young people, introducing them to Estonian lifestyle and fostering the development of the unified system of education. In order to achieve the objective of fostering tolerance and intercultural dialogue, it is not enough to reflect the principles in question in the curriculum (tolerance-related values on the abstract level are more common among the young than their parents). Positive personal experiences should be more extensive as well. The relatively little extent of communication with Russian speaking young people and little interest (also noticed by the Russians) are especially characteristic of ethnic Estonian youngsters in Tallinn. That, in its turn is fuelled by negatively charged communication in the city space.

3.2 Suggestions for the integration programme

- The issues of intercultural understanding and communication should be integrated into school curricula. The introduction of these principles into the curricula demands significant changes and additional training for headmasters, teachers and other school staff (see the education study). In order to really influence the tolerance to the other nationalities among school pupils of Estonia, it is important to increase the extent of communication between pupils from schools operating in the different languages. The separation within the school system deepens the division on the ethnic basis; the communication between pupils from different ethnic groups outside school is scarce and occasional.
- It is advisable to give preference to projects stating the creation of long term communication between the students as a result of joint hobby activities (not projects focused specifically on integration) as an objective in both the cooperation of schools with Russian and Estonian language of tuition and extracurricular activities. For instance, the partnership of schools operating in different languages could be a prerequisite for financing projects for schools and hobby groups.
- Students' initiatives for joint activities of schools operating in the different languages should be encouraged by forwarding information and organising project contests.

3.3 Suggestions as to the indicators

- An indicator measuring the extent and nature of the communication between Russian and ethnic Estonian young people (measurable by the characteristics used in integration monitoring).
- The attitude of young people to the other ethnic groups (measurable by indicators used in integration monitoring).
- Annual monitoring of the contacts between the schools with different languages of tuition (Survey for schools conducted by the Ministry of Education).

4. THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN INTEGRATION

4.1 Introduction

The current chapter seeks an answer to the question stated in the introduction: what are the media consumption habits of the Russian-speaking population, and what are the expectations of the Russian audience considering the local Estonian and Russian media. The chapter also analyses the distribution of the Russian speaking population on the basis of self-assessed informedness.

4.2 Results

4.2.1 *Characteristics of media consumption of the Russian-speaking population*

On the basis of the survey “Me. World. Media” conducted at the end of 2005, it can be stated that media consumption of ethnic Estonians differs considerably from that of the Russian-speaking population, although the differences are less noticeable among the youngest generation. The Russians’ media consumption is of a broader scope compared to that of the ethnic Estonians. The reason could be more widespread access to satellite television (three fourths of the respondents have access to more than 3 channels). Russian (Russian Federation) channels (more than 90% of the Russian speaking population watch them regularly) and Estonian Russian-language radio stations (73%) gather the largest audience. The readership of Estonian Russian-language newspapers is much smaller, constituting a fifth of the respondents. The most popular Russian television channels are PBK (85%), RTR (85%), and RTVi (52%). International popular science channels in Russian (Discovery etc.), Russian film channels, retro film channels, and Russian-language Euronews (watched by almost a half of the respondents) are also popular.

Local Russian-language commercial stations and the Russian-language public broadcast radio station Radio 4 are the most popular radio stations; Estonian-language stations and those broadcast from Russia have smaller audiences.

The readership of local Russian-language newspapers is not exactly large. A fifth of the respondents regularly read at least one newspaper in Russian; some more read local newspapers. Very few read Estonian-language newspapers and those from Russia. Bilingual free city newspapers are an important source of information, especially for the elderly and financially restrained population.

The news programme *Vremja* of the Russian national television, watched regularly by two thirds of the respondents, is by far the most popular. The younger generation is also interested in this programme; almost a half of respondents of this age claim to watch it. Among newsprograms focusing on news from Estonia, *Novosti Estonii* on PBK is the most popular (66%, including 50% of each age group). *Gorodskie Novosti* on STV (33%) and *Novosti Nedelji* (18%) on TVN follow as to the size of audience. The majority of the Russian-

speaking media consumers believe PBK news programme to be the most objective information source in comparison to other news programmes on Estonian channels or those from Russia:

Moderator: 'Now if we speak about Russian TV channels, what do you think, what image of Estonia they might create?'

'Exactly the same as what is created by Estonian channels about Russia - absolutely negative.'(Man, 36, Tallinn)

Moderator: 'But what about PBK? It shows a news programme about everyday events in Estonia.'

'The one that's on after the Vremja news show can be considered to offer more or less objective information.' (Man, 36, Tallinn)

However, the printed media was assessed the most critically; newspapers both in Estonian and Russian were believed to fuel the lack of trust between the nationalities and to create false beliefs.

Russian-language Internet news portals of Russia and Estonia are regularly read by 22% of the Russian-speaking population; those in Estonian, by 7%. The youngest age group is the most active internet user, and 70% of the young state that they use the internet regularly.

A third of the respondents watch TV channels in Estonian regularly; they are the most popular among people aged 20-29 and 40-49 and the least popular in the 15-19 age group; moreover, there has been a decline in the youngest group of respondents in the recent years. A third of the Russian speaking respondents do not watch Estonian TV channels at all. The audience of Estonian channels is the largest in the areas where Estonians are in the majority, and smaller in Tallinn (a third) and the North-East (a quarter). A quarter of the respondents watch news programmes in Estonian regularly; and a fifth, occasionally. The audience of the bilingual interactive show "Unetus" (*Insomnia*) was very small (5% in 2005 on average), smaller than the number of regular watchers of the discussion show "Foorum" (*Forum*) show.

The youngest age group clearly considers Estonian reality shows the most interesting; 13% of the young respondents regularly watch at least one. Documentaries and nature related shows are also of great interest, watched by 45% of the respondents including the youngest age group (46%).

A half of the Russian speaking respondents state that they watch Russian-language *Aktuaalne Kaamera* (news programme by ETV, the public broadcaster) at least every now and then. The largest audience belongs to the oldest age group (60-74), four fifths of which say that they watch the news programme regularly. The younger the respondents, the less interested they become in Russian-language AK; only a fifth of the youngest age group (15-19) watch it regularly (which is far smaller than the audience of news programmes about Estonia on channels from Russia).

To summarise the analysis of media consumption of the Russian-speaking population, it can be claimed that the common media space of ethnic Estonians and the minority population is relatively small, although a part of the Russian-speaking audience is interested in receiving information about events in Estonia from local media channels. The largest common media space is created by Russian news programme on ETV (including novosti.etv24.ee). However, as the survey shows, its audience is far smaller than that of *Novosti Estonii* on PBK, which is also regarded as more trustworthy. It also shows that the Russian-speaking population generally highly supports the increase of the number of Russian TV shows on ETV that

would be the result of creating the other channel, ETV2. (SaarPoll/University of Tartu, 2007). Still, the preliminary assessment forecasts relatively small audience because the choice of Russian and international channels is great and people already have certain preferences. The only type of programme not present on ETV yet is one covering social and political issues of includes active participation from the part of Russian-speaking population (now all such discussion and interactive programmes are only in Russian-language radio).

Qualitative studies also show Russian-speaking audience's potential interest in programmes on ETV (cultural, publicistic, local TV programmes) if they were provided with Russian subtitles. That would not only help enlarge the common media space but also improve one's language skills (the vocabulary of the shows is considered difficult even for people fluent in Estonian). That would demand taking into consideration the multiculturalism of the audience at the programme production stage. It is also advisable to conduct some research on the potential audience. Before introducing the above mentioned changes, it is advisable to research the audience's expectations about programmes in Russian and subtitled ones.

The interest in shows discussing social and political issues expressed in the qualitative study is connected with the issue of developing Estonian politicians' and officials' dialogue with the Russian-speaking population, what would go beyond disseminating official information. Politicians and officials should pay more attention to cooperating with Russian-language channels.

Alongside the small size of the common media space, the differences in the interpretation of Estonian current politics and social issues including integration policy and interethnic relations by media channels in the different languages are also an important factor. Still, the small readership of the newspapers in the other language in either language group does not mean that what is happening in the media in the other language remains unnoticed. It is still reflected and often commented upon on Internet message boards and online news papers. The sensitivity towards the information presented in the media space in the other language and also the mother tongue has increased after the 'April events' (see the chapter on legal and political integration).

4.2.2 Russian speaking population's informedness

The media orientation different from that of the ethnic Estonians is clearly reflected by how informed the Russian.-speaking population regards itself. A half states they are well informed about the events in Estonia (compared to 2/3 ethnic Estonians) and a half states the same about the events abroad (compared to 1/3 ethnic Estonians).

As stated before, the versatile media consumption of the Russian-speaking population reflects the distribution of the audience into groups with different media-consumption patterns. In the study of 2004, media researchers separated 7 audience types among Russian-speaking media consumers (Vihalemm et al, 2004:134):

1) the youngest group (aged 15-19) characterised by *global and visual orientation* including different channels of information (internet, TV, foreign magazines, radio). In comparison to ethnic Estonians, they seldom read the local printed media;

2) people from Tallinn, aged 20-29, with higher education and good income, characterised by *global and diverse orientation* mainly focused on English operating and Finnish media channels;

3) *orientation to Estonian-language media*, characteristic of those aged 15-19 and 45-54 living in the Estonian-language environment;

4) *Estonian- and Russian-language media* orientation characteristic of people with mainly secondary education and average or slightly above average income, who consume more than average Estonian-language media channels but at the same time follow Estonian Russian-language media channels (newspapers, radio). They are characterised by more active attempts to be informed about the local events than the other groups;

5) business elite characterised by *diverse media consumption* and the income larger than average prefers global and Estonian sources of information more than the other groups. This group regularly reads Estonian-language printed media and foreign professional magazines;

6) *Russian media oriented* (PBK TV channel as the most popular) group, mainly the residents of the North-East, whose consumption of the Estonian media is low (including radio). This group does not use the internet and occasionally reads local free newspapers

7) people with low education level, *poorly informed and financially restrained*, whose media consumption is the least. They very occasionally read local Russian-language newspapers (including free town papers) and listen to the radio.

The measures for increasing informedness (sub-goal 4) should first and foremost be directed at the two groups of the above mentioned: Russian-media oriented audience and the poorly informed and financially restrained group (ca 20% in all concentrated mainly in the North-East). The media consumption habits of the groups should also be taken into consideration.

4.3 Conclusion

These are the suggestions of the research group for the integration programme made on the basis of the previous analysis:

- Public broadcasting (ERR) plays a leading role in increasing the common media space for the population of Estonia. Thus, as to the given sub-goal, the measures directed at public broadcasting should be separated from the ones directed at private broadcasting companies and professional associations that can contribute to achieving the objective indirectly (journalist training, additional education etc.).
- Public broadcasting (ERR) should accept the leading role in increasing the common information space including the organisation of subtitling Estonian-language TV programmes (according to the preferences discovered by the audience research). It should also develop the schedule for shows in the minority language for ETV (according to the results of the audience study) and proceed developing the information portal in Russian.
- Cooperation with government offices and local councils in order to improve information availability and simplify access to information, taking into consideration the needs of the least informed group.
- The cooperation between all the media organisations of Estonia should be supported in

order to ensure the sustainability of Russian-language media in Estonia and to develop a closer integrated common media field. That also includes the training of media professionals fluent in Russian and supporting Estonian- and Russian-language media organisations' cooperation projects, which would improve psychological security against and critical attitude towards anti-Estonian campaigns and information attacks of Russia's media among both ethnic Estonians and Russian-speaking population.

- Raising the media awareness and critical media assessment of the Russian-speaking audience, especially the young, by introducing media studies (already going on in Estonian operating schools) into schools with Russian-language tuition. That includes developing the study materials, training teachers and cooperating with Estonian-language schools.
- In training programmes for journalists, special attention should be paid to the issues of integration and interethnic relations.
- Support is needed to for media programmes dedicated to the ethnic and cultural diversity in Estonia. Also monitoring pejorative and offensive language use in the media should continue, taking into account the increased interest from both sides in the other-language printed media.

4.1 Target groups and interested parties of the integration programme measures directed at media.

The study distinguishes the following target groups and interested parties for the given sub-goal:

- 1) The executives of public broadcasting, whose task it also is to create a common institutional media space;
- 2) Journalists and journalist organisations;
- 3) The strongly integrated, globally oriented part of the audience, familiar with Estonian TV channels informed about and critical towards propaganda;
- 4) The part of the audience that is sensitive to anti-Estonian propaganda from Russia (especially the young and the part of the Russian speaking population poorly integrated or hostile towards ethnic Estonians);
- 5) Poorly informed (20% of the Russian speaking population).

4.2 Suggestions as to the indicators

- In order to assess the sub-goal, it is necessary to measure the media consumption and trust of the target audience.
- To develop the indicators, the form of the media channel ownership (public broadcasting vs. private) and the language (Estonian or Russian) should be distinguished in the process of measuring media consumption and trust.

- The changes in media consumption and trust level in different target groups (age, area, knowledge of Estonian language) should be continuously monitored.
- The audience research should be conducted among the Russian-speaking population in order to reveal the need for local information in Russian and expectations of ERR programmes. The Russian-speaking audience of ERR should be continuously monitored.
- The media monitoring of integration and interethnic relations should be continued.
- language use should of media organisations be (self) monitored in order to recognise signs of negative ethnic stereotypes and xenophobia.

4.3 Possible media-related indicators in the integration programme

- The consumption of public broadcasting by different target groups of the Russian-speaking population (age, area, language command) (regular monitoring of ERR) ;
- The consumption of public broadcasting media in Estonian by different target groups (age, area, language command) (ETV subtitled shows listed separately) (as a part of ERR regular monitoring).
- Trust for different Estonian media channels (public broadcasting listed separately).

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State Integration Programme 2008-2013
Final Report on Needs and Feasibility Research

Part IV

Legal and Political Integration

Public Contracting Authority: Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Estonia

Kristina Kallas
University of Tartu/Institute of Baltic
Studies

Unofficial Translation

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1. INTRODUCTION

The integration programme for years 2008-2013 formulates the goal of legal and political integration as helping people with the mother tongue other than Estonian, including new immigrants, to adapt in Estonian society and become its active members. The most important aims of legal and political integration are the development of social cohesion between the people belonging to different ethnic groups and cultures and fostering the common identity uniting the citizens of Estonia. To achieve this goal, it is necessary to act in two directions. First, people of undetermined citizenship, whose proportion in the country is rather remarkable, should be naturalised as Estonian citizens. Second, more active participation of the citizens of minority origins in public activities and organisations should be fostered. They should also become more actively involved in community affairs and close cooperation of citizens' associations.

In order to assess the needs for and the feasibility of the integration objectives mentioned before, a qualitative study was conducted in the autumn of 2007. The study aimed at analysing the goals stated in the integration programme and the relevance of the proposed measures. It also emphasises the aspects of legal and political integration not stated in the integration programme but still considered important for successful community integration, in the opinion of the target groups and interested parties.

The current report summarises the main results of the qualitative study, assesses the planned objectives and measures, and lists suggestions for changes. The report consists of five chapters. The first chapter presents the theoretical and conceptual framework of state identity. The framework, alongside the feedback from target groups and interviews with the political elite, is used to analyse the social process of the development and strengthening of state identity. The analysis gives a reason to claim that the process of the development of common state identity and social unity is gaining momentum. That is illustrated by two major factors: the continuing increase in numbers of citizens of non-Estonian origins and the fact that most of the Russian speaking population identifying itself as a part of the Estonian nation. It is also reflected by the political elite's vision of the Estonian nation as a community including all the citizens of the Republic of Estonia regardless of their ethnic and cultural origins. Still, a problem lies in the rejection by majority that citizens of non-Estonian origin perceive, especially in the political sphere; which is also revealed by their little representation in the government. Another problem is the insecurity that the political elite sometimes express about the participation of ethnic groups other than Estonian in political life.

The second chapter of the report analyses the participation in public life of the Estonian and Russian speaking citizens, especially young, and the role of community organisations in the process of integration. Although the involvement of both Estonian and Russian speakers in citizen organisations is similarly active, Russian speakers are much less interested in community activities. That passiveness, especially among the young, is one of the main challenges of integration policy.

The third chapter of the report focuses on the issues concerning the naturalisation of the people of undetermined citizenship. On the basis of the qualitative study and the trends of the past years, it can be claimed that the speed of naturalisation is not likely to increase. One of the main challenges of the integration policy is the issue of children of

undetermined citizenship. Better dissemination of information and raising the parents' awareness are needed.

The fourth chapter focuses on the issues of discrimination, an area that is very important to tackle for achieving social cohesion, but sphere which was left without attention in the earlier integration policy. Neither Russian nor Estonian speakers interviewed considered discrimination the biggest problem in Estonia. The problem is considered to lie in the politically incorrect language use, labelling and intolerance. More Russian speaking respondents than Estonians express the opinion that discrimination exists in Estonia, meaning both the formal inequality of political rights as well as the availability of education and the absence of equal opportunities, especially the availability of official information. In the respondents' opinion the instances of indirect discrimination when the implementation of formally neutral requirements or restrictions discriminated against Russian speakers were said to happen the most often. The recognition of discrimination as a problem, especially often mentioned the clearly perceived rejection of people speaking the language other than Estonian in the communication with clerks (including government officials), and raising public awareness about instances of discrimination need governmental encouragement. The institution of the Chancellor of Justice should be the main authority to show initiative in the matter. Another challenge of integration policy is to eliminate direct discrimination and the perceived rejection, including the negative attitude towards different ethnic groups that is sometimes expressed, as these phenomena decrease social cohesion.

The last chapter of the report focuses on the availability of public services to people with other native language than Estonian. The officials' awareness about their role and that of the services they provide in the development of integration process is rather low. The opportunity to use public services as additional factors fostering integration is little recognised either.

1.1 Research methodology

The analysis of the objectives and measures of legal and political integration is based on three data records: (1) the quantitative research 'Me. Word. Media' conducted by the University of Tartu in December, 2005; (2) the quantitative survey 'Relationships between the ethnic groups and challenges of integration policy after the 'bronze soldier' crisis' conducted by SaarPoll and the University of Tartu in June, 2007; and (3) the qualitative research conducted by the University of Tartu and the Institute of Baltic Studies in September and October 2007.

The quantitative research helps to define more specifically the target groups of legal and political integration and emphasises their characteristics important for implementing particular measures. The qualitative research studied the needs of particular target groups and the feasibility of the measures suggested by the strategy. Additionally, the issues not originally present in the initial version of the integration programme emerged during the research and analysis. The characteristics of the target groups and the problems stated by earlier cases of integration monitoring report were taken into consideration in the process of determining the research focus point of focus group discussions and interviews with experts.

The qualitative research of legal and political integration included the following activities:

- 1) Four focus-group interviews with the representatives of the target groups and interested parties (September - October, 2007);

- 2) Twenty two interviews with experts: politicians, high-ranking government officials and public opinion leaders (both in Estonians and Russians) (October, 2007).

Interviews with focus groups and experts are described in the following table in more detail:

Type of interview	Target group	Time and place	Number of participants/interviewees
Focus group	Naturalised citizens	19 September, 2007; Tallinn	8
Focus group	People with undetermined citizenship	21 September, 2007; Jõhvi	8
Focus group	Russian cultural and youth associations	3 October, 2007; Tallinn	15
Focus group	Naturalised citizens	10 October, 2007; Tartu	6
Interviews with experts	High-ranking government officials	September – October	7
Interviews with experts	Politicians, including ministers	September – December	11
Interviews with experts	Public opinion leaders	September – December	4

2. STATE IDENTITY AND PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC LIFE

2.1 Introduction. State identity: conceptual and theoretical framework

Only 10 per cent of the 200 internationally recognised independent countries could truly be considered ethnically homogeneous. Due to globalisation, the trend is moving towards more apparent heterogeneity of nation states. Still, it is not only a 21st century phenomenon. There are few historical examples of political units in which the rulers' identity would fully coincide with the identity of the population on whose behalf the unit is governed. Present-day countries are characterised by attempts to manage the social heterogeneity caused by international migration and globalisation. State identity and social cohesion are the aspects that are most challenged by the heterogeneity.

Citizenship has been traditionally considered a 'proof' of national identity that gives, apart from the sense of belonging, a set of rights as well as obligations towards the nation as a whole. It is a multi-layered phenomenon that includes both the collective identity and the level of rights and obligations. Benhabib distinguishes three layers of citizenship that should be analysed separately (Benhabib, 1999: 720-721): collective identity as belonging to a historically formed political unit; privileges (political rights and obligations) given by the belonging; and social rights and benefits.

According to the traditional concept of a nation-state, political privileges were only given to the people belonging to the nation, the community defined by the state. In other words, they shared a common collective identity that was based on the same language, culture, religion, and historical memory. With the time, however, numerous researchers (Yuval-Davis, 1999; Benhabib, 1999; Soysal, 1994; Delanty, 1995; Holton, 1998) have argued that in order to understand the relationship of contemporary society and its individuals with the political community, the notions of a nation-state and national identity should be separated from the notion of citizenship. Also, a distinction should be made between a person's national identity and involvement in the political community life. Yuval-Davis believes that citizenship in contemporary society should be regarded as a multilevel identity construction that includes belonging to several different communities: country, nation, ethnicity, location, transboundary, and international. An individual's identity is formed by the interaction of these collective identities and by the historically formed positioning of each layer in relation to the others (Yuval-Davis, 1999: 122). Citizenship and the concept of a nation-state have been separated by the development of communications and transport, the emergence of such international political structures as the EU, and the development of the global network of social movement. There are immigrant communities, characterised by Yuval-Davis as 'devoted diasporas' (Yuval-Davis, 1999) in different parts of the world. These are culturally and politically devoted to further 'belonging' to their 'motherland', the national community where their parents or grandparents originate from. Still, they identify their own and their children's future with the country of residence.

The citizenship debate in both political and scholarly spheres in Estonia has been focused on the privileges of belonging. The development of the collective identity has been considered a natural process following the acquisition of political privileges. At the same time, research has shown that the identification processes in contemporary Estonia can only be analysed and explained by applying the concept of citizenship as multi-layered identification. Thus, the analyses of Estonian Russians' collective self-identification show

that their identification is multi-layered. On the one hand, they identify themselves as Estonian citizens; on the other hand, both Estonia and Russia are considered native countries (Vetik, 2005). It is not the identification with the state identity of Russia that causes the latter, but rather the identification with the ethnic community in possession of a common language, culture and historical memory. Moreover, the trend towards multi-layered identification does not seem to be weakening; the Russians aged 15-24 born in Estonia also state Russia as their native country alongside Estonia (Vetik 2005:87). The example of Estonia illustrates the above stated argument that belonging to one political community does not mean complete identification with its national collective identity, historically serving as the basis for this community. Neither does this belonging prevent from identification with some other national community that people do not formally belong to.

Thus in order to understand the modern meaning of state identity for an individual, citizenship i.e. belonging to a political community and nationality i.e. belonging to a specific historically formed linguistic, ethnic, religious, and cultural community should be separated.

Still, despite heterogeneity, a contemporary liberal-democratic (nation) state cannot exist without social unity. Democratic communities cannot function without citizens who share the same identity, are able to act as one and are ready to participate in the common political process to defend common interests (Kymlicka 1996: 175). The common identity that functions as unifying force of all the citizens of a country is the state identity. State identity is essentially the citizens' 'We' feeling that unites people regardless of their racial, religious, ethnic or cultural identity. Estonian state identity is formed by belonging to Estonian citizenship and based on the constitutional values of Estonia as a democratic state with rule of law. Still, it does not equal individual identity according to which every person respects democratic values. In such case, there would be no difference between Estonian state identity and, for instance, American or Portuguese state identity because being an American means holding the values of a democratic rule of law. State identity includes a collective element that means any two citizens of Estonia feel a connection that stems from sharing one state and its basic principles. State identity is based on the existence of social unity in the community. Varun Uberoi (2007) defines social unity as the perceived connection between individuals and groups on the basis of sharing common political life and the political processes shaping it. He believes such a perception of mutual connection can emerge when all the citizens feel secure and are accepted as a part of common political life and feel they legally participate in the processes shaping it. The feeling of security, in its turn, fosters the feeling of belonging (Uberoi 2007: 143-144). If the majority of the population feels belonging to a political community, they also feel that this community partially reflects them. It is not only the place where they are accepted, it is also the place where they want to live and that they define as their home. Thus state identity is the perception consisting, on the one hand, of the feeling of security and acceptance in political community and, on the other hand, the feeling of belonging that causes emotional connections with the political community and territory.

What exactly the uniting element could be to create social unity and the perception of mutual connections that are the basis of state identity has caused much argument. Numerous authors argue that sharing political rights and obligations alone creates collective identity because of participation in the political process (Kymlicka 1996). Kymlicka claims that common values are not enough and common identity is needed, but he does not specify what should foster the development of that identity. Still, as Uberoi convincingly proves, the possession of political right alone does not foster the

development of social unity and reciprocation in the community as these rights are only implemented if the unity exists already (Uberoi 2007, 147). Uberoi argues that state identity and sense of belonging cannot be constructed from the old national identity by erasing cultural elements of dominant ethnic group and trying to base the sense of belonging on common democratic values alone. What, Uberoi believes; traditional national states need for developing social unity is to formulate an entirely new collective identity. That can happen under the leadership of the political elite and with the participation of all the members of the community (citizens) (Uberoi 2007: 151). Solidarity and the development of unity can be achieved not by suppressing the differences but by integrating them. Such development of identity cannot be planned, but the political elite can foster it by using the public information space and such 'socialisation institutes' as the education system.

The development of state identity does not mean the elimination of other identities, especially cultural and ethnic ones. Thus every citizen of Estonia has a cultural or ethnic identity shared with people of the same language and cultural origin in Estonia and abroad and the state identity shared with all the other Estonian citizens regardless of their ethno-cultural identity. Thus contemporary people have several different group identities, which do not have to contradict one another. As Will Kymlicka (1996) claims, the members of different groups represent these in the political community, i.e. they act as Russians, Ukrainians, Old Believers or Muslims, not as individuals.¹ Nominally, such overlaps of collective identities can be signified by compound names like Estonian-Russian or Estonian-Tatar, in which the first half stands for the state and the second, for ethno-cultural identity. In English such overlapping identities are signified by so called *hyphenated identity* such as, for example, *Estonian-Russian*, *American-Jew*, *German-Turk* etc. The ethnic and cultural diversity of a country is one of the main value principles of state identity that should be respected by the political elite and that, according to Uberoi, should become 'a common myth, symbol and tradition shared by all the citizens.' (Uberoi 2007: 152).

The demands of ethnic minority groups for their ethno-cultural and language recognition and, in some cases, inclusion of the elements of their group identity into the state identity is not motivated by the desire to bring division into society (though it may seem so to the dominant ethnic group), but by strife for integration. The demands for the transformation of the state identity (citizenship) and separating traditional citizenship from national identity require active participation and foster the development of social unity (Kymlicka 1996: 178). Loyalty to the political community only develops within different ethno-cultural groups when this community also reflects their cultural identity and does not suppress it. Tariq Modood claims that it is the minorities that have stronger psychological and political need for a clear common framework and state symbols. The reason is that clarity in what make us voluntarily live together and build a country enables especially the minorities to be cleared from the accusations of disloyalty (quoted in Kymlicka 1996: 179). In order to provide the sense of security and belonging, state identity should reflect the cultural elements of all the minority groups; and the state policy should support those group identities.² In other words, to support social unity, state identity should take into consideration the heterogeneity of the community; for instance, the Russians' wish to belong to the Estonian nation as Russians.

¹ Although only the examples of national and religious group identities are given here, the statement is also true for other group identities, such as women or homosexuals, etc.

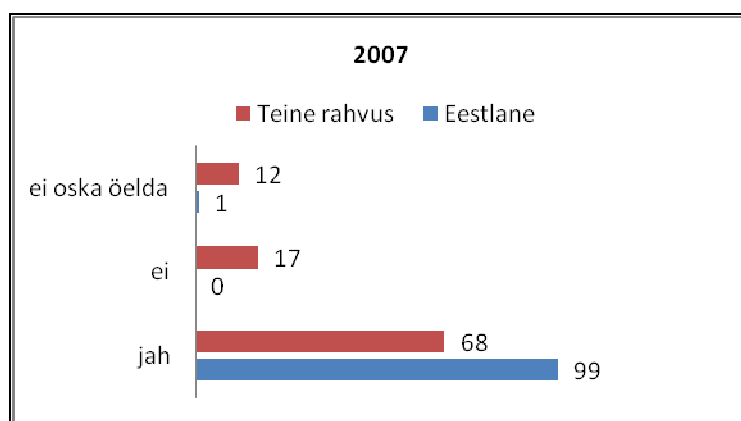
² Will Kymlicka defines the policies that support different group identities as group-differentiated rights (Kymlicka 1996).

2.2 Research results

The current qualitative research studies, on the one hand, the sense of belonging and involvement in public and political life of Estonian citizens of the minority ethnic origin. On the other hand, the political elite's (top politicians, high ranking government officials, public opinion leaders) understanding of the Estonian nation is also analysed.

On the basis of the study conducted by SaarPoll and the University of Tartu in the summer of 2007, it can be claimed that the majority of people living in Estonia define themselves as belonging to the Estonian nation in the constitutional meaning (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Self-identification with the Estonian nation among Estonians and non-Estonians.
(University of Tartu/SaarPoll 2007)



Translation of Figure 1.

Teine rahvus – the other nationality

Eestlane – Estonian

Ei oska öelda - not sure

Ei – no

Jah – yes

While 99 per cent of ethnic Estonians considered themselves belonging to the Estonian nation, 68 per cent of the respondents of the other ethnicity chose the same. That shows the minority's clear national self-identification with Estonian state. Still, the implementation of this self-identification in life faces numerous obstacles that hinder the development of the strong sense of belonging. The inequality of the different ethnic groups is felt the strongest in the political sphere. Despite self-identification with the Estonian nation, the respondents among ethnic minorities see their opportunities to participate in political activities or find employment in governmental offices worse than those of the Estonians. Russian speaking respondents in large majority (87 per cent) considered the Estonians' opportunities to find good employment in government offices or local councils () and to be politically active (84 per cent) much better than the Russians'. The Estonian-speaking respondents' opinion was similar: in those two areas respectively 61 per cent and 57 per cent considered the ethnic Estonians' opportunities better. 57 per cent of non-Estonians and 43 per cent of ethnic Estonians also considered the opportunities for belonging to citizen organisations better for ethnic Estonians.

The above stated was subjective assessment that might not correspond to objective data. Still, the interviews with high ranking state officials show that the proportion of employees of the other nationality in the ministry is low, and many regarded the situation as 'not normal'. Almost all the interviewed officials believed that the proportion could be

larger, although no one supported the introduction of a quota system. The interviews did not reveal any resistance to hiring non-Estonians; the attitude was rather positive. The non-Estonians insufficient command of Estonian language was considered the main reason for them being underrepresented in government offices. Moreover, the officials admitted that the now required highest level language skills were not sufficient either because an official's language skills have to be flawless, especially in writing. Additionally, some respondents thought that, in the community as small as Estonia, hiring people often happens by the means of friends in higher positions and social networking and that is why there are fewer non-Estonians in government offices already dominated by ethnic Estonians.

I don't know... how big a role this preference to people of your community plays in it... with friends and acquaintances, but sure to some extent... It's just because of that non-Estonians might not have access to high rank positions. [high rank official, Tallinn]

Someone has graduated from a particular secondary school; someone has graduated from a particular university; they contact their friends, tell them to come and apply here. But if you are not in the group, it's very difficult. [politician]

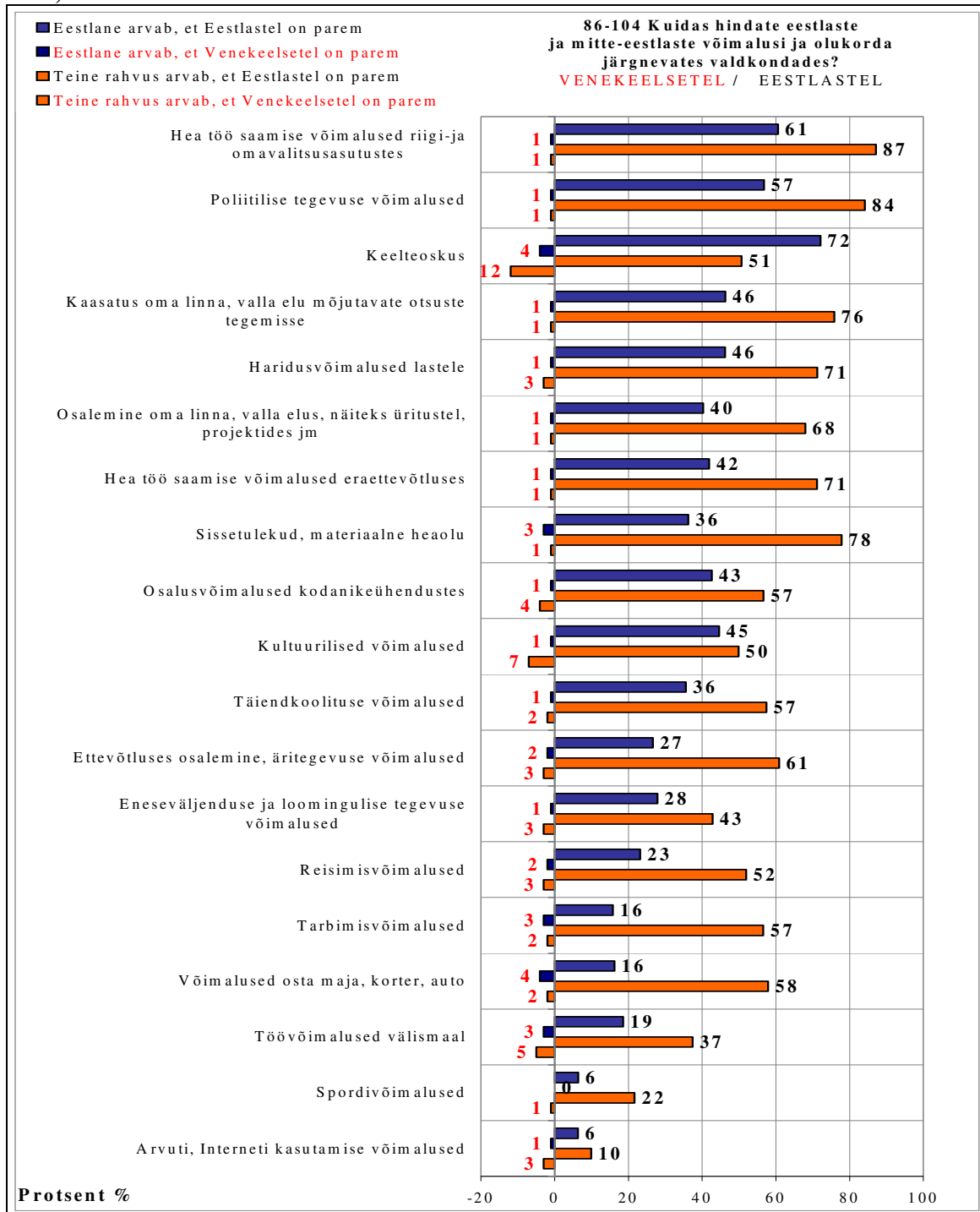
The Russian- speakers from the focus groups also considered preference for ethnic Estonians in government offices a problem. They believe it is the reflection of indirect discrimination against them. During individual interviews, Russian speaking respondents said that it might be the prejudice common for the Russian speaking population that ethnic Estonians were preferred for governmental jobs. The officials also expressed concern about the fact that few Russian speaking young people applied for governmental jobs. That reflects young Russian speakers' so called avoidance strategy. Rejection of the application or actual discrimination instances experienced personally or by acquaintances makes the young choose the jobs with less chance to be rejected because of the insufficient language command or their ethnic background. However, these kinds of jobs are often poorly paid.

According to the research of 2007 by the University of Tartu and SaarPoll, 82per cent of non-Estonian respondents and 28per cent of Estonians considered the non-Estonians' more active involvement in politics and economy beneficial to the society as a whole, whereas 34per cent of Estonians considered it harmful.

The naturalised citizens' opinion that the acquisition of citizenship does not result in the emergence of opportunities to apply for governmental jobs and that preference for ethnic Estonians is still felt was expressed during focus group sessions. That means the new integration programme should pay more attention to the citizens of ethnic minority origin. The research of 2007 by the University of Tartu and SaarPoll shows that inequality with preference for ethnic Estonians is felt the strongest in politics (only 28per cent of the respondents believed the opportunities were equal). It was also stated that there are often objective reasons to prefer ethnic Estonians, of which the perfect Estonian language command is the most important.

Figure 2. Structure and comparison of ethnic Estonians' and Russian speakers' opportunities (University of Tartu/SaarPoll)

2007).



Translation of Figure 2.

How would you assess the Estonians' and non-Estonians' opportunities and situation in these areas?

Venekäelsetel – Russian speakers

Eestlastel – ethnic Estonians'

Eestlane arvab et Eestlastel on parem – an ethnic Estonian thinks ethnic Estonians have better

Eestlane arvab et Venekäelsetel on parem – an ethnic Estonian thinks Russian speakers have better

Teine rahvus arvab et Eestlastel on parem – the other ethnic group thinks ethnic Estonians have better

better

Teine rahvus arvab et Venekeelsetel on parem – the other ethnic group thinks Russian speakers have better

Hea töö saamise võimalused riigi- ja omavalitsustes – opportunities to find a good job in government and self-government offices

Poliitilise tegevuse võimalused – opportunities for political activity

Keelteoskus – language skills

Kaasatus oma linna, valla elu mõjuvate otsuste tegemisse – involvement in the decision-making process to influence the life of one's town/county

Haridusvõimalused lastele - education opportunities for children

Osalemine oma linna, valla elus, näiteks üritustel, projektides jm – involvement in the life of one's town/county, e.g. events, projects etc.

Hea töö saamise võimalused eraettevõtluses – opportunities to find good employment in the private sector

Sissetulekud, materiaalne heaolu – income, standard of living

Osalusvõimalused kodanikeühendustes – opportunities for participation in citizen associations

Kultuurilised võimalused – cultural opportunities

Täiendkoolituse võimalused – opportunities for additional training

Ettevõtluses osalemine, äritegevuse võimalused – business opportunities

Eneseväljenduse ja loomingulise tegevuse võimalused – opportunities for self-expression and creativity

Reisimisvõimalused – travelling opportunities

Tarbimisvõimalused – consumer opportunities

Võimalused osta maja, korter, auto – opportunities to purchase a house, flat, car

Töövõimalused välismaal – job opportunities abroad

Sportivõimalused – sports opportunities

Arvuti, Interneti kasutamise võimalused – opportunities for computer and internet use

The predominant opinion expressed by the representatives of the other ethnic groups (both Estonian citizens and not) during the interviews with focus groups and experts was that the current definition of the Estonian nation is too narrow. People of other ethnic and cultural origins than Estonians do not perceive themselves as a part of the nation regardless of the formal existence of political rights. The acquisition of formal civil rights such as right to vote in national elections, form political parties, run for office etc does not automatically increase people's civil activeness. Respondents did not feel that the change of their legal status would have increased their opportunities to exercise these rights. It is the absence of the sense of belonging that is considered an obstacle, indicating that the non-Estonian population still feels the rejection expressed by ethnic Estonians.

Naturalised citizens believed that one of the reasons of alienation is the politicians' and media wording when referring to the non-Estonian population, resorting to 'us-you' constructions and sometimes apparent labelling:

We do not perceive ourselves as equals with ethnic Estonians. We are constantly reminded by media and politicians about some past sins. We are punished for them. I get constantly reminded that I am different. Young [Russians] feel ashamed for their parents! That is not normal! [woman, naturalised citizen, Tallinn]

If you look at media [in the Estonian language] and read what they report Russians have, so to say, managed to do again and look at how it is expressed, naturally, you'll start thinking whether it is better to understand Estonian language [and be able to read these newspapers] or not. [head of a youth organisation, Tallinn]

As to labelling, the non-Estonian population is especially sensitive to the use of the word 'tibla' (the transliteration of a Russian obscene expression; see also the discrimination issue).

The focus groups consisting of the citizens of non-Estonian ethnic origin did not consider preference for candidates on the basis of their nationality during elections justified. They believed that parties should be chosen on the basis of the worldview and not cultural and ethnic identity. This shows that it is not the ethnic aspect in politics that is important for the non-Estonian population but the need for the representation of their interests. That could also be noticed in the results of the last parliament elections concerning the parties identifying themselves as Russian.³ The preference for the multinational parties and the development of electorate based on political worldviews rather than ethnicity should be viewed as a positive opportunity for the development of common state identity across ethnic and cultural differences of the population. In the interviews, high ranking government officials and politicians were mainly of the opinion that the involvement of non-Estonians in economy, public affairs and politics is, undoubtedly, more useful for the Estonian state than harmful. The potential involvement of the whole population and especially Estonian citizens was considered vital. Some caution, however, was expressed about political involvement of Russian speakers; it was said that in certain situations it might be harmful:

Surely, there have been such cases. You can't deny it. You should be vigilant. But I think that most [Russian speaking] people in case of such positive and respectful attitude [on the part of ethnic Estonians] adapt the Estonian state identity much better, are more loyal, and the security of the state as a whole wins. [Parliament politician]

The involvement of Russian speaking politicians' in the work of the government was also considered as a sign of the possible positive attitude towards the involvement of non-Estonians in politics. It was added that professionalism and good knowledge of the field were the main criteria rather than specific ethnic identity of the politician. Some respondents considered loyalty to the republic of Estonia the most important criterion for a person taking the post of minister.

Political involvement and activeness are influenced by both the existence of formal civil rights and by so called actual citizenship, i.e. the sense of security and belonging. The analysis of the interviews with the political elite shows that the political elite of Estonia define the concept of the Estonian nation in the constitutional meaning as incorporating the whole population of Estonia. That means the Estonian nation includes all the citizens permanently residing on its territory regardless of the people's mother tongue and ethnic background. That indicates to the inclusive character of the definition of the Estonian nation, which means a there exists a possibility of successful integration of the members of culturally and ethnically different communities.

The analysis of the interviews with the political elite shows that 'an Estonian' usually means a person of ethnic Estonian origin with Estonian as mother tongue. It is on the basis of the Estonian language that many respondents divided people into ethnic Estonians and people of the other ethnicity. Still, several respondents among government officials and politicians regarded 'an Estonian', on the one hand, historically to refer to ethnic Estonians however, on the other hand, in modern Estonia it can also refer to a person with Estonian citizenship:

³ In the parliament elections of 2007, the Constitution Party gathered 1per cent of votes; and the Russian Party, 0.2per cent of votes. (www.vkk.ee) Little support for these parties was explained by the statements that they had discredited themselves or could not represent anyone as their political aptness was next to none. The fact that they had not had enough resources to finance the campaign was considered another objective reason.

An Estonian? I think there are two definitions. One is ethnic and the other defined by citizenship. [politician]

That depends on the context. If we mean the nationality, it is obviously a person whose parents are Estonians and the mother tongue is Estonian. If we mean the political status, it is obviously someone who has a right to vote, in the local or parliament elections. [Russian speaking businessman]

The people who do not live in Estonia but are of ethnic Estonian descent were also considered Estonians. The respondents representing the Russian speaking elite also agreed on that. Thus 'an Estonian' does not mean the state identity but rather the ethnic identity; neither does it coincide with the notion of an Estonian citizen or the geographical territory of Estonia.

2.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be said that the process of development of the common state identity and social unity is gaining momentum. That is illustrated, on the one hand, by the increase in the numbers of citizens of non-Estonian ethnic origin and the non-Estonian population's self-identification as a part of the Estonian nation. On the other hand, it is reflected by the political elite's vision of the Estonian nation as the community incorporating all the citizens of the Republic of Estonia. Still, the problem lies in the rejection that non-Estonians feel, especially in politics, reflected by their underrepresentation in the government. Secondly, the political elite's doubts about the benefits of non-Estonians' more active involvement in politics creates invisible barriers for Russian speakers to fully participate in public life.

Thus, the new national integration policy should, in the first place, pay attention to diminishing the rejection felt by the citizens of non-Estonian background, especially in politics.

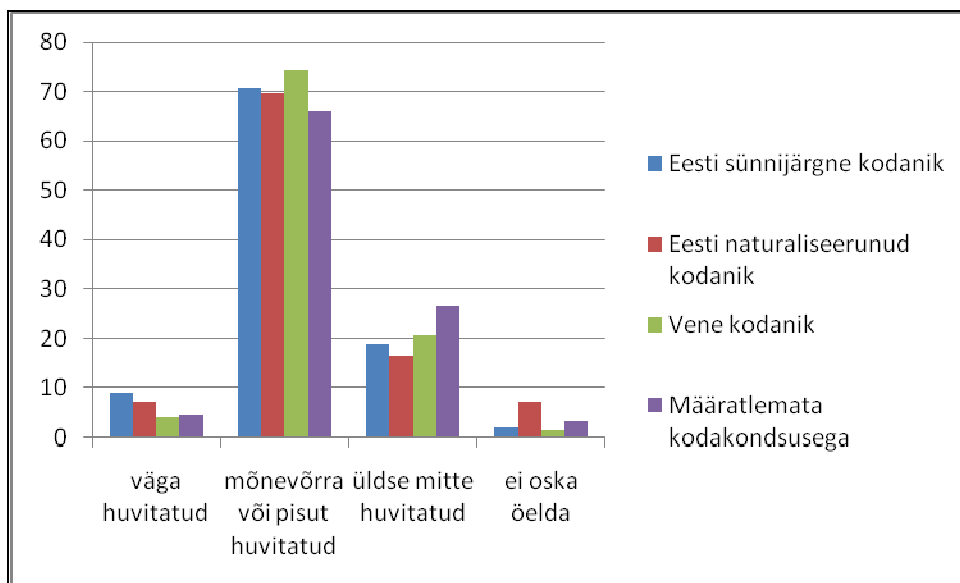
3. PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC LIFE AND THE ROLE OF CITIZEN ASSOCIATIONS

3.1 Introduction: electoral participation and involvement in civil society organisations

The more civil society organisations there are in a society and the denser their cooperation network, the more actively citizens participate in politics, including elections. Citizens' united activity also has a positive effect on the strength of state identity. Electoral participation in Estonia has been decreasing yearly. While 68 per cent of the electorate actually voted in the Parliament elections of 1992, just over a half of the electorate voted in the elections before last. In 2007, electoral participation increased again, constituting 62 per cent of the electorate. Electoral participation is even lower in local council elections. The electoral participation of ethnic Estonian and Russian speakers does not differ much. Since 1992, parliament elections and especially local council elections, where non-citizens can vote as well, have shown that non-Estonians' electoral participation is similar to the national average and sometimes even bigger. Thus, for instance, the overall electoral participation in the parliament elections of 1992 constituted 67 per cent. The participation in mainly Russian speaking towns was similar: 66.8 per cent in Narva, 66.4 per cent in Kohtla-Järve and as much as 83.4 per cent in Sillamäe. The booklet printed by the Election Committee states that during the local council elections of 1996 the non-citizens' electoral participation constituted only 49.7 per cent. However, during the last two elections (parliament elections of 2003 and 2007) the North-East part of Estonia where majority of Russian-speakers live displayed the lowest electoral participation (52 per cent in comparison to national average participation of 58 per cent in 2003 and 61 per cent in 2007).

Ethnic Estonians' and non-Estonian interest in politics and involvement in political associations are also similar. According to the data gathered in the course of the survey 'Me. World. Media' conducted by the Institute of Journalism and Communication of the University of Tartu, 74 per cent of ethnic Estonian respondents and the equal proportion of the Russian speaking respondents stated that they did not belong to any political association or party and were not interested in politics (University of Tartu, 2005). A survey conducted by the Institute of Government and Politics of the University of Tartu in the same year shows that there are no large differences across the holders of different citizenship apart from people of undetermined citizenship, who claim more often than not that they are not interested in politics.

Figure 3. How interested do you think you are in politics? (University of Tartu, 2005)



Translation of Figure 3.

Väga huvitatud – very much interested

Mõnevõrra või pisut huvitatud – somewhat interested

Üldse mitte huvitatud – not interested at all

Ei oska öelda – not sure

Eesti sünnijärgne kodanik – Estonian citizen by birthright

Eesti naturaliseerunud kodanik – Estonian naturalised citizen

Vene kodanik – Russian citizen

Määratlemata kodakondsusega - of undetermined citizenship

The University of Tartu survey of 2005 shows that ethnic Estonians' and the other ethnic groups' involvement in different social organisations does not differ much either. In addition to political associations, both ethnic Estonians and the representatives of the other ethnic groups have equally little interest, for example, in involvement in charity organisations (1per cent of the respondents are active members) and abstinence movements (0.6per cent). The associations attracting some more interest are condominium, summer cottage and consumer associations (10.9per cent); sport associations (10per cent) and hobby and leisure clubs (9per cent). Still, ethnic Estonians seem to be more active members of culture associations (7per cent of ethnic Estonian respondents vs. 3.3per cent of the respondents of the other ethnicity); leisure clubs (10.5per cent vs. 5.4per cent); and educational associations (4.7per cent vs.2.3per cent).

However, while actual membership is low for both ethnic groups, ethnic Estonians express the interest in social activities more often. Thus more ethnic Estonian respondents stated that although they were not members of specific organisations, they were still interested in environment protection, heritage protection and local community associations (52.1per cent of ethnic Estonians vs. 31per cent of the other ethnic group respondents); in educational and scholarly associations (40per cent vs. 20per cent); charity (30.4per cent vs. 8.9per cent) and leisure and hobby clubs (48.5per cent vs. 23.6per cent). Religious organisations are an exception, attracting more interest from the representatives of the other ethnic groups than Estonians (15.4per cent of the other ethnic groups' representatives vs. 8.2per cent of ethnic Estonians) (University of Tartu, 2005).

Attracting more interest in civil society activities from non-Estonians is an important challenge of integration policy. In addition, the issue of how integrated or segregated civil

society organisations are i.e. how many organisations there are where ethnic Estonians and ethnic minorities are equally represented should also be studied.

3.2 Research results

Notwithstanding similar rates of participation in some civil society organisations, the Russian speaking population is less interested in civic activities. The majority of citizen organisations are divided into organisations for Russian speakers and for ethnic Estonians. The aim of the qualitative research was to discover the role of integration as seen by Russian speaking youth organisations and how they cooperate with other, mainly ethnic Estonian youth organisations. Additionally, the main obstacles for Russian speaking young people's equal participation in civil society associations alongside ethnic Estonian youth were studied.

Representatives of minority youth organisations and minority culture associations believe that their main task is the development of the ethno-cultural identity of the young people belonging to minority group to raise their self-awareness and self esteem. That, in its turn, would lay the basis for civic activeness in the future. The increase in young people's civic activeness was considered impossible without ethnic and cultural self-awareness:

For that, we organise events that raise self-awareness. Without self-awareness, the personality is bland; and a bland personality has no targets or priorities. [head of a youth organisation, Tallinn]

They have a feeling nothing depends on them [...] We saw the need to start dealing with the young's inner world, their identity, cultural belonging, self-esteem, human dignity. [head of a youth organisation, Tallinn]

The organisation of cultural events lays the basis for civic activeness and also integration. The organisations considered integration objectives very important and sometimes overriding everything else. Lack of interest and motivation in organising joint events in some cases from the side of young ethnic Estonians was considered a problem. As to the organisation of joint events and financing the activities, the respondents believed that government support for interest-based cooperation (hobby groups and events for both ethnic Estonian and non-Estonian children) was more important than the support for activities specifically designed for integration. Non-Estonian youth organisations and cultural associations should be considered partners of the state in raising civil activeness, depending on their role in developing the young's self-awareness and thus fostering integration.

The civil activeness of non-Estonian young people did not seem any different from that of young ethnic Estonians. Both groups stated they were active and well organised, but the non-Estonians mentioned restricted availability of the information about the activities of organisations in Russian language.. The absence of Russian speaking young people in civil society associations, especially those operating in Estonian language, was explained by lack of information in Russian language and the methods of its distribution. As a large amount of information about community activities is distributed in circles of acquaintances, it was thought to be inevitable that ethnic Estonians and the Russian speaking young had separate organisations.

Russians just don't know that there are some organisations, youth centres, where you can do something you are interested in for free or very cheap. While Estonians forward this information to their friends, hear it in school, from teachers. This way it is easier to find something to do, than it is for Russians. [youth social worker, Tallinn]

The lack of information in Russian was considered a problem for involving Russian speaking young people in the activities of youth centres founded by local councils, especially in Tallinn. As a large number of youth workers are ethnic Estonians, by distributing information through their social network they do not manage to forward it to Russian speaking youth. There was an example of a youth centre that only featured information in Russian about AIDS prevention and HIV, but not about the events organised by the centre. The availability of information for Russian speaking young people often depends on whether there are any Russian speaking workers to deal with it in the organisation. Otherwise, the homepage is in Estonian only and ethnic Estonians are the main target group.

The segregation of ethnic Estonians and non-Estonians in the sphere of civil society associations was also predominant at the local council level. Local council officials considered a scope of measures to overcome the segregation necessary, but at the same time admitted that neither the associations nor government institutions are ready for cooperation.

3.3 Conclusion

To conclude, the research revealed that Russian speaking youth associations see their destiny in developing and preserving the ethnic and cultural identity and raising civil activeness of Russian speaking youth. Still, the cooperation between ethnic Estonian and Russian speaking youth associations was considered merely satisfactory. It works well within hobby and leisure projects, but financing the joint projects aiming at integration specifically was not considered effective. The absence of Russian speaking young people from Estonian civil society association was explained by information spread mostly in circles of acquaintances and lack of information in Russian.

3.4 Suggestions for the integration programme

The strategy words a sub-goal as *integrating non-Estonians in public life and politics and efficiency of the naturalisation process*. The sub-goal mainly focuses on people of undetermined citizenship and excludes the target group of naturalised citizens from the process of increasing civil activeness. The results of the research show that the acquisition of the Estonian citizenship does not automatically mean active involvement in public and political life, although it has a positive effect on a person's self-identification with the Republic of Estonia. Thus the support of the naturalisation process, focusing on people of undetermined citizenship, on the one hand and the inclusion of naturalised citizens of non-Estonian origin in public and political life, on the other hand should be distinguished. In addition, the support of the naturalisation process has specific goals that do not overlap with raising civil activeness and involving non-Estonians in public life. That is why the research group considers it important to distinguish the support of the naturalisation process as a separate sub-goal with its specific target group and a set of measures.

More attention should be paid to attracting naturalised citizens, and they should be recognised as partners in the integration policy and guaranteed an opportunity to participate in discussing and solving integration problems. Moreover, non-Estonians' underrepresentation in government offices requires more attention. In order to supplement the sub-goal, the research team provides the following suggestions based on the initial research results:

- To conduct a quantitative survey to determine the representation of non-Estonians in government offices and a qualitative study to determine the main reasons of their underrepresentation;
- To distribute the information necessary for the efficient inclusion of non-Estonian young people and adults also in Russian language in order to increase their motivation and awareness as well as their civil activeness. That concerns the distribution of information in Russian about the activities of local council youth centres and also about financial support provided by the state.
- To support and encourage the distribution of information by ethnic Estonian civil society associations in Russian in parallel with information in Estonian (including the creation of Russian language websites). That would require additional resources not always available to ethnic Estonian civil society associations, so the state could finance the translation of websites.

The strategy words the indicator of the sub-goal as *The increase of non-Estonians civil society competence and activeness; new forms of dialogue to smooth the differences in opinion between the two communities; the similarities and differences in ethnic Estonians' and non-Estonians' electoral participation*. The indicator is not defined clearly and cannot be operationalised well because the notions of activeness and civil society competence are not explained. The comparison of ethnic Estonians' and non-Estonians' electoral participation does not reflect inclusion and political competence. Electoral participation depends on whether non-Estonians consider any candidates trustworthy and any pre-election promises satisfactory for their needs.

On the basis of the research analysis the following indicators should be used to measure inclusion and civil activeness:

- 1) By means of public opinion studies, find out if the non-Estonian citizen population consider their opportunities for political activity and employment in government and local council offices equal with ethnic Estonians'. The results of the survey of 2007 by the University of Tartu/SaarPoll serve as the base indicator. The annual statistically significant decrease of the differences between ethnic Estonians and non-Estonians is the target indicator. The target indicator is to be measured by means of a quantitative study (integration monitoring).
- 2) To monitor systematically the involvement of non-Estonians in civil society associations and their interest in various public life activities (the index can be found in the previous integration monitoring). The participation shown by the previous monitoring is the base indicator. The decrease of the difference in participation and interest in civil society organisations between ethnic Estonians and non-Estonians is the target indicator.

4. SUPPORT OF NATURALISATION PROCESS

4.1. Introduction

There are 125,799 people of undetermined citizenship in Estonia (as of 24 January, 2007), which forms 9per cent of the population. In this group, there are 4,333 children aged 0-14

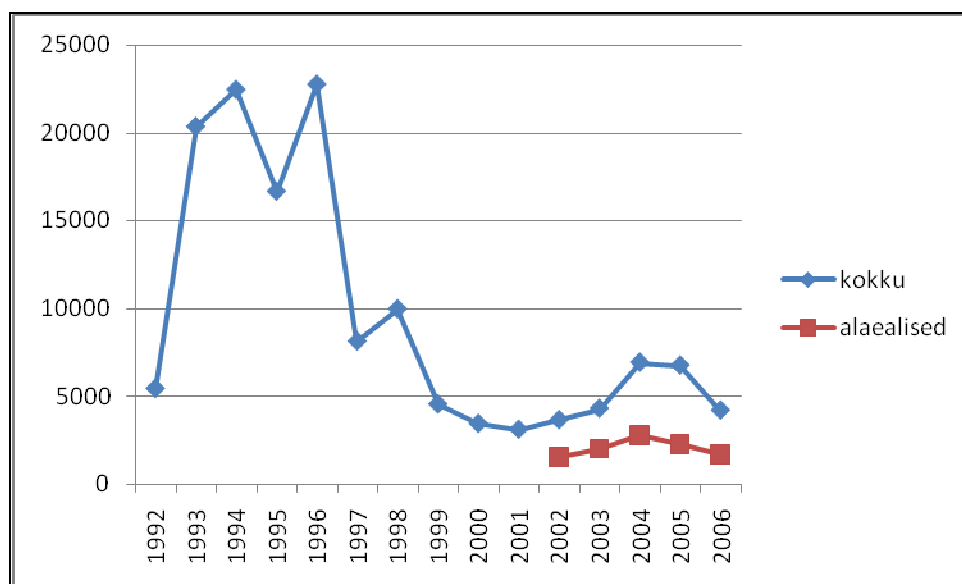
who have a long term residence permit and are entitled to the simplified procedure of citizenship acquisition.

Table 1. People with undetermined citizenship as at 24 January, 2007.
(Office of the Minister for Population and Ethnic Affairs)

Age	Temporary residence permit	Long term residence permit
0-14	450	4,333
15-29	3,320	24,801
30-44	3,913	29,495
45-59	4,291	31,805
60-74	989	14,966
75-89	277	6,788
90-104	23	348
Total	13,263	112,536

The pace of naturalisation has been stable at 4,000-5,000 people a year since the implementation of the new Citizenship Act in 1996 (Table 2). Years 2004 and 2005, when Estonia's joining the European Union raised people's motivation to apply for citizenship, were an exception. The number of children under 15 receiving the citizenship in course of a simplified procedure has also remained stable. Still, this number of children acquiring the citizenship cannot be considered satisfactory as the procedure is simplified and requires only the written application submitted by parents. One of the targets of the qualitative research was to reveal the motivation of the target group to apply for Estonian citizenship and the obstacles that hinder the acquisition of the citizenship.

Figure 4. Naturalisation process trend in 1992-2006
(Office of the Minister for Population and Ethnic Affairs)



Translation of Figure 4.
Kokku – total
Alaealised – underage (0-14 years)

Table 2. The number of naturalised citizens in 2000-2006 (Office of the Minister for Population and Ethnic Affairs)

2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	Total
3090	3640	4290	6917	6753	4188	3090	32 303

4.1 Research results

Interviews with three focus groups were conducted within the qualitative study. One group comprised people of undetermined citizenship in the North-East county of Ida-Virumaa; two other groups consisted of naturalised citizens in Tallinn and Tartu. The objective of the group interviews was to discuss the experience of naturalised citizens in the process of applying for citizenship and the motivation of people of undetermined citizenship to apply for citizenship as well as the possible obstacles in the process.

The interviews conducted with the focus group in the North-East revealed that the target group is in many cases falsely informed, including the information about the opportunities for children to receive citizenship through a simplified procedure. Thus two participants stated that, as far as they knew, a child could only receive citizenship in the first year of his life, and if the parents were to miss that deadline, it was not possible to apply for the simplified citizenship acquisition procedure any more:

When children are born now, they all receive the citizenship. But if the parents fail to apply before the child turns 1 year old, he or she does not have the right for citizenship.
[woman, Jõhvi]

It hasn't been talked about or advertised. We were lucky, we had to go abroad and had to apply for passports. And we were told that if we don't do it before the child is 1 year old, she won't receive the citizenship. [woman, Jõhvi]

The information was claimed to have been forwarded by officials, but it could not be specified who exactly these had been.

The availability of information about the prerequisites and the requirements for the application for citizenship as well as the state-funded preparation courses was considered insufficient. Still, there were several relatively well informed people in the group. Only one participant of the group of eight had received the information booklet sent to people of undetermined citizenship in 2006. Two people had heard about state funded preparation courses; the other six had not heard about them. Information was mainly obtained from acquaintances. It can be claimed that the target group in general is not sufficiently informed, but separate target groups should be distinguished. First, there are people who are poorly informed because of lack of motivation (or its absence as such) to obtain the Estonian citizenship and thus they are not interested in obtaining the information. The other category includes the people who are poorly informed because the information is not sufficiently available or incomplete (something is known, but not the exact facts).

The reasons for not applying for citizenship and obstacles in the process vary among people. The absence of information or its inaccuracy and also the insufficient language command can be an obstacle. Another obstacle could be the lack of motivation that is, in its turn, caused by different factors. The motivation is hindered by such pragmatic considerations as, for instance, easier organisation of business with Russia or the broadening of travelling opportunities in Europe for people of undetermined citizenship as well:

I have not applied for Estonian citizenship on purpose because I have to pay less for a visa to Russia without it. That's the only reason. But if I have to go to Europe [...] that's not a

problem, I can go wherever in Europe. Professional career is also possible without any problems. [man, Jõhvi]

At the same time, a part of the target group talked about psychological barriers preventing them from applying for citizenship, which also decrease motivation:

Why did some receive citizenship on the basis of 'green cards' and I cannot? In what way am I different? [...] It's not about being lazy or money. It's about principles. [woman, Jõhvi]

I would like to say that it's morally difficult for me. I do not believe I must prove to the Estonian state that I belong to its nation [...] I think I don't have to prove anything. [woman, Jõhvi]

People also have different reasons for their intentions to apply for citizenship in the future. The motivation of the target group with pragmatic reasons can be increased by means of better information dissemination and offering (free) language courses. People with psychological barriers are, as a rule, poorly motivated, in which case state policy measures are not efficient enough. Still, those who did not consider applying for citizenship were still interested in state funded language courses. Almost all the participants considered poor language command the main problem that hinders motivation. The proposition to carry out the state examination on Constitution and Citizenship Act in Russian instead of Estonian, suggested by the minister for population and ethnic affairs, was met with enthusiasm:

This is right. Otherwise you just learn and learn by heart. But this way [by taking the exam in Russian] you will actually gain some knowledge [man, Jõhvi]

As to the requirements for the language examination and the process itself, the target group adheres to numerous myths about it. It is a common opinion that the language level requirements are increasingly becoming more and more demanding. It has been claimed that even native speakers would fail the existing tests and the questions asked at the examinations were too difficult (for instance, about the pattern of Võru national costume skirt). The examination methods, which do not take into consideration the differences in people's abilities, were also criticised:

My husband went to take the exam at the high level. He did not pass because he makes mistakes. But he had a '3' for Russian at school all the way since Grade 1. But here they want him to write... in writing...for the high level... he speaks fluently, but he cannot write without mistakes. [woman, Kohtla-Järve]

The whole group expressed a unanimous opinion that if the state offered free language courses, they would arouse interest. It was not only the improvement of language skills that was stated as a reason, but also the fact that it would show the state cares about its people.

On the basis of the results of the research, adult people can roughly be divided into the following target groups according to their motivation:

- 1) Those who have chosen the undetermined citizenship status for pragmatic reasons such as business relations with Russia;
- 2) Those who do not feel that their opportunities in society are limited by undetermined citizenship and those who are poorly informed;
- 3) Those who are unable to pass the language examination;

- 4) Those who are against applying on principle. They find it is not personal motivation or capability that matters, but the country's attitude (the state should change the laws; they are not going to take any steps towards it).

The groups' motivation to apply for Estonian citizenship varies and that is why the policy approaches to these groups should also differ. The first two groups can be motivated by pragmatic factors such as travelling opportunities, easier administrative procedures or career opportunities:

If somebody told me that as of next year I wouldn't be able to leave Estonia, that they wouldn't let me out even if my wife has the 'blue passport' or a visa would cost me 10,000... Then I would learn [for the test], find time. Honestly! What else ... I have no idea what else could [motivate me]. [man, Jõhvi]

These two groups should be provided with more accurate and detailed information about the naturalisation process. The third group could be motivated by state funded language courses or other assistance of the state in taking the language examination. The insufficient amount of information is a problem for both the second and the third groups although they are interested in the naturalisation process. The last group of people is the least motivated and thus the most difficult to encourage by means of the state policy measures.

The naturalised citizens were interviewed about the experience of communication with state officials, availability of information, and their personal motivation for obtaining citizenship. As the majority of the respondents were born in Estonia, they considered Estonian citizenship the only possible option. The following factors were considered motivating:

- practical considerations such as travelling or career opportunities;
- psychological and emotional considerations such as not feeling second-rate citizen due to the lack of citizenship or the need to define one's legal status.

The experiences of communication with state officials varied greatly. There had been instances when everything was simple and effortless. However, there also were complaints about the extent of red tape and officials' unhelpfulness. As the majority of the respondents followed the procedure of citizenship acquisition in early 1990-s, they criticised the system for obscurity and subjectivity resulting from changeability of rules and requirements in the mentioned period. The respondents who had passed the language and Constitution and Citizenship Act (CCA) test in the past two years found that consultations (for instance, for the CCA examination) could still be conducted in Russian to explain the issues better.

4.2 Suggestions for the integration programme

The research group presents the following suggestions on the basis of the research results presented earlier:

- Broader dissemination of information about the simplified citizenship acquisition procedure for children and about the process of applying for adults. Cooperation with local council institutions (population registration offices, social workers, libraries) in order to increase the availability of information. In addition, effort should be made to prove the widespread disinformation false. These activities should be conducted alongside training courses informing local council administration officials about the process and conditions of citizenship acquisition.

- Proving the myths about the language test and the CCA test false by more efficient dissemination of official information.

The strategy states the indicator as *The number and proportion of people of undetermined citizenship in total population; The increase in number of applications for Estonian citizenship*. The number or proportion of people of undetermined citizenship in total population cannot be set as an indicator of the success of certain measures. The reason is that the former is also influenced by such processes as birth and mortality rate, emigration, the acquisition of some other country's citizenship etc. The increase in the number of applications for Estonian citizenship made by people of undetermined citizenship, or the maintenance of their existing number can be set as the indicator of the sub-goal. It can be measured by the statistical data presented by the Citizenship and Migration Board. The three last indicators concern particular activities and not measures; thus their presence in the strategy is not justified.

The basis indicator is the average number of the naturalised persons during the last integration programme of 200-2007, which constituted 4,600 a year. Taking into consideration the obstacles and types of motivation for applying for Estonian citizenship, the increase in the numbers is not to be expected in the nearest years. That is why the maintenance of the trend of the previous integration programme period can be set as an achievable goal. The indicator to measure the efficiency of the policy can be set at 4,000 people a year. The annual statistical data provided by the Citizenship and Migration Board should be used to measure the indicator. In order to develop a precise indicator (average number of the naturalised persons a year), regular research about the obstacles people of undetermined citizenship face in Estonian citizenship acquisition is needed. Their motivation and being informed about the process and conditions of citizenship acquisition should also be studied.

5. DISCRIMINATION

5.1 Introduction: the concept of discrimination and approaches to equality

Discrimination is a social phenomenon that significantly hinders the development of social unity and the feelings of security and belonging. Discrimination affects an individual directly, and the effect is often associated with stress and depression symptoms. However, discrimination does not influence directly only its victims, but also the whole community by undermining social unity. That is why measuring discrimination in society and its elimination are especially significant for integration. That would eliminate the material and emotional barriers existing in society and foster social unity.

European Union Directives on equal opportunities distinguish between direct and indirect discrimination. Direct discrimination comprises the situations when a person is, in a certain situation, treated worse than the other because of the race, ethnic or religious background, sexual orientation, gender or age. Indirect discrimination comprises the situations when an initially seemingly neutral requirement or practice places a person of a different race, ethnic or religious background or of a certain gender or age at a disadvantage. Recognising discrimination, especially indirect, is complicated because it is usually almost impossible to distinguish between justified and unjustified limitations and regulations that place one at a disadvantage. The current research also highlights this

complicatedness. The interviewees mentioned various instances of inequality in opportunities: both the ones in which the limitations and requirements might have been justified and those in which there was no objective justification. The latter shows that the population of Estonia is not very well aware of the nature of discrimination and basic human rights and freedoms.⁴

It should be mentioned that even the perception of discrimination as such, without bringing forward particular instances, has a negative effect on social unity. Stereotypes and labelling play an important role in how discrimination is perceived. The attitude of society towards certain groups affects individuals' attitude towards the members of these groups. Negative attitude towards the members of the other group leads to social distancing and the development of stereotypes that, in their turn, fuel the negative attitude. Stereotypes and negative attitude then encourage discriminating behaviour, and there can be situations when people do not realise they are discriminating someone. Thus, equal opportunities policy should not only limit its scope of attention to particular instances of discriminating behaviour, but also consider the social atmosphere and its stereotypes and negative attitude towards various groups of people. The rejection of a person who is different or speaks the other language is often caused by the negative social attitude towards this particular group of people. In addition, the reason of indirect discrimination is often negligence and ignorance, not the desire to treat people unequally or the negative attitude and stereotypes. The current research also mentions negligence as the main reason of clearly perceived discriminating behaviour.

The measuring of the extent of discrimination is also complicated by the fact that equality has been defined in very different terms in throughout times in history. European Book on Equality Data states three equality ideals widely held in modern world. The first ideal is formal equality. It stands for procedural equality of people (the same laws are valid for all) and is measured by the number of deviations from this principle i.e. individual discrimination cases. The second widely held equality ideal does not emphasise the procedural equality that much, but focuses on the final result and features an idea that the enactment of equal opportunities in laws alone does not necessarily lead to genuine equality in society. Strife towards this ideal often implies special treatment of certain groups and individuals, such as positive discrimination and quota systems, in addition to legitimising equal treatment. The third ideal implies achieving balance between the two previously mentioned ideals. It seeks to balance equal opportunities and equal results so that the policy that is supposed to ensure equality would focus on people's equal opportunities in the sphere of social activity and services. Education, labour market, and healthcare availability can serve as examples. Such an approach mainly concentrates on equal opportunities by means of eliminating prejudice, stereotypes and negative attitudes that can lead to discrimination.⁵ The European Union member states are required to implement the principle of formal equality as a minimum requirement. However, many member states develop it by implementing the policy of positive discrimination and the elimination of prejudice and negative attitudes.

The extent of discrimination in society cannot be measured by the number of complaints to legal protection institutions. Discrimination is, for the majority of victims, a humiliating experience that they are not willing to discuss publicly. Many victims blame themselves

⁴ The research into population's legal awareness, conducted by the Ministry of Justice in 2007, also characterises the legal awareness of the population of Estonia as merely satisfactory. See 'Research into Estonian Population's Legal Awareness', www.just.ee

⁵ See *European Handbook on Equality Data*, European Commission 2006f or different approaches to equality: formal equality, result equality and opportunities equality.

for what has happened to them and it is very seldom that complaints are actually filed to legal protection institutions.⁶

5.2 Research results

The results of different studies display a gap between the ethnic Estonians' and non-Estonians' perception of discrimination. The quantitative study in the summer of 2007 conducted by SaarPoll and the University of Tartu shows that 52per cent of non-Estonian respondents stated that discrimination is common and widespread in Estonia and they have experienced it personally. The majority of the ethnic Estonian respondents had never experienced discrimination (61per cent) whereas 15per cent of the ethnic Estonian respondents had witnessed or heard of cases of preferences based on ethnicity or native language (University of Tartu/SaarPoll).

The research into the Estonian population's legal awareness, commissioned by the Ministry of Justice in 2007, also proves that the protection of basic rights for the different ethnic groups living in Estonia is not equal. The fact that 26per cent of ethnic Estonian and 42per cent of non-Estonian respondents did not agree that basic rights of all people in Estonia are secured regardless of their ethnicity illustrates the statement (Eesti elanike õigusteadlikkuse uuring 2007: 40). Still, it is impossible to establish the essence of discrimination by means of quantitative research. That is the reason for close inspection of the issue of discrimination in the current qualitative research.

Table 3. Cases of preference on the basis of ethnicity or mother tongue in employment or distribution of benefits (per cent)
(University of Tartu/SaarPoll, 2007)

		All respondents	Ethnicity	
			Estonian	Other
Have you witnessed a situation when a person was preferred for employment or distribution of certain posts or benefits because of their ethnicity or mother tongue?	Not answered	0,1	0,1	0,2
	Yes, repeatedly; it is quite common	12,3	3,9	29,5
	In several instances	15,4	10,6	25,2
	Have not witnessed personally, but heard about it	25,1	25,0	25,2
	I have never witnessed or heard about such a situation	47,1	60,5	19,9
ALL RESPONDENTS		100,0	100,0	100,0

The representatives of the Russian speaking population taking part in focus group interviews, both Estonian citizens and people of undetermined citizenship, stated that discrimination existed in Estonia. They considered both the absence of formal equality, especially inequality in political rights and education, as well as inequality of opportunities for different ethnic groups in public life and in access to public services problematic. . The most often mentioned example of the latter was the ethnic Estonians'

⁶ The research into discrimination in European countries revealed that an official complaint is on average filed in 14per cent of discrimination cases. The proportion varied from 37per cent in the United Kingdom to a mere 1per cent in Spain (*European Handbook on Equality Data* 2006: 20).

better access to information (the lack or downright absence of official information in Russian) and thus their clear advantage.

The perception of discrimination varies by age groups. Younger participants of group interviews did not consider discrimination a problem. Only few considered the absence of information in Russian discriminating and giving advantage to ethnic Estonians.

Information availability only in Estonian was, namely, considered discriminating when applied to the elderly:

I have an example of my elderly parents and this [discrimination] issue. When they go to see an official, in all kinds of social welfare departments, they come back about to have a heart attack. People should understand that a 79-year-old's time to learn foreign languages, including Estonian, has long passed. I also know that elderly Estonians receive many more benefits and privileges just because information is available to them. They are talked to but ours are cast-offs. [woman, Tallinn]

Making official information more available to Russian speakers could be one of the policies of providing equal opportunities. That would increase the availability of public services for these people and their participation in public life. It would also decrease this group's perception of discrimination and the feeling of being rejected, which hinders social unity.

People of undetermined citizenship considered the citizenship-related restrictions for working in government offices and on executive positions discriminating. They also stated that Estonian citizens are clearly preferred for employment even if the citizenship is not officially required:

My husband worked in mining. He was a specialist. He was offered studies in Tallinn, to help him move up the career ladder. But he had a 'grey passport' and they sent somebody with a 'blue passport' to study. [woman, Kohtla-Järve]

Although formally the rights are equal, naturalised citizens have also perceived the existence of discrimination in Estonian society. Namely, they often describe indirect discrimination in such statements as 'ethnic Estonians are still preferred for employment'. The ethnic Estonians' clearly perceived rejecting attitude and hostility towards people who speak Estonian with an accent were also described:

I once went to the doctor's in Hiiu hospital [the hospital specialising in skin diseases and oncology]. I was sent to the nurse, she was elderly and spoke Estonian. She asked something, but I didn't know Estonian well enough at that time. I didn't understand. I asked: what? She looked at me, eyes popping out, and started saying: 'Outrageous, one has to learn Estonian, how dare you live here like this.' It was very hostile. It felt very unpleasant. Integration should be mutual [woman, Tallinn]

We had guests from Italy and took them out to a restaurant on Town Hall Square. We were sitting and talking. Mainly Russians and a Russian from Italy. The waiter ignored us. Finally we expressed our irritation, we felt embarrassed in front of the guest. Why weren't we being served? The waiter was called for and he said: I am not going to serve them, they are Russians [woman, Tallinn]

One of our acquaintances went to take the CCA examination. She went to receive the application form and things. There was a woman at the desk. The friend asked her in Russian: excuse me, where can I get the necessary forms and studying materials to take the test? The woman was Estonian. She started shouting at her: how dare you come here and speak Russian! She insulted her, shouted at her, refused to give any information, the girl left in tears. [woman, Tallinn]

However, cases of direct discrimination were also mentioned, taking place most often in the education system (kindergarten places, entering schools and universities). The following example can illustrate direct discrimination: in waiting lists for placements in kindergartens with Estonian language medium, Estonian speaking children are preferred. Russian speaking children are often moved to the back of the list with an explanation that there are already too many Russian speaking children in the group. The instances of preference for ethnic Estonians in entrance competitions in upper secondary schools and universities were also mentioned.

Still, the most often mentioned examples of direct discrimination concerned negative attitude towards people speaking Russian, mainly in the communication between service people and clients. The hostility of state officials towards people who do not speak Estonian was also considered an example of discrimination in public offices.

The study into discrimination in labour market revealed that indirect discrimination is applied to both language groups. Some respondents found that ethnic Estonians prefer to employ ethnic Estonians and Russians prefer Russians. That illustrates, among other things, the social distancing hindering the development of social unity.

During group interviews, Russian speaking respondents often became extremely emotional when discussing discrimination. Still, Russian speaking politicians and opinion leaders as well as Estonian high ranking officials in their personal interviews expressed the dominating belief that indirect discrimination in Estonia obviously exists, but it is accidental and certainly not problematic. Nevertheless, Russian speaking interviewees, as a rule, believed that direct discrimination also exists in Estonia.

Discrimination in the labour market is not considered probable because of the shortage of work force:

The majority of employers in Estonia cannot afford discrimination nowadays even if, well, their attitude might be different ... in the end, taking into consideration the extent of the work force crisis we are facing, it's like looking at a candidate at an interview and saying ... you are a great expert, but we are not employing you because you are Russian. Well, even if the employer might be inclined to do something like that, they just cannot afford it
[high ranking state official]

Still, in contrast to the rest of the studied groups, ethnic Estonian politicians do not consider discrimination socially problematic. It was the politicians' group that most often believed discrimination did not exist in Estonia. They explained the underrepresentation of the Russian speaking population in government institutions and the problems in labour market and education with objective reasons, the main reason being the insufficient command of Estonian.

Few respondents mentioned that apparently there is subconscious or indirect preference for ethnic Estonians for certain positions, but the actual instances of breaking the law were considered unlikely.

Some respondents emphasised the lack of tolerance as a great problem but nevertheless believed it did not lead to discrimination.

Yes, I don't think that it [discrimination] exists, like, on the national level. I'd rather word it as, well, Estonian society is not very tolerant. But it's like... I don't think it's, like, more displayed towards the other ethnic group than, let's say, towards other races or gender or fat people or those wearing glasses or whatever. This is surely the problem as I see it.
[politician, Tallinn]

Almost all the participants of personal interviews admitted that there was a much more serious problem; namely, labelling and politically incorrect language use concerning minority ethnic groups and people of other races. It was stated that the phenomenon is reflected in media in its most vivid form but also finds its way in politicians' public speeches. Only one of the respondents thought it could also be the case with government officials and public service personnel. Labelling was considered a general problem of society concerning both the Estonian and Russian speaking communities. It was emphasised that labelling did not only concern ethnic and language related stereotypes. Hostile attitude was felt the strongest in internet comments and media (newspaper articles). The words used by ethnic Estonians ('tibla' [*transliteration of a Russian obscene expression*], occupants, colonists) were often considered extremely insulting by the Russian speaking respondents. Almost all the respondents regarded the word 'tibla' as by far the most insulting whereas ethnic Estonian respondents did not see any hostility on their part in its use.

The research can be summarised by the statement that neither ethnic Estonian nor Russian speaking respondents considered discrimination to be the most serious problem in Estonia. Politically incorrect language use, labelling and intolerance were considered a much more serious problem.

However, Russian speaking respondents thought more often than ethnic Estonians that discrimination is practiced in Estonia. What they mean is the absence of formal equal opportunities in the spheres of political rights and education and the absence of equal opportunities, especially concerning the availability of official information. The instances of indirect discrimination when seemingly neutral requirements or limitations unjustly, as the respondents believed, placed Russian speaking people at a disadvantage were described as the most widespread.

Similarly, Russian speaking politicians and opinion leaders believed that direct and indirect discrimination exists in Estonia and concerns both the formal rights and equal opportunities. Young Russian speakers did not consider discrimination a problem. Estonian high ranking officials admitted that discrimination apparently exists, but believed it to be exceptional or inevitable, its extent in society fluctuating. Ethnic Estonian politicians were the fewest to agree that discrimination in Estonia exists.

5.3 Suggestions for the integration programme

The research group presents the following suggestions on the basis of the research results presented earlier:

- Discrimination should be recognised as a problem. Instances of discrimination should receive critical public attention, which requires government support. Still, the initiative should be shown by the institute of the Chancellor of Justice.
- Questions on discrimination should be present in integration monitoring analysis alongside the questions studying tolerance. Additionally, qualitative studies should be conducted to determine the meaning of discrimination and the awareness of different types of discrimination experience (ethnic/racial, legal, social, linguistic, religious) that people of different cultural backgrounds (both ethnic Estonians and the other ethnicities) have.
- Separate measures should be taken to organise information campaigns to raise the rights' awareness of different population groups.

- The mutual labelling of the majority and the minority groups is a separate problem. The measures to solve it should include those that increase tolerance as well as cross-cultural communication training courses for government officials and local council officials who have to work with the non-Estonian population on daily basis.
- The nature of representing instances of discrimination in media should be observed critically and justification of discrimination should be avoided. Training courses on discrimination issues should be conducted for journalists.

The awareness of discrimination problems and their solution possibilities could be significantly improved by unified anti-discrimination legislation. At least anti-discrimination amendments could be added to existing laws and the materials informing people about the issue should be made available to both the Estonian and Russian speaking population. In other countries' examples of good practice, the task of organising the spread of information is often performed by the institute of the Chancellor of Justice.

The development of discrimination related indicators needs more thorough research in order to map particular discrimination instances. It should also be studied how people speaking different mother tongues generally perceive discrimination. Special attention should be paid to the public sector and labour market.

6. INTEGRATION AND PUBLIC SERVICES

6.1. Research results

The awareness of integration related issues of executive officials of the ministries responsible for the process of integration is rather poor. A large proportion of the respondents admitted they had not thought about integration and neither had they paid attention to integration issues in developing the policy in their field of responsibility. Although the ministries' roles in integration were recognised by their officials, none except for the Ministry for Education and Research had prioritised integration.

The existence of a coordinating institution (Office of the Minister for Population and Ethnic Affairs) was considered important in the structure of the implementation of integration policy. At the same time, the fact that all the ministries should be responsible for integration was recognised. Also, the necessity for local councils to play a larger part in integration was emphasised.

The whole government [should deal with integration]. Well, undoubtedly, we now have a minister for population and ethnic affairs, but the Ministry for Education and all local councils are also very... I think that the whole establishment should be involved in this. [...] [Local councils] should have an overview of the whole population of a region, their language problems, what help they need. [...] just to be in touch with the people all the time, especially in the social sphere. [politician, member of Parliament]

The president office was also considered to play an important role in integration policy. He was expected to pay more attention to issues of integration. The Chancellor of Justice, it was stated, should also be actively involved in solving the problems of tolerance and discrimination.

Although statistical data is not available, the members of the focus groups, politicians and officials stated that non-Estonians were underrepresented in ministries and state administrative boards. High ranking officials could name few colleagues whose native

language was not Estonian working in their ministries. Moreover, these usually occupied lower positions in the ministry ('copying machine lady', secretary). The majority of the officials and politicians regarded this proportion too small and thought it should be increased. However, the ideas of introducing quota systems were met with protests. Still, a bigger proportion of non-Estonians among ministry employees was considered necessary, and some respondents thought it was downright vital and beneficial for Estonia as it would increase the non-Estonians' loyalty. The necessity to involve the representatives of the minority ethnic group in communication with this target group and in the development of the policies directed at the group was also regarded the benefit of employing non-Estonians. In addition, non-Estonians' Russian language command was considered positive and necessary for some ministries. In other words, the target of achieving some proportional balance was met positively, but it was to be achieved without introducing quota systems or any other legal regulations.

One of the reasons of non-Estonians' underrepresentation was mentioned as insufficient command of the Estonian language. Writing official documents in a government institution requires virtually a native Estonian speaker or a person who has received higher education in Estonian. The little interest of young non-Estonians towards applying for jobs in government offices was considered a less common reason. One high official stated, on the basis of her experience, that there have been derogatory remarks from minority community about the minority representatives working for the ministry, calling them 'traitors who have gone to the other side'. However, such attitude was only expressed about the officials dealing with politically sensitive issues that cause controversy between the communities.

The non-Estonians' experience of communication with officials varies. The respondents from the North-East mainly stated that they had not encountered any problems and the officials were generally helpful even if the communication was in Russian. The focus group from Tallinn mentioned snappish and sometimes downright derogatory behaviour towards people who spoke Estonian with accent. The examples included instances of officials' communication with the elderly (refused to give explanations in Russian) and doctors' communication with Russian speaking patients. Namely, there were examples of the doctors' clearly negative attitude towards patients who spoke Estonian with an accent and could not express themselves clearly. Thus, the research shows that the officials' derogatory attitude towards people speaking other languages is not widespread, but there occurred enough cases to attract more attention to the problem.

For the officials of local councils in the North-East and Tallinn, working with non-Estonians is a routine activity that is not different from working with ethnic Estonians. Integration is perceived as a natural process. Still, local council officials would like the state to set the targets of integration more explicitly and to give clear directives as to what is expected from local councils in particular spheres. The survey among local councils revealed that the foreign language command of the officials, especially of lower ranks, needs improvement. The main problems of Estonian language teaching are poor methodology and unsystematic approach, which is why the expected results are not achieved. The need to improve the officials' command of foreign languages (Russian and English) is obvious and especially acute for the officials responsible for social policy. Local council officials need training courses to communicate with non-Estonian clients, but this has not been perceived as an urgent matter yet. There are fears about future possible problems in communication with new immigrants, but no problems are perceived in communication with the local Russian speaking population.

The officials' have not shown much initiative in distributing the integration related information locally. Local council officials seldom realise the importance of their role in fostering the process of integration. Thus, the distribution of information beyond one's sphere of responsibility is not considered necessary. For instance, public registry officials do not consider informing people about the opportunities for simplified citizenship acquisition procedure for children as their task since this is the issue under the responsibility of the Citizenship and Migration Board.

There were numerous complaints about poor availability of information in communication with officials and the lack of official information in Russian. Translating legal acts into Russian was considered important as even the Estonian language command on the highest level does not always enable one to understand pieces of legislation written in Estonian.

The research group studied twenty two web pages of the most important government institutions in order to assess the presentation of information in Russian. Fifteen of the homepages had a Russian version. One institution (the National Examinations and Qualifications Centre) had the information partially presented in Russian. The State Chancellery presents the information in thirteen languages, none of which is Russian. Still, the most important subsections of the State Chancellery have homepages doubled in Russian (except for www.osale.ee, which is in Estonian only).

Full information in Russian is not found on the homepages of the following, extremely important, institutions: the homepage of the president of the Republic of Estonia, the National Audit Office of Estonia, the Bank of Estonia, the National Examinations and Qualifications Centre, the Health Care Board and the State Chancellery. All of these institutions have English versions (with the exception of the National Examinations and Qualifications Centre).

Out of thirteen ministries and two boards, eight ministries have a Russian version homepage. Five ministries do not have one: the Ministry of Defence, the Ministry of the Environment, the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Office of the Minister for Population and Ethnic Affairs. All the ministries except for two, the Office of the Minister for Population and Ethnic Affairs and the Office of the Minister for Regions, have an English version.

Only four of the county governments presented information in Russian: Ida-Viru county, Lääne-Viru County, Põlva county, and Tartu county. The rest of the county governments had mainly homepages in Estonian, with several exceptions presenting the information in English as well.

As for local councils, only the homepages of the ones with significant proportions of Russian speaking population were studied. There was no Russian version of the homepage for Jõhvi, Kiviõli, Kunda, Pärnu, Rakvere, Mustvee, and the small local councils of Aseri, Püssi, Kalaste, and Kuusalu.

6.1 Suggestions for the integration programme

The research group presents the following suggestions on the basis of the research results presented earlier:

- To organise a campaign to inspire the university graduates of from minority ethnic background (potential ministry employees) to apply for jobs in government offices.
- To carry out a monitoring research in government offices (ministries, boards) in order to establish the proportion of non-Estonian employees. The data about the

officials' mother tongue and language in which the education was acquired grouped by positions and departments should be used as an indicator.

- Local council officials should receive integration related training, and their role in the advancement of integration should be emphasised. The training could include, for instance, courses informing public registry officials about the simplified citizenship acquisition procedure for children; training sessions on raising officials' awareness on integration support measures, on state funded language courses and other opportunities.
- As part of public service, information (including the information in Russian, depending on the population) should become more available by means of its better dissemination locally. The information should be represented on the homepages of county governments, towns, and boroughs as well as forwarded by libraries and local council officials (social workers and registrars).
- Organise training courses in cross-cultural communication for government and local council officials, politicians, journalists. The aim of the training should be to teach people to express themselves clearly in communication with people of other cultural backgrounds and without causing conflicts. Another goal should be to teach people behave tolerantly in the culturally diverse environment.

In order to develop the indicators, integration monitoring analysis should study local council officials' awareness of their role in fostering the process of integration. The nature of communication between the officials and population should be mapped. It is also necessary to start regularly gathering statistical data about the mother tongue and language of education of local council officials.

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State Integration Programme 2008-2013
Final Report on Needs and Feasibility Research

Part V

Social and economic integration: Current situation and future challenges

Public Contracting Authority: Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Estonia

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1. INTRODUCTION

The fast growth of economy in the last several years has increased the welfare of the population of Estonia, both Estonians and the representatives of the other nationalities. However, it has also increased people's expectations for life standard. The hopes of reaching the levels of the developed European countries in economy, social protection, accomplishment opportunities, and life standards have also started flourishing. These new great expectations are also reflected by the increased importance of integration. In other words, the (un)equal social-economic opportunities of the people of the other nationality are receiving more attention. Additionally, the labour markets of the European countries are now open for the Estonian population. Together with the population decline as the result of the negative population growth, that makes the problems of the human assets deficit and its sustainable use especially acute. These problems indicate the need to pay more attention to better realisation of the non-Estonians' potential on the labour market of the country (Lauristin, Korts, Kallas, 2007:3).

The current report focuses on the social and economic integration aspects of the state integration programme for 2008-2013 (SIP 2008-2013). The report reviews the summary of the results of the research conducted by the research group and the conclusions made on their basis. It also analyses the measures intended to achieve the social-economic goal of the programme, which is *'all the people's opportunities for coping financially are equal, regardless of their nationality, mother tongue or residence area.'*

The strategic framework of the integration programme criticises the fact that the social-economic aspects of integration were not sufficiently represented in the previous „Integration in Estonian Society 2000-2007” in comparison to the issues of education and language teaching. The strategic framework emphasises the fact that the proportion of non-Estonians in social-economic risk groups is still too big in comparison to their proportion in relation to the whole population. That is why the SIP 2008-2013 alongside the programmes of other countries should co-ordinately implement the extensive measures to decrease unemployment, prevent AIDS/HIV etc. The integration programme states unemployment (especially long-term, youth and regional, the latter concerning the Ida-Viru County), the spread of drug abuse and HIV among the non-Estonian speaking young and the limited access of non-Estonians to social welfare as the main problems.

The integration programme sets four sub-goals in the area of social-economic integration: (1) to increase the non-Estonians competition capability on the labour market; (2) to increase business activity among the non-Estonian population; (3) to target social welfare to the population more efficiently and (4) to integrate new immigrants in society.

1.1 Methodology

1.1.1 Research focus

As to risk groups, the research group determined the research focus of the needs and feasibility research on the basis of the social-economic risks characteristic of the non-Estonian population and the corresponding risk groups stated in the strategy framework. The emphasis of the SIP 2008-2013 has largely determined the research focus: to create equal opportunities, to ensure the sense of security, and to target the young.

In order to determine the current social-economic situation of non-Estonians, the European Social Survey quantitative analysis of the dataset of Estonia was conducted in 2004. It aimed at characterising the groups of non-Estonians at the greatest risk of social exclusion. The analysis revealed that the difference in the risk of social exclusion is the largest between the Estonian speaking and Russian speaking population with university education belonging to the younger part of the middle age group. Non-Estonians have more difficulties in implementing their education on the labour market. That, in its turn, is the cause of lower social-economic status and income, dissatisfaction with one's personal and social life, insecurity and little trust in social institutions. The younger middle-aged educated non-Estonians can be referred to as potential elite of ethnic minority. The increase of their social inclusion could become a key factor of the success of the integration programme. Thus the highly educated non-Estonian population can be considered one of the most important target groups of integration. Thereby the research focuses on the aspect of highly educated non-Estonians' social-economic integration.

1.1.2 conducted studies and *and main research questions*

The following studies were conducted as parts of the social risk group research:

- *The quantitative analysis of social-economic risk groups* based on the data of the European Social Survey of 2004 and 2006 (August-September 2007). The analysis aimed to determine empirically the groups of Estonians and non-Estonians at the greatest social-economic risk (grouped by age, education, area of residence). The analysis focused on mapping social-economic integration needs, which helps to define the empirically determined social risk groups.
- *The focus group study of youth risk behaviour and the measures of its prevention* with the participation of the officials working in this sphere. The need for studying the issue emerges from the goals and activity directions of step 3.1 (better targeting of social services; creating the environment beneficial for non-Estonians' health; fostering the attitudes and group norms decreasing risk behaviour). The study focuses on mapping the factors contributing to (young) non-Estonians' delinquency. It also assesses the effectiveness of the existing criminal policy measures that are supposed to prevent social exclusion and marginalisation and to reverse these processes in society.

Research questions:

- What is the socio-demographic and cultural background of the non-Estonian young law-breakers/drug addicts?
- Which factors mainly contribute to risk behaviour?
- What is the efficiency of the measures taken to prevent or correct risk behaviour?
- What are the additional opportunities for preventing youth risk behaviour?

The interview with the focus group was conducted on 19 September in Tallinn. The six expert participants included two probation officers, two juvenile officers, one HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment specialist and one youth social worker.

- *A brainstorming session focused on the factors influencing opportunities for getting higher education and entering on the labour market.* The brainstorming session focused on the factors complicating the non-Estonians' university education and introduction to labour market. The measures intended to improve career opportunities were also discussed. Research questions:

- What are the resources available for non-Estonians and the obstacles they face in obtaining university education?
- What is the non-Estonians' motivation in specialty choice?
- What are young non-Estonians' opportunities (resources and obstacles) for introduction to labour market?
- Should the non-Estonians' intentions to receive university education be supported and how?

The brainstorming session was conducted on 26 September in Tartu. Eight non-Estonian students of the Faculty of Social Sciences took part.

- *Focus group and individual interviews studying the success opportunities of educated non-Estonians in Estonian society.* The focus group study analysed the needs of women (aged 30-45) with rather low occupational status living in Tallinn, Tartu and Narva. The study was based on the issues (thematic areas) determined by measures 1.1 (the increase of non-Estonians competition capability on the labour market) and 1.2 (the improvement of labour force mobility) of the integration strategy. Research questions:

- What prevents non-Estonians from maximal realising their education potential on the labour market?
- How does the occupation that is not consistent with education influence non-Estonians social-economic integration?
- What has been the non-Estonians involvement in retraining and additional training? How effective have the retraining and additional training programmes been?
- How to increase the share of non-Estonian labour force with university education at the leading and specialist positions (what measures should be taken)?
- How do people see their children's' opportunities in Estonia?

Three focus group sessions were conducted: two sessions in Tallinn were conducted on 17 October and involved six SEB Ühispank employees in one group and six Elcoteq workers in the other. One focus group session was conducted in Narva on 18 October and involved five Krenholm manufacture workers. Also, six individual interviews were held in Tartu in the period of 10-20 October.

1.1.3 Methods of analysis

The main analysis methods used in the quantitative study of social exclusion risk groups were two-dimensional analysis, correlation analysis, and multinomial logistic regression analysis.

The qualitative analysis was based on the transcripts of all the interviews compiled by the members of the research group. The transcripts were following the thematic focus and research questions of the study.

The parts irrelevant for the research, phonetic peculiarities and pauses were left out. The transcripts were coded and thematic content analysis was used. The coding was selective, based on the central theme of the research, and intended to reveal the correlation between the themes and the problems that emerged during the study.

2. CURRENT SITUATION OF SOCIAL-ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

2.1 Labour market

In the final decades of the twentieth century, the labour market of Estonia was characterised by the decrease in the numbers of the employed by more than 25,000 people. The phenomenon was caused by the economic recession characteristic of the transition period, as well as by negative population growth and remarkable out-migration. In the period of 1989-2000, the labour force participation rate among the population aged 15-69 fell from 76% to 66%; and the rate of employment, from 75% to 58%. The unemployment rate increased from less than 1% to nearly 14% in the same period (see Table 1).

In the conditions of long-term extensive positive economy growth, the employment rate has increased; and the unemployment rate, decreased. Since 2001, the employment rate has increased by more than 5% and has exceeded the 60% level. The rate of unemployment has fallen by 6%. The statistical analysis shows that the decrease of the employment rate and the increase of the unemployment rate have been proportionally bigger among the non-Estonian population than among Estonians. All individuals, regardless their ethnic affiliation should have equal opportunities on the labour market. However, the situation of minority groups in most countries is more vulnerable compared with the native population. The employment problems of ethnic minorities in different countries are similar, being mainly caused by poor language command, weaker and fewer social networks in comparison to majority nationalities, and the mutual attitudes and the relationships between the groups of population (Labour market risk groups: non-Estonians: 1).

Table 1. The dynamics of the employment and unemployment levels in 1997-2006 among people aged 15-74, grouped by.

Year	Employment rate, %			Unemployment rate, %		
	Estonians	Other nationalities	Total	Estonians	Other nationalities	Total
1997	59,6	56,3	58,5	7,8	13,2	9,6
1998	58,8	55,6	57,7	7,9	13,6	9,8
1999	56,3	53,6	55,3	9,8	16,5	12,2
2000	55,5	53,2	54,7	11,1	18,0	13,6
2001	56,1	53,4	55,2	10,4	16,8	12,6
2002	57,1	53,5	55,9	7,9	14,9	10,3
2003	58,3	53,7	56,7	7,3	15,2	10,0
2004	58,5	53,8	56,8	6,4	15,6	9,7
2005	58,7	56,3	57,9	5,3	12,9	7,9
2006	62,8	59,2	61,6	4	9,7	5,9

Source: Statistics database, Statistics Estonia

In the recent years, the non-Estonians' employment rate displayed little growth in comparison to that of the Estonians. However, there was a major leap in the non-Estonians' employment rate in 2005, which reduced the difference to 2.4% (the rates being 58.7% and 56.3% respectively) in comparison to the 4.7% difference in 2004. Still, the positive labour market trends of the recent years (the growth of employment rate and decrease in unemployment rate) have involved the non-citizens less than the rest of population. The employment rate of the Estonian population of other than Estonian citizenship has been growing and the unemployment rate has been decreasing slower than

that of Estonians. Among both Estonians and non-Estonians, the group of young people aged 15-24 has the highest risk of unemployment. Their risk of unemployment is higher than the general unemployment rate, by 5% on average for Estonians and 15% on average for non-Estonians. Non-Estonians aged 50-64 occupy the most secure position in the labour market, their unemployment rate being lower than Estonia's average.

The publication of the Ministry of Social Affairs titled 'Labour Market Risk Groups: the Long-term Unemployed' states poor Estonian language command as one of the reasons of long-term unemployment. Thus, the difference between the long-term unemployment rates of Estonians and non-Estonians is multiple. In 2004, 64% of the unemployed were long-term ones; among unemployed women, the rate was as high as 72%.

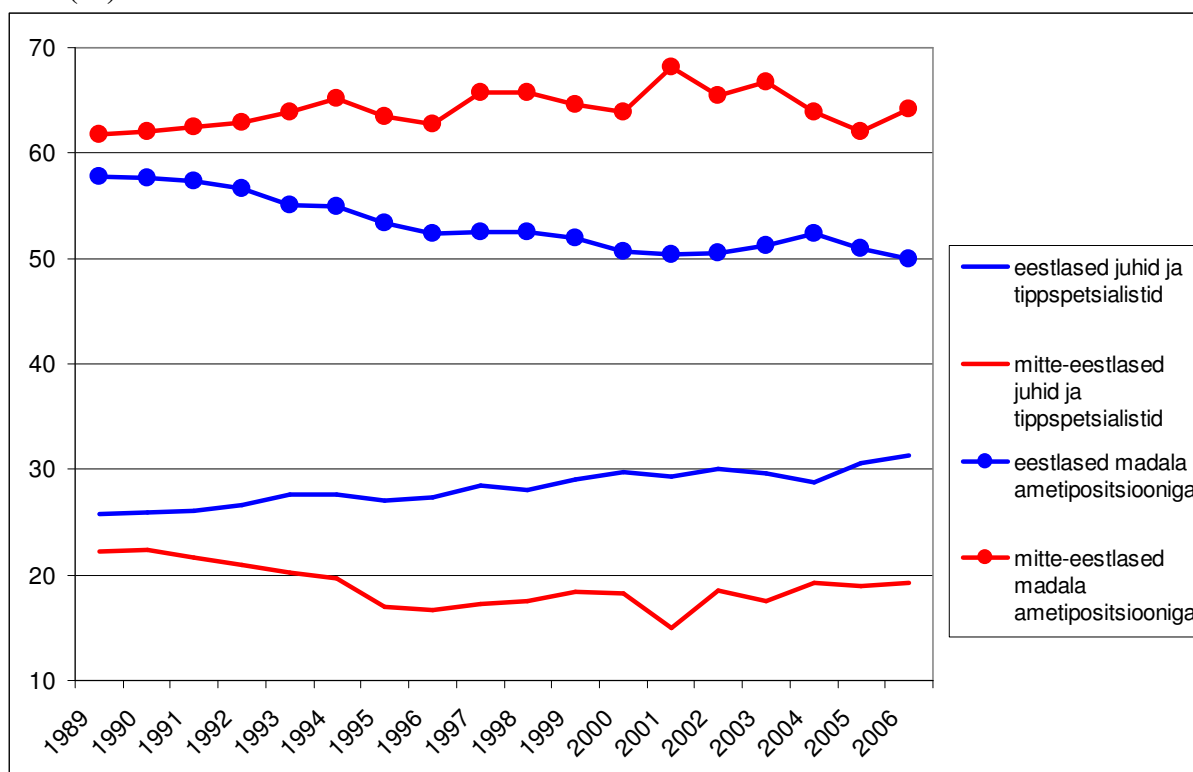
2.1.1 Labour market ethnic segregation

The employment spheres of Estonians and non-Estonians have traditionally been different. Non-Estonians have mainly worked in industry and production, whereas Estonians have worked in agriculture and service sector. As the result of economic reforms, the proportions of the primary and secondary sectors significantly decreased, which resulted in the decrease of sector-related ethnic segregation of the labour market.

The differences in social-economic structure of Estonians and non-Estonians emerge from comparing their occupational positions. Figure 1 shows that mainly Estonians represent executives and top specialists. The proportion of executives and top specialists among Estonians reached almost a third by 2006 in comparison to a fourth at the beginning of 1990s. The proportion of executives and top specialists among non-Estonians has, vice versa, decreased. The trend of employing non-Estonians as workers and service personnel and Estonians as specialists and executives has been stable for years. That has contributed to more and more white collar positions being occupied by Estonians and blue collar positions, by non-Estonians (Pavelson 2002).

Education is a factor what influences both the Estonians' and non-Estonians' success on the labour market. Still, the position of non-Estonians on the labour market is poorer in comparison to the Estonians with equal qualifications. Also, the non-Estonians' opportunities to find employment consistent with their education are fewer in comparison to the Estonians with equal education levels. The data of the European Social Survey of 2004 show that the position of the people aged 40-60 with university education is the most problematic. Only 43% of these have managed to apply their education as executives or specialists compared to 72% of Estonians with university education in the same age group. In the younger generation, 63% of highly educated non-Estonians and 82% of Estonians are employed as executives or top specialists. Figure 2 is an especially vivid illustration of the high proportion of service personnel and production line operators among the older generation of non-Estonians with university education. Considerable discrepancies between non-Estonians' education and occupation could be caused by their lower competition capability at high levels of career hierarchy (for instance, poor Estonian language command). Smaller social networks encouraging occupational mobility and employers' still strongly held national preferences could also be the cause.

Figure 1. Occupational distribution of Estonians and non-Estonians in employment, 1989-2006 (%).



Source: Statistics database, Statistics Estonia

Translation of Figure 1.

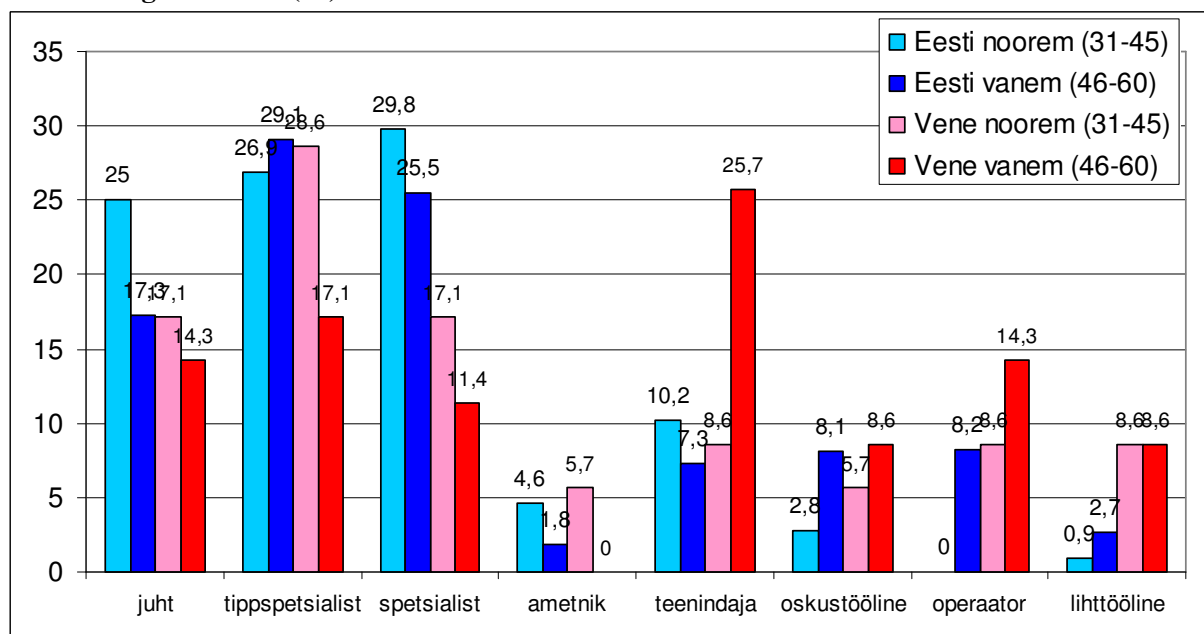
Eestlased juhid ja tippspetsialistid – executives and top specialists, Estonians

Mitte-eestlased juhid ja tippspetsialistid – executives and top specialists, non-Estonians

Eestlased madala ametipositsiooniga – low occupational status, Estonians

Mitte-eestlased madala ametipositsiooniga – low occupational status, non-Estonians

Figure 2. Distribution of the highly educated employed in occupational groups by age and mother tongue in 2004 (%).



Allikas: ESS 2004

Translation of Figure 2.

Juht - executive
 Tippspetsialist – top specialist
 Spetsialist- specialist
 Ametnik - official
 Teenindaja – service personnel
 Oskustööline – skilled worker
 Operaator – production line operator
 Lihttööline – unskilled worker
 Eesti noorem – Estonian, younger
 Eesti vanem – Estonian, older
 Vene noorem – Russian, younger
 Vene vanem - Russian, older

A survey titled ‘Perspectives of Non-Estonians’ was conducted by the research company SaarPoll in the spring of 2006. The results show that more than three thirds of the employed non-Estonians think that their job suits their abilities, experience and skills. Less than a third of respondents think their job corresponds to their education and qualifications. More than a half of the employed non-Estonians believe their job suits their expectations. Estonian citizens consider their jobs to better correspond to the above mentioned conditions than Russian citizens and people of undefined citizenship. The same survey shows that the respondents believe the improvement of their Estonian language skills is the most important means of improving competence capability. Additional professional training occupies the second position on the list; being proactive and pushing enough, the third; and retraining for another occupation, the fourth. The acquisition of Estonian citizenship occupied the final position on the list as the least important (Perspektiivid... 2006).

2.2 Income and economic welfare

As the Estonians’ and non-Estonians’ labour market statuses differ, their incomes should reflect the differences. The analysis of salary differences between Estonians and non-Estonians in the period of 1989-2005 was conducted by the Faculty of Economics of the University of Tartu. The analysis shows that unexplained income differences between the groups emerged in early 1990s. Within ten years, the gap increased up 10-15 percent with Estonian speaking employees at an advantage. However, it started narrowing in 2004-2005 (Leping, Toomet, 2007). A similar trend is perceived in families’ income per capita (Table 2).

Table 2. Distribution of Estonians and non-Estonians by income quintiles (%).

Year	Ethnic group	Income quintiles				
		Low income			high income	
		I	II	III	IV	V
2004	Estonians	19,9	19,0	19,9	19,2	22,0
	Non-Estonians	20,4	22,7	22,7	20,4	14,0
2006	Estonians	19,9	17,4	18,3	23,1	21,3
	Non-Estonians	24,6	22,5	22,2	19,5	11,2

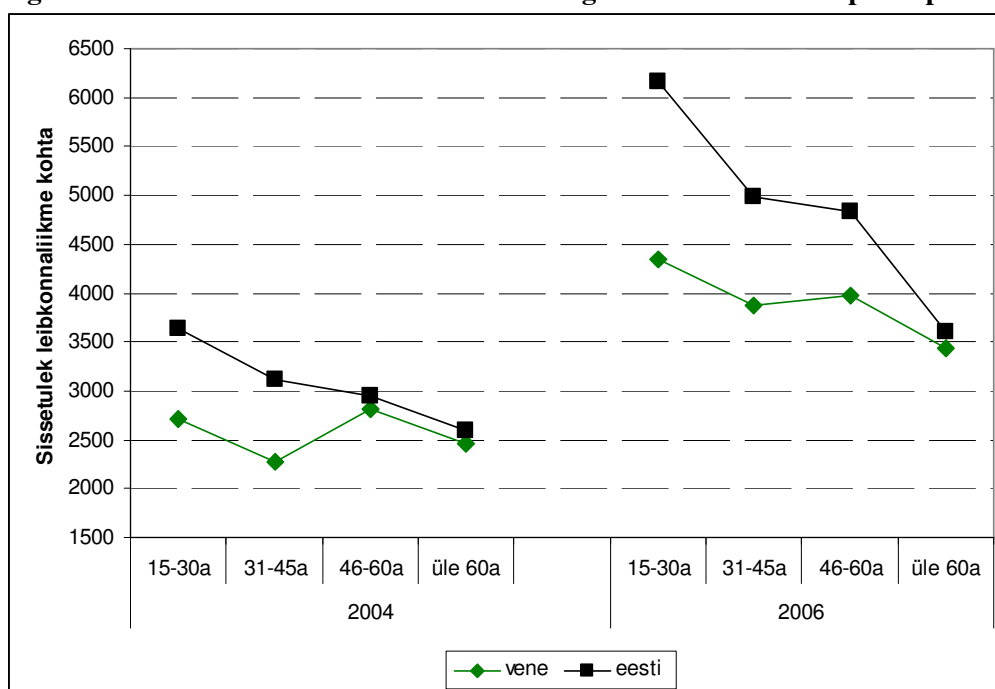
Source: ESS 2004 & ESS 2006

The dataset of the European Social Survey shows that the Estonians’ opportunities for belonging to the highest income quintile are much better than non-Estonians’. While in 2004 no major differences emerge in the distribution of Estonians and non-Estonians in the lower quintiles, in two years there emerged an increase in the proportion of non-Estonians among people with low income. Thus the comparison of years 2004 and 2006

proves the increasing income differentiation between Estonians and non-Estonians. As to income differences between Estonian citizens and non-citizens, the income level of the citizens was higher than that of non-citizens both in 2004 and 2006, and the difference is of statistical significance. The non-citizens' lower financial welfare level had also emerged in earlier studies (Pavelson, 2006).

Income differences can stem from the differences among individuals, for instance, education, age or area of residence. The results of the European Social Study of 2004 and 2006 show that households' income by capita increased within the two years in all the age groups for both Estonians and non-Estonians. However, household income gap between Estonians and non-Estonians increased in the youngest age group. While in 2004 the per capita income of non-Estonians aged 15-30 constituted 75% of the income of Estonians of the same age group, it only formed 70% of the latter in 2006. The gap between per capita income of Estonians and non-Estonians aged 46-60 increased by staggering 13%. Other age groups did not display such drastic changes, and the gap between Estonians' and non-Estonians income even decreased (Figure 3).

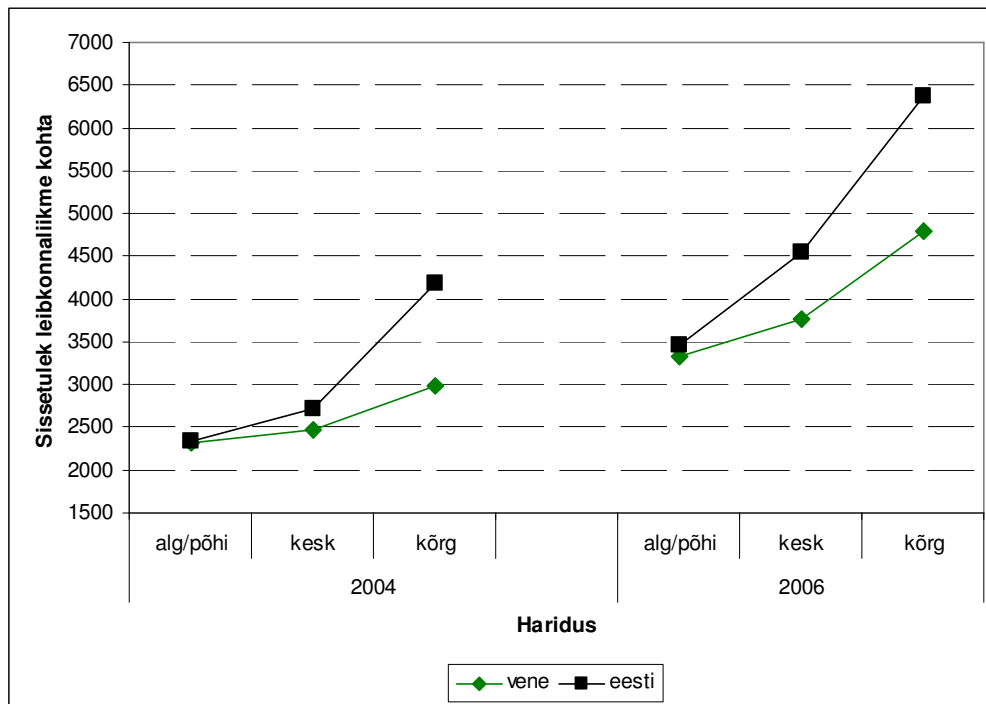
Figure 3. Estonians' and non-Estonians' average household income per capita by age groups.



Source: ESS 2004 & ESS 2006

Translation of Figure 4.
 Sissetulek leibkonnaliikme kohta – household income per capita
 Age: 15-30 31-45 46-60 60+
 Vene – Russian
 Eesti – Estonian

Figure 4. Estonians' and non-Estonians' average household income per capita by education levels.



Source: ESS 2004 & ESS 2006

Translation of Figure 4.

Sissetulek leibkonnaliikme kohta – household income per capita

Alg/põhi – elementary/basic

Kesk - secondary

Kõrg – university

Vene – Russian

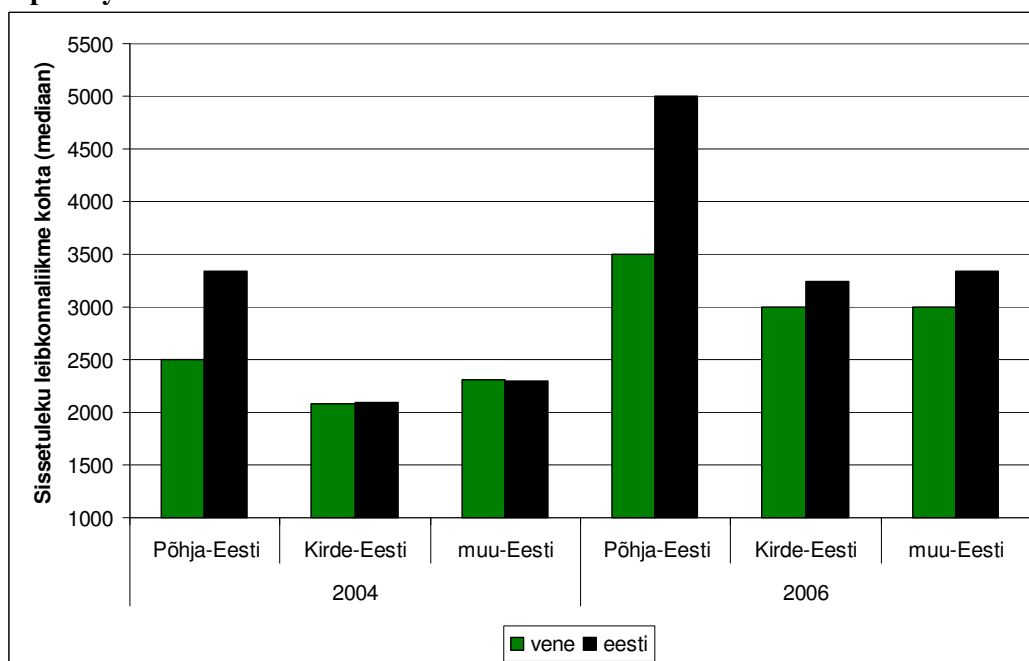
Eesti – Estonian

Generally, household incomes of people with higher levels of education are higher regardless of the nationality. Still, the household income per capita of Estonians with secondary and university education is significantly higher in comparison with non-Estonians' with the same level of education (Figure 4). This is similar to the results of the analysis based on the data of 1998 (Krusell, 2002). The income difference between Estonians and non-Estonians with elementary or basic education are minimal. However, the average household income of a non-Estonian constituted three thirds an Estonian's household income in 2006. Thus, it is in the highly educated group of population that income differences based on national division emerge. The study of salary gap between Estonians and non-Estonians (Leping, Toomet, 2007) also proves that the Estonians' salary depends on education more than the non-Estonians'. That means, highly educated Estonians earn significantly more than fellow Estonians with lower levels of education. At the same time, the differences in salaries of non-Estonians do not depend on education that much.

In addition to the effects of education and age, regional peculiarities should be taken into consideration. Incomes are considerably larger in Harju County, headed by Tallinn, than in the rest of the country (Maakonnad arvudes 2001-2005). The median values of Estonians' and non-Estonians' incomes in three regions: the North, the Ida-Viru County and the rest of the country – show that in 2004 the Estonians' income was higher than non-Estonians' only in the North of Estonia. In 2006, the gap between the incomes of Estonians and non-Estonians increased, especially in the North of Estonia. It should be mentioned that living in the North of the country does not have such a positive effect on

non-Estonians' incomes as it does on Estonians'. The income of the Estonians in the North of the country is 34% higher than that of the Estonians living in other areas. It is also 30% higher than the income of non-Estonians living in the North of Estonia. The gap between the incomes of non-Estonians living in the North of the country and in other areas constitutes 14%. Thus the inequality on the basis of area of residence among Estonians is more significant than among non-Estonians, and income seems to be more differentiated on the basis of nationality in the North of the country than in other regions (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Median value of Estonians' and non-Estonians' average household income per capita by areas of residence.



Source: ESS 2004 & ESS 2006

Translation of Figure 5.
 Sissetulek leibkonnaliikme kohta – household income per capita (median value)
 Põhja-Eesti – North of Estonia
 Kirde-Eesti – North-East of Estonia
 Muu Eesti – the rest of Estonia
 Vene – Russian
 Eesti - Estonian

2.2.1 Poverty and stratification

Different studies find that the non-Estonians' relative poverty rate is on average 1-2% higher than Estonians' (Fløtten, 2006, Trumm, 2005). The gap was the greatest in 2001, when the relative poverty rate constituted 20% for non-Estonians and 16% for Estonians (Trumm, 2005).

In addition to income and poverty rates, it is important to observe how the individuals themselves characterise their financial position. This self-assessment is subjective and would additionally describe the current situation and reflect the deprivation individuals feel when comparing themselves to the environment. Various sources state that non-Estonians consider their economic situation difficult or very difficult more often than Estonians (see table 3 below; Fløtten, 2006; Sissetulekud ja elamistingimused, 2005). According to the Estonian Social Survey of 2004, only 30% of non-Estonian households

considered their economic situation average or very good as opposed to 63% of Estonian households (Sissetulekud ja elamistingimused, 2005). Still, the gap between the financial situation of Estonians and non-Estonians tends to be decreasing. The comparison of years 2000, 2002, and 2005 shows that direct poverty rate is decreasing. Also, the proportion of households with saving opportunities has increased among both Estonians and non-Estonians. The proportion of households whose financial situation is considered good has also increased in both groups, now forming one fifth (Pavelson, 2006:9).

If the stratification of Estonian society were to be assessed on the basis of individuals' self-assessment, it would appear that Estonians consider themselves belonging to slightly higher strata than the Russian speaking population. On a five-point scale, Estonians on average identified their stratum at 3.13 points; and non-Estonians, at 2.96 points (Lauristin, 2004). Although Estonians and non-Estonians on average assess themselves in similar ways, the Russian speaking community is divided similarly to the Estonian speaking community. Almost a third positions itself higher than the middle of social ladder. However, the Russian speaking community's descriptions are more differentiated. People of undefined citizenship and Russian citizens position themselves in even lower social strata than the whole of the Russian speaking community (2.74 and 2.91 points on average, respectively) (Lauristin, 2004: 259).

3. RESEARCH RESULTS

3.1 Social exclusion analysis

3.1.1 *Concept of social exclusion*

There is no single definition of social exclusion. However, it can be generally defined as the process of the accumulation of welfare deficits, which causes the decrease of social inclusion. It also causes deepening feelings of powerlessness and disappointment and retreating from community life. Amartya Sen (2000) finds that the concept of social exclusion includes numerous social and economic problems: poverty, relative deprivation, inequality, discrimination, low social capital, trust deficit etc. Alber & Fahey (2004) define exclusion as the absence of social integration stemming from the inefficient social support system and little control over material resources. D'Ambrosio, Papdopoulos and Tsakloglou (2002) find that social exclusion means an individuals' inability to participate in the main political, economic and social structures of the community. Kronauer (1998) gives the following list of exclusion dimensions:

- Labour market exclusion – the long term unemployed with no perspectives to find a job;
- Economic exclusion – mainly poverty that causes the absence of social and cultural opportunities in comparison to average life standards;
- Cultural exclusion – the character of dominant value patterns. The behaviour following these patterns causes rejection towards people whose behaviour patterns or values are different;
- Exclusion caused by isolation – limited social contacts and relationships as well as closeness. The excluded group is considered marginal and discreditable;

- Spatial exclusion – the exclusion based on the area of residence and the concentration of the excluded in certain neighbourhoods, parts of towns or regions;
- Institutional exclusion – consistent abandonment of the excluded by public and private sector institutions, which complicates the participation in social welfare programmes and decreases the availability of public services and training courses for the excluded.

Karisto (1990) defines the following dimensions of exclusion: (1) unemployment as exclusion from the labour market; (2) poverty as exclusion from the consumer society; (3) loneliness as exclusion from social relationships; (4) cultural marginalisation as exclusion from power and influence. The multidimensional social exclusion index compiled by Eurostat (Eurostat 1998) includes the characteristics that reflect (1) financial difficulties; (2) unsatisfied basic needs; (3) living conditions worse than average; (4) absence of essential durable goods; (5) poor health; (6) insufficient number of social contacts; (7) general dissatisfaction with life.

To measure social exclusion, mainly objective characteristics were used. The objective of empiric studies typically considers registration of constrained opportunities and resources in different spheres of life. The fact that social exclusion can be regarded as the opposite of social integration makes the characteristics reflecting the importance of social cohesion perceived by the individual and the extent of the unity especially important (Robila 2006). Many authors (Böhnke 2001a, 2001b, 2004, Robila 2006, Bude and Lantermann 2006) emphasise the importance of subjective indicators in measuring social exclusion. Bude and Lantermann (2006) claim that the objective difficulties and limits, simultaneously emerging in different sectors, do not always result in social exclusion. Social exclusion is perception-based, and objective indicators do not carry any information as to the extent an individual feels excluded (if at all) from a particular community in given circumstances.

The analysis of the risk of social exclusion (Kutsar, 1997) based on the data of NORBALT Living Conditions Survey conducted in 1994 stems from Erik Allardt's (1975) welfare concept of three dimensions of welfare: having, loving (belonging) and being. The losses in these three dimensions cause deprivation, isolation, and anomie, and increase social exclusion risk. The results of the analysis show that almost a fifth of the population of Estonia is at high social exclusion risk, and more than a half is at a moderate risk. The main social-demographic factors influencing social exclusions are gender (women are at a higher social exclusion risk), age (the older the person, the more socially excluded), nationality (social exclusion risk is by a quarter higher for non-Estonians than Estonians), and education (social exclusion risk of the population with elementary and basic education is twice as high as that of people with university education) (Kutsar, 1997).

3.1.2 Social exclusion in Estonia in 2004 and 2006.

The theoretical framework described before and the opportunities provided by the datasets of the European Social Survey made it possible to analyse social exclusion by measuring for components: poverty, lack of trust, lack of information, and isolation. In order to measure each component, a corresponding index was compiled. Table 3 presents the average values of indexed variables for the groups with different nationality and citizenship for years 2004-2006. Index values were set to be dichotomous, in which '0' stands for the absence of risk of a certain component (for instance, poverty) and '1' stands for the presence of risk.

In 2004, Estonians and non-Estonians differed only by the levels of poverty and informedness, in 2006 the differentiation in the levels of distrust and feeling isolated appeared as well

The division of the Russian speaking population into two groups by citizenship gives a clearer overview of the differences in assessments expressed by Estonians and non-Estonians. The analysis reveals significant difference in the levels of trust and subjective poverty between Russian-speaking citizens and non-citizens of Estonia in 2006, which gives evidence about deepening polarisation of Russian-speaking community in Estonia. The attitudes of Russian-speaking citizens of Estonia became more supportive and got closer to the attitudes of Estonians, while the attitudes of non-citizens worsened even more. Thus it is apparent that the Estonians' and non-Estonians' poverty and lack of trust risks differed in 2006. It can be explained by the fact that non-citizens are significantly differentiated from Russian speaking citizens of Estonia as to poverty risk and the lack of trust. Thus it can be claimed the Russian speaking population polarised more in two years. The differences between the Estonians and Russian speaking citizens of Estonia decreased, which makes the worsening situation of the non-citizens more noticeable.

On contrary, the number of people who are little interested in politics or newspaper articles on current issues has significantly grown among both Estonians and non-Estonians. It could be presumed that the citizens of non-Estonian origins are better informed than non-citizens. However, such differences do not emerge. Still, there are many more internet users among Russian speaking citizens of Estonia than among non-citizens or Estonians. The risk of isolation significantly fell among Estonians within two years (20% in 2004 and 13% in 2006). At the same time, the isolation risk of citizens and non-citizens of non-Estonian origin remained the same as in 2004. In 2004, the rate of participating in events varied within the nationality. There were many more people who found that they participated in fewer events than their peers among non-citizens in 2004. It can be partially explained by the fact that there are more representatives of the older age group among the non-citizens.

By summing up the four dichotomous indices presented in Table 3, the consolidated index of social exclusion was formed. The occurrence of every following index added one point, so the index values varied from 0 to 4. Thus, '0' stands for complete absence of exclusion risks and value '4' (meaning the occurrence of all the risks measured by the sub-indices) stands for the maximum possible social exclusion. To simplify further analysis, people displaying risks concerning at least two components (index value >1) were considered to be at risk of social exclusion (Table 4).

Table 3. Base variable values of social exclusion index grouped by nationality and citizenship.
(%)

	2004				2006			
	Estonians (%)	The other nationalities (%)			Estonians (%)	The other nationalities (%)		
		Total	Estonians citizens	Non-citizens		Total	Estonian citizens	Non-citizens
POVERTY index – poor	46,4	56,7*	52,3	59,9	32,7	43,4*	37,1	48,1+
Subjective financial situation assessment – difficult/very difficult to cope	39,7	57,2*	54,1	59,4	23,0	43,0*	35,4	49,0+
Opportunities to borrow money / few/very few	72,5	65,0*	62,2	67,0	70,9	55*	53,2	56,4

Happiness assessment – unhappy	34,6	44,7*	39,4	48,4+	24,7	33,8*	26,2	39,9+
LACK OF TRUST index – no trust	20,4	24,6	26,4	23,3	15,1	29,1*	20,5	36,4+
No trust in the Parliament	22,0	24,1	26,0	22,7	16,3	25,4*	21,0	29,1+
No trust in jurisprudence	14,5	18,8*	18,6	18,9	11,0	20,7*	13,1	26,7+
No trust in the police	9,1	16,5*	16,9	16,1	8,4	21,4*	15,9	25,7+
No trust in politicians	32,8	41,2*	43,3	39,8	29,3	44,3*	37,4	50,0+
No trust in political parties	36,6	41,4	41,1	41,6	29,7	40*	32,5	46,0+
INFORMEDNESS index – poorly informed	17,5	28,2*	25,1	30,4	28,7	50,9*	48,9	52,4
Little watching of news programmes on TV	32,6	44,3*	46,8	42,5	28,1	45,7*	53,6	39,5+
-,,- listening -,,- on the radio	23,5	33,3*	33,8	32,9	51	67,1*	70	64,9
Little reading of newspaper articles on politics and current issues	61,7	63,3	66,7	60,9	72,2	82,2*	82	82,4
Not using the Internet	49,3	58,8*	47,6	66,8+	39,6	47,6*	31,3	60,5+
ISOLATION index – isolated	20,5	17,8	15,9	19,2	12,8	17,2*	14,3	19,5
Little communication with friends / relatives / peers	15,8	13,8	12,2	14,9	9,6	9,7	9,0	10,2
No close person to discuss personal problems with	14,8	16,1	14,6	17,2	10,6	16,3*	13,2	18,7
Less participation in events in comparison to peers	49,9	55,3*	48,6	60,2+	47,6	61,0*	56,5	64,6

* Estonians' and non-Estonians' assessment differences are statistically significant, significance level ≤ 0.05

+ Russian speaking citizens' and non-citizens' assessment differences are statistically significant, significance level ≤ 0.05

Source: ESS 2004 & ESS 2006

Table 4 shows that social exclusion risk among non-Estonians increased, and decreased among the Estonians within the two years. Thus the gap between the levels of social exclusion risk for Estonians and non-Estonians increased. The analysis of the increase of social exclusion risk by components reveals that the main reasons for the increase of exclusion among non-Estonians were the increased lack of trust and poor informedness. The gaps increased the most concerning the lack of trust (almost doubled) and lack of information (multiplied by 1.7). The largest gap that increased the most exists between Estonians and non-citizens of non-Estonian origin. The gap between the citizens of non-Estonian origin and non-citizens also increased due to the increase in the lack of trust (Table 5).

Table 4. Changes in risk levels grouped by language and citizenship.

Year	Total	Estonian speaking	All the other nationalities	Estonians citizens	Non-citizens
2004 N	565	386	178	68	110
%	31,2	29,0	37,5	33,7	40,3

2006	N	311	161	150	57	93
	%	27,6	20,9	42,7	34,8	49,7

Source: ESS 2004 & ESS 2006

Table 5. Coefficients of exclusion risks concerning Estonians and non-Estonians of different citizenships.

	Poverty		Lack of information		Lack of trust		Isolation	
	2004	2006	2004	2006	2004	2006	2004	2006
Risk for Russian speaking citizens compared to Estonians	1,13	1,13	1,43	1,70	1,29	1,36	0,78	1,12
Risk for Russian speaking non-citizens compared to Estonians	1,29	1,47	1,74	1,83	1,14	2,41	0,94	1,52
Risk for Russian non-citizens compared to Russian speaking citizens	1,15	1,30	1,21	1,07	0,88	1,78	1,21	1,36

Source: ESS 2004 & ESS 2006

3.1.3 Risk factors of social exclusion

The method of regression analysis was implemented to determine the factors influencing social exclusion risk. First, social exclusion risk was predicted for the whole sample. It appeared that social exclusion risk displayed a statistically significant correlation with individuals' education, age, and the experience of unemployment. The variable, best predicting the risk of social exclusion, in 2004, was education; in 2006 – experience of unemployment. In addition to these variables, the Correlation between exclusion risk and nationality was controlled. It must be admitted that non-Estonians' risk to experience exclusion by 2006 had almost doubled since 2004. In order to determine whether the risk factors were similar or different for Estonians and non-Estonians, further analysis viewed Estonians and non-Estonians as separate groups. The results of the regression analysis revealed that education was an important factor forecasting social exclusion for Estonians both in 2004 and 2006. Social exclusion risk was three times higher for people with elementary or basic education compared to people with university education. Similar connections can be followed considering the Russian speaking population in 2004. However, in 2006 the non-Estonians social exclusion risk cannot be forecast on the basis of education any more (see Table 6).

Social exclusion risk is lower in the age group comprising the young and people aged up to 45, in comparison to 60-year-olds and older, for both Estonians and non-Estonians. It is also true for the both national groups that people with unemployment experience lasting more than three months on their career path are more likely to be at risk of social exclusion. Still, the mere 10% of exclusion risk are predicted by looking at age, education and unemployment experience, so the forecasting ability of the models is low. In addition to the above mentioned variables, such variables as citizenship, being born in Estonia, and perceived discrimination were used to expand the analysis of social exclusion risk for non-Estonians. However, that did not improve the characteristics of the model and the variables were statistically insignificant. Thus, social exclusion risk for non-Estonians is

not clearly structured. It could be explained by other factors such as, for example, socio-psychological characteristics, attitudes etc.

Table 6. Factors predicting social exclusion risk in 2004 and 2006 (Estonian and Russian speaking population separately, multinomial logistic regression). Background group: not excluded

Factor variables	2004		2006	
	Estonian speakers	Russian speakers	Estonians speakers	Russian speakers
Elementary / basic education	3,25**	2,92*	3,16**	1,86
Secondary education	2,21**	1,86*	1,76*	0,99
<i>Background: university education</i>				
Aged 15-30	0,24**	0,18**	0,45*	0,29**
Aged 31-45	0,49**	0,85	0,72	0,44*
Aged 46-60	0,81	1,16	1,04	0,78
<i>Background: aged 60+</i>				
Have been unemployed for more than 3 months	1,60*	2,06*	2,70**	2,16*
<i>Background: have never been unemployed</i>				
Chi-square	118,10***	55,43***	47,801***	27,138***
Number of degrees of freedom	6	6	6	6
N	1331	475	771	350
Nagelkerke	0,121	0,150	0,094	0,100

Source: ESS 2004 & ESS 2006

3.2 Acquisition of university education and entering the labour market

The brain storming central idea was the statement that *integration is to be mutual*. Integration is not just about integrating Russians into Estonian society. At the same time, Estonians should be integrating as well. The final target to reach would be for both Estonians and Russians to accept each other's cultures and still to retain their identity.

'On the one hand, Estonian society should respect Russian speaking population's peculiarities; on the other hand, Russians should try to understand what the essence of Estonia is and accept it.'

In addition to that, integration in society should be reflected by the Russian speaking population's interest in current issues in society (including politics), reading local newspapers and the Estonian language command.

Language is one of the most important aspects of integration for students. Good language command enables them to understand community matters and participate equally with Estonians. A problem was mentioned that as long as one does not speak Estonian, one is not interested in Estonian society and integration. Thus the Estonian language command is a prerequisite of integration, and its level determines to what extent one feels integrated in society. People consider themselves equal to Estonians i.e. fully integrated when their language skills are sufficient to work at positions requiring high levels of the Estonian language command. It must be mentioned that the expectations and demands of the young participating in the brainstorming session as to their language skills were relatively high.

Additionally, there is a certain aspect of *regional peculiarities* to the language command. It was stated on the basis of personal examples that the young who come from Ida-Viru County are not interested in Estonian society and integration into it as their environment has been Russian speaking, focused on Russian culture and media channels. Thus they have no contact points with Estonian culture, and integration is not achieved.

'My personal integration started in Tartu; at first, all my friends were Russians. I would like to say that you probably don't need to speak Estonian perfectly, but when you start learning slowly, you feel stronger and that's probably when integration starts happening faster; that's what I noticed about myself. Language skills play a very important role. When I couldn't speak the language and went to a Russian operating school, my friends and acquaintances were only Russians, I had no interest in what's happening in the country, or the language, Estonians, their culture – no interest at all.'

In general, young people from Tallinn and Tartu do not feel such separateness of the cultural spaces. Entering Estonian operating universities has significantly integrated the young from Ida-Viru County into Estonian society. The University of Tartu is seen as a channel helping one merge into Estonian society and enter the labour market easily.

Everything depends on the person was the prevailing idea of the session. The young believe that if one wants it a lot, it is possible to achieve sufficient Estonian command, enter an Estonian operating university, and find a good job. The problem can still lie in the attitudes of the close ones and significant others. For example, it was mentioned that teachers did not support Russian students' decision to go to study to an Estonian operating school. The circles of friends tend to ask continuously whether people are sure they would cope with studying at an Estonian operating university. Another problem is that Estonian operating upper secondary schools are not exactly eager to accept Russian speaking students.

'I studied in basic school in Russian, and when I wanted to go to an Estonian operating upper secondary school, I was offered an idea. It was like, maybe you will come to Grade 9 again, maybe your Estonian isn't that good although you might think it is. I gave them an ultimatum: you see, my grades are excellent; are you trying to discriminate against me because I come from a Russian operating school? They had no choice but to accept me.'

The prejudice that it is very difficult to cope with studies in a university with Estonian-based curriculum was mentioned as being rather common for Russian speaking young people. Still, it was said that the majority of those who entered the University of Tartu seemed to be satisfied with their choice in the end.

'And this is the problem that when they finish school, the Estonians' attitude is that I'll go to university, I will surely enter it, I'll have good education and find a good job. As for Russians, I wouldn't say it's the majority but a considerable number of them think: I will fail to enter, I'd rather go to work right away and ensure money for the future; and they never get to university. In the future they start interpreting it as the university didn't accept them although they never tried to use the opportunity.'

The differences between Estonians and Russians in university specialty choice deserve attention as a separate issue. The brainstorming session showed that Russian operating school graduates preferred more practical specialties with a view to obtain qualifications for a certain profession. The admission statistics of the University of Tartu also illustrate this point (Table 7). They show the highest preference for medicine. As to the colleges, Narva College is the most popular, supposedly because of its geographic location. Studying in the University of Tartu is not exactly popular among Russian young people

because of the academic (knowledge-centred) profile of the specialties taught there. Moreover, Tallinn is the main point of attraction for Russian speaking young people as much as it is for those who come from the North of the country, and it is the main point of attracting future students. Still, the more detailed analysis of the number of school leavers entering the University of Tartu shows interesting results¹. The biggest number of the graduates of Narva Humanities Gymnasium (36.4% of school leavers) enters the University of Tartu. This school is followed by Tartu Pushkin Grammar School, Narva Pähklikimäe Grammar School and Tartu Annelinna Grammar School. Thus the data on people entering universities in 2007 still prove that leaving school in Ida-Viru County does not exclude possibilities of further education at an Estonian operating university that is not situated in Tallinn. Of course, it should be specified that the average result of the national school leaving examination in both Narva grammar schools were above 70 points. However, it is true for Tallinn schools that even if the average school leaving examinations results are relatively high, rather few school-leavers choose to obtain further education in Tartu. For examples, 9.6% of the students graduating from Tallinn Humanities Grammar School (average results at 73 points) proceeded to study in the University of Tartu. Not a single school-leaver from Vladimir Kornijenko Private Grammar School (average results at 74.1 points) chose the University of Tartu for further education. Thus, in addition to the choice of the specialty, the results of the national school leaving state exams and, to some extent, the geographic location play a major role.

Additionally, specialty sensitivity and preferences of the Russian speaking young should be emphasised. For example, it is feared that specialties in social sciences are focused on state and government organisation. Studying there requires excellent knowledge in the field, and Russian young people's knowledge in the social field is poor; also, the would-be jobs are in the public sector. Civic studies and citizen studies are not taught at the sufficient level in Russian operating schools. It was also mentioned that these subjects are taught in Russian, and the admission tests call for the knowledge of terminology in Estonian, which Russian young people know quite poorly.

Table 7. accepted students from Russian operating schools in 2007 (Faculty of Medicine admission is based on rank order; the rest of the faculties admit on the basis of a threshold value)

	Accepted students from Russian operating schools	% of all the accepted students
Narva College	50	86,2
Faculty of Medicine	68	28,9
Faculty of Chemistry and Physics	19	15,7
Faculty of Mathematics and Computer Science	22	15
Faculty of Philosophy	48	11,7
Faculty of Biology and Geography	18	9,7
Faculty of Economics	12	9,5
Faculty of Exercise and Sports Sciences	6	9,1
Faculty of Law	22	7,4
Faculty of Social Sciences	11	5,3

¹ Unfortunately, only the statistic of admission to the University of Tartu was available to us, so Tallinn University and Tallinn Technical University are not included in the analysis. Thus the analysis does not provide a full overview of how many school-leavers from Russian operating schools choose further education in Estonian operating universities.

Viljandi Culture Academy	5	4,5
Pärnu College	2	3,7
Faculty of Education	5	2,1
Türi College	0	0
Faculty of Theology	0	0
Total	288	12,6

Source: Students from Russian operating schools. Compiled by Tuuli Kaldma, University of Tartu admission specialist.

Labour market opportunities for Russian young people were considered to be quite good. However, the young in mind were those whose Estonian command was sufficient. The *command of two languages* put them at an advantage in comparison to Estonians. Social work that requires good command of Russian can be given as an example. However, it was stated that being an official in a *government office* in certain spheres could be complicated for a Russian young person as the requirements for the command of Estonian were very high. As the young participating in the brainstorming session considered themselves to be well integrated into Estonian society, they thought their future perspectives were good and equal with Estonians'. It should be also emphasised that the gradual emergence of Estonian friends and acquaintances was said to be important for education. That would help to create an Estonian speaking social network, which means the additional social capital that would ease entering the labour market. It was generally thought that Russian speaking people of the older generation can find themselves at a disadvantage. The information about vacancies might not reach them, and the insufficient language command might be a problem. For instance, the recruiting process often includes different tests, for example, general knowledge tests, which are in Estonian.

3.3 Young people's risk behaviour

The focus group interviews with specialists revealed that their 'typical client portrait' would usually describe a Russian speaking young person, as a rule, with basic education and coming from a 'normal' family.

'Well, I can say that our typical client is a young man aged 18-25, basic school education, dropped out from secondary high school. He would speak Russian, be from a relatively normal family, it's usually not an asocial family, his parents would work. It's typical that a family is either single-/parent or with a stepfather who is not very much in touch with the man.'

'I think there are about a half perfectly normal families and a half of those that have not paid attention to the young persons' upbringing for the past 10 years. That lad would have virtually grown up all by himself.'

Although there are more Russian speaking clients, it does not mean that belonging to the risk behaviour group is directly determined by the nationality. The focus group stated various reasons. First of all, *the nature of drug abuse* among Estonians and Russians differs. There is a considerably smaller proportion of drug addicts abusing substances intravenously among Estonians than Russians. Still, the proportion of Estonians among drug addicts is growing steadily. The wider spread of drug abuse among the Russian speaking population usually stems from the specifics of drug dealing and trafficking and is not directly linked to poverty, marginalisation or social exclusion:²

² This result differs from the opinion stated in the SIP 2008-2013 strategy document, namely 'it can surely be stated that, first of all, the spread of intravenous drug use and HIV are the social ills caused by social environment including marginalisation, poverty and exclusion.' (p 20)

'As to drug addicts, it might seem that a large proportion of Russians among them could be caused by integration gone wrong. Their situation might be worse (financial or moral)... actually, it is not true because drug abuse is an epidemic that stroke after the collapse of the Soviet Union and has been developing according to the same pattern in all the former Soviet Union republics. In Russia, all are Russians, but the symptoms are the same. If we take all the factors causing drug abuse as 100%, integration would probably form 20%. It does affect the situation, and everything possible should be done in this sphere, but it is not the only reason.'

Drug trafficking from Russia through Estonia to the West started in the 1990s, mainly by means of 'Russian channels' mediated by Russian speaking people involved in organised crime. That is why the first local dealers and, consequently, drug users were mainly Russian speaking. Obviously, drug abuse is one of the factors influencing further criminal behaviour. In the discussion of risk behaviour types of Estonians and non-Estonians it was mentioned that the Russians' and Estonians' types of criminal behaviour differed. It is even more important that higher organisation of criminal activity and power hierarchy seem to be the phenomena characteristic of Russian speaking criminals.

'This hierarchy is, like, when they [Russian young people] come to us, we can see everything through the glass doors: who stands up to greet whom, who offers whom a handshake and what their body language is and ... a big shot? entered and the young just stooped and nodded. It is ingrained deeply and it seems that being given a (conditional) sentence is in a way popular in their circle. If we compare Estonian young people to Russians, I think that Russians commit more aggressiveness related crimes (assaults, fight, robberies). Don't you think so?'

It can be assumed that a Russian speaking young person is more likely to become involved in criminal activity than an Estonian because of being, so to say, dragged into the system. The existence of such hierarchy means that in order to achieve or improve one's status, one has to prove worthy by committing crime. Such hierarchy also exists in youth gangs. Still, there were some extremely positive examples of Russian young people's conscientiousness, industry and high work morale.

The second problem was worded as the *absence of common information landscape* for Estonians and Russians; either nationality was said to be living in its own information space.

'Estonian mentality does not appear overnight. I speak both languages and have Estonian and Russian friends in equal numbers. I speak one language in one community, and another in the other. It is just now that I'm beginning to understand how huge the gap between the two communities is. It was apparent after the April events [the unrest in April 2007 caused by removing the Unknown Soldier monument from the centre of the town] and felt even before that the information spaces are totally different. Absolutely different. We have not stirred a finger to merge them.'

That is why it was suggested that ETV [the public broadcasting television channel] shows should be dubbed into Russian and the content of Estonian and Russian versions of major newspapers should be identical. As the result of the lack of information, Russian young people do not receive adequate information about the opportunities and conditions for *further education*:

'The problem of information is very serious. When we went to gymnasium final year to talk to the students about police work and the Police Academy, one young man stood up and said they wouldn't be accepted because they were Russians. He himself spoke perfect Estonian. Where does such information come from? We have even had groups taught in Russian. But the young have got the information that they wouldn't

be accepted for further education or find work, because Estonians are preferred. Such attitude stems from lack of information.'

When general media channels do not fulfil their task, *the availability of information and support in society is poor*. The cases when teachers of Russian operating schools discouraged their students' wish to study in the University of Tartu and emphasised the difficulty of coping with studies in Estonian were described as examples:

'What was the most depressing... and I think it should be mentioned here somehow.... [school students came to the Parliament on an excursion] they came with teachers, 2 teachers. When the children started commenting or answering my questions as to what they see their future like... then there was a comment from such a gloomy and depressive person, 'What are you talking about? You are second rate people!' That frightened me because I spoke to them for 40 minutes and that teacher teaches them 8 hours a day... ! So I think this integration should include work with teachers... I don't know, instilling something or reforming something, because it's them who just put Russian children down like that and sabotage in some way and fuel this. The fact that this teacher brought the students in front of Parliament House in April was just such a striking example. But in fact this cultivation is much more massive. This is one issue that surely deserves attention...'

This type of teacher behaviour was explained by the fact that it is actually the fault of the government policy because constant frustration and fear of the language inspection dominates among teachers. Moreover, the example of the April events, when parents were shocked by their children's involvement in the riots, were mentioned. Thus, two main factors, school and home, shape the young's further life choice. Whether they collaborate or sabotage each other is very important:

'In a way, there are contradictions. In some cases it is the home that is stagnant and stuck in the past, and the school is trying to instil new ideas in children. In other cases, the home is on the right track, and the school is against it. And of course, the child is confused and doesn't know right from wrong.'

The third topic that was emphasised was the issue of specialists. On the one hand there is a *lack of Russian speaking specialists* as it was stated that the clients should be dealt with in their mother tongue.

'Little interference in the young's lives is also very important. As it is usual now, the parents try to find help for a child who won't behave: psychotherapists, counsellors, psychologists... And it happens that there is a lady, who speaks Russian but doesn't understand the nuances – the young person talks about himself, puts his soul into it, uses slang, and the therapist just doesn't understand what the talk is about. The family is just at a loss – we've been here and there... but the boy says he won't go there again because they don't understand him. That's a problem.'

'Actually, there are still no Russian speaking specialists. At the same time I see that Russian young people want to study, to get going, to develop. But the opportunities are limited. These Russian operating universities – a la Russian-American College in Lasnamäe – what do they study there, just to be businessmen, actually more help is needed – specialists who are Russians and can help Russians and at the same time know Estonian culture and... and...'

There are few universities where Russian speaking young people dare to go to study. First of all, they are worried because of their *language skills* and rather choose a further education facility and specialty of doubtful value. Second, there is little information about

further *education facilities teaching for certain professions in Estonian*. One solution of the problem would be to improve the quality of Estonian language teaching in schools. Support for Estonian speaking young teachers if they start working in Ida-Viru County was suggested as a solution (for instance, significant pay rise; student's loan repayment funding according to the scheme '1 year of teaching = repayment of the loan taken in 1 year funded').

3.4 Success opportunities for highly educated non-Estonians

The focus group and personal interviews conducted by the social risks research group mainly focused on education and employment opportunities for non-Estonians in Estonian society. The interviews proved that the opportunities of finding employment in the sphere of one's education are directly linked to the level of socio-cultural integration of an individual. The general level of social integration is, first of all, characterised by the command of Estonian as the official language of the country. The existence of social contacts with the Estonian community and the informedness about and interest in current issues of Estonia are also relevant.

The level of social integration is the highest among non-Estonians from **Tartu**. All the interviewees living there were fluent or well fluent in Estonian and integrated into various Estonian operating networks. The interviewees were satisfied with their job, working conditions, and financial and social situation. They closely identified themselves with Estonia and did not consider themselves 'subjects of integration'. The respondents did not have any experience of ethnic discrimination either.

The main part of integration into Estonian community happened during university studies. Graduation from university and good Estonian command provided equal starting positions with Estonians, which was successfully implemented on the labour market. Entering the labour market was previously largely supported by the Soviet job placement system (every graduate was provided with compulsory job with limited possibility to find the suitable job by the graduate him/herself); later vocational practice and, sometimes, recommendations from acquaintance played an important role. That is why Estonians and non-Estonians were regarded more or less equal on the labour market.

It was also noticed in retrospective that the changes in human resources after Estonia regained its independence were rather based on the idea of 'getting some new blood' than nationality. For example, the court system substituted the judges working in the ESSR for younger ones, but that had no connection with nationality.

The opinion that everything depends on the person prevailed. How one adjusts to society and the general life path depends on what steps a person takes to improve one's life standard.

'But all people encounter these problems. It doesn't depend, I don't know, on whether you are Estonian or Russian.'

All the respondents considered themselves Russians and emphasised the importance of Russian culture and peculiarities. Still, they found that anyone living in Estonia should speak Estonian, at least on the level necessary for everyday communication. Thus fluency in Estonian does not pose a threat to Russian culture or sense of national belonging. Speaking the official language was considered natural. Laziness and non-Estonians' lack of respect for the other were considered main reasons for not mastering Estonian.

'... but if you don't respect the others, you cannot demand respect.'

'Of course, one has to speak the language. If not for oneself, then for the colleagues and the staff and... anyone next to you, for politeness in general.'

The problems of persons of Russian descent were said to occur because of poor official language command. Thus the Russian population's disadvantaged position on the labour market was rather explained by insufficient official language command than other reasons.

'But what I personally think is the only problem is that people have very poor language skills. Only that. Otherwise, if they can communicate, I think they will probably get a job. For instance, there are many new employees in Sampo Bank who are not Estonians but you can turn to them in three languages, and they can answer you in any of these. In this sense, the thing is that you have to speak languages. It is very important.'

Only one respondent found that non-Estonians find themselves in difficulties on the labour market because of some other reasons than language skills. He believed that Russian speakers have almost no opportunities to find a job without acquaintances' assistance. He thought the fact that employers preferred Estonians even if they had no qualifications or experience was the problem. The same person found that the state itself supports the division of the population between two poles, and the relationship between Estonians and non-Estonians is not likely to change even in 20 years.

'In this sense social contacts are very important as I know that in our institution and many other government offices the practice of 'inter-institution recruiting' is extremely widespread. The workers of the institution apply, search for workers happens within the institution, someone is chosen or the workers are asked to recommend someone. If indeed there's not a single person who can recommend a non-Estonian for a certain position, he or she will never get that job.'

Another respondent also stressed the importance of finding employment with acquaintances' assistance. She found that she had had no difficulties finding work so far.

'Honestly speaking, I've been lucky all the time. I have never applied for a job, but have been invited everywhere. Never. I worked for Data Telekom and was invited to work here when they learnt I wanted to quit working at the library. When Data Telekom in Tartu was closed, I was invited to Dialoog, because they learnt I was leaving.'

Still it was found that if a person was fluent in Estonian, there would be no difficulties coping with work in the Estonian speaking environment, but merging into the staff might be more difficult.

'In fact I have noticed that when such a Russian speaking person emerges in an Estonian speaking firm or organisation, it is a bit of a shock or stress for the whole organisation. I believe that there are no Russians in many organisations, and many people lack the experience of working with them- they do not know how to behave: should they speak slower or choose the words to use or something?.. I basically believe that not only the applicant has certain fears but also the employer who doesn't know what will happen if, for instance, 30% of the employees are Russians, what will happen then.'

Thus, how much attention the staff pays to the employees' nationality and language peculiarities determines a lot. It affects whether and how good one feels in the Estonian speaking work environment and how the staff accepts an employee speaking Estonian as a second language. Apparently, the structure of the enterprise, its culture and subordination

play a major role. The majority of the interviewees admitted that they had had positive experience of working in the Estonian speaking environment.

'When I started working here, I thought 'well, that's it' as I learnt I was the only Russian. I thought I would be suppressed and everything. But again, everything depends on the people. My Estonian colleagues had Russian predecessors, they had nothing against me, they didn't even notice I was Russian. On the contrary, they helped me a lot, and my spoken Estonian improved. I had never spoken it as fluently as I do now, after work. The attitude to me was good.'

However, it was emphasised that such events in society as the April events create additional tension in the existing relationships at work. Thus the two-layered integration concept is proven again. One layer includes the individual integration i.e. relationships between people in which the majority of respondents never experienced discrimination. The other layer is that of society or the community, in which disaccord is managed to be expressed more clearly. This is how one respondent described a conversation with a colleague after the April events:

'... they [Estonian colleagues] were thinking about why Russians had done it and that Russians were still to blame. They told me, 'please don't think it's about you personally, you people are still good' but I felt they believed it wasn't the government's but the Russians' fault.'

Two focus group sessions were conducted in **Tallinn**. The groups consisted of women employees of SEB (Ühispank) and Elcoteq and were very differently oriented and of different mentality types. The SEB group consisted of ca 30-year-old bank clerks with higher education. They were generally satisfied with their life and considered commitment to Estonia important. The respondents' educational choices were mainly influenced by two factors. The education had to be realistically valuable in the labour market (technical and financial specialisations were preferred) and it had to be possible to obtain in Russian (Tallinn Technical University, University of Applied Sciences, Estonian Maritime Academy, etc.).

'When I just entered TTU, there still were Russian groups. There was not much specialty choice to study in Russian. There was only one specialty available for studying in Russian, business administration. If you wanted accounting or some other specialisation you had to learn in Estonian. Only that... my Estonian wasn't that good to... maybe, I just didn't want to listen to lectures in Estonian, it is more difficult, of course. That's why such a choice. We went to learn what was taught in Russian.'

Private sector was generally preferred to public sector for employment. It was mentioned that while the opportunities of career success for Estonians and non-Estonians did not differ much in private sector, the difference was clearly perceived in the public (especially government) sector where perfect command of Estonian was a prerequisite. It was also stated that the limitedness of career opportunities is mainly based on the gender, not that much the language or nationality.

'For Russians, it is very important whether they speak Estonian perfectly or not. Even if it is a Russian enterprise, they want people to be fluent in Estonian. It seems to me that now it is not such a problem that if you are Russian you have much fewer opportunities to find a job. Your knowledge and skills are more important. And you should be able to communicate with colleagues, there can't be a language barrier.'

However, it was found that being fluent in Russian had significantly widened their career opportunities. For instance, job advertisements often list Russian command as one of the requirements.

'The proportion of Russian speakers in Tallinn is very large. If you work in a bank... Estonians, especially young ones, just from school, speak Russian very poorly. They even mix up elementary numbers, you can't talk to them. One elderly lady came to the bank, she doesn't speak Estonian. And there they are calling for help... it is even an advantage that we are fluent in both languages. In addition, someone speaks English or French or German .I think it is a plus. '

The respondents believed that personality characteristics are the main factors affecting career success:

'If one sets oneself a target to strive for, there's a 99% probability it will be reached. You just have to be dedicated to that target. That is what they call career success. To set climbing up the career ladder as a goal and follow it without any deviations. Right, strong will is needed for that. I think all that is influenced by a person's individual traits, some are stronger, some are weaker...'

The social networks of focus group participants were mainly Russian speaking, and somewhat rejecting attitude was felt (Estonians are different; communication with Russians is easier).

'The problem is not in the language, absolutely not. It's just that people are different, different outlooks on life, different perceptions of life. For instance, it's very difficult for me to maintain long communication with an Estonian friend. Very difficult indeed. I don't receive the same emotions from her as I receive from Russians.'

The situations occurring after the April events, when some Estonians refused to be served by a clerk with a Russian name, were also mentioned.

'...looking back at those events in spring... when afterwards people came to the bank office, they studied my name badge so intensively, burnt it with their eyes, you have a Russian surname. It is still some kind of division.'

'It happened to me several times at work, I was told they wouldn't talk to me because of my Russian surname. She comes to you, some Estonian. Says, you have a Russian surname. I'm only going to talk to Estonians.'

In addition to the rejection from clients, the change in colleagues' attitude was also noticeable:

'I was on a sick leave at the beginning of the April events. Just came by at work, we have a Russian girl there. Asked her how it was going. Tension was felt among the staff, she was the only Russian among Estonians. It was felt that everyone was passing by, looking at you in not an exactly kind way.'

There is general interest in what is happening in Estonia. The information is obtained from both Estonian and Russian operating media channels.

'I read [news] on the Internet. It's even better there. On Delfi (the biggest and most important internet communication portal in Estonia). First I read the Estonian version, then the Russian one, watch for what's missing in the latter. I learn quite a lot. '

At the same time it was found that non-Estonians are more ready for integration than Estonians. More active 'attempts to approach' and better Russian language skills were expected from the Estonian speaking community. It was also mentioned, that Russian could be used as a parallel official language.

'They taught Russian in schools before, but it isn't taught in many schools now. It would be useful to speak it. Maybe just a little. Russians would be pleased if, for instance, when a Russian couldn't speak Estonian very well, an Estonian would say a couple of words in Russian. Maybe, the relationships would be even better. It would also be a plus.'

The focus group consisting of Elcoteq employees mainly concentrated on social-economic problems: working conditions at Elcoteq, low salaries, inflation, high rent, small retirement and other benefits. The group mainly consisted of women aged around 50. They were born and obtained higher education outside Estonia (in the former USSR), came to Estonia as a result of the job placement system and did not speak Estonian. Of the seven participants, two had Estonian citizenship; one was a citizen of Russia (conscious political choice despite fluent Estonian), and one more was a citizen of Belarus. The career paths of all the women included a long-term unemployment period (3-8 years) in the 1991-1998, when the respondents were housewives doing some illegal occasional work such as selling things at markets.

'I worked in my education field until 1991. It was the Institute of Marine Scientific Research and construction. In 1991, I was fired as the institute was closed down. Estonia had become independent, and the institute had been under Leningrad's jurisdiction. Well, naturally, it all just fell apart. 1991... it suited me at the moment that I was out of work; my younger child had just started school, he was 6 years old, and the elder still went to school, there is a five-year gap between them. I was a housewife for about 5 years. Housewife. Despite the fact that sometimes I sold some things at the market, like many of us. Not my own goods, but the owner's. It was without an official contract or any social benefits.'

'All women of our age have been there. We're all alike.'

The period of unemployment ended in 1998, when Elcoteq started recruiting new workers after expanding production. Almost all the participant of the focus group considered this job to be a temporary short-term opportunity to re-enter the labour market. Still, they have by now been working for the enterprise for almost 10 years.

'I came to Elcoteq in 1998, 9 years ago. I came with an idea to work here for a while. I have been at this 'temporary' job for 9 years, the tenth is on the way. That's all I have to say.'

The reason for remaining in the employment of the enterprise for such a long time is the absence of alternative job opportunities. It has so far forced the employees to stay despite the dissatisfaction with the working conditions and the salary.

'I wasn't delighted by Elcoteq. The atmosphere was pretty awful here then, it seemed to me. Really. I was thinking of leaving every day, but I have been working for many years. It's just the age... you have to work.'

'Can you imagine what it's like to sit at an assembly line for 12 hours – 12 hours in a row doing the same operation? You come out of the room and you don't get what and where and who to look for. The administration can keep people at work from 6:30 to 22:00. They are going to think whether to let people go or not. So people who have got up at 5:00 in the morning just stand and wait for what the administration will say.'

'They pay peanuts. At the same time we fulfil the norm. We work hard. This attitude is just indecent!'

'Honestly speaking, I don't like here and never did. But what am I to do...?'

The lack of opportunities and the feeling of forced labour are the key words to describe the problems of the respondents' social-economic integration. The main obstacle to finding a better job is the lack of Estonian language skills, to which other two discriminating factors, age and gender, add up.

'I have sent CVs and have been invited to interviews. Yes, it suits me. They offer me a job at an interview. But suggest starting from scratch. 5,000 kronas. I don't like that either. I consider myself a specialist. I understand one can climb up the career ladder. But when? Until I am 70? Until I retire? I have been to several firms. Once I got a call: you are so old, we want somebody younger. I tell them, maybe I'll come to see you first and we'll talk? One firm agreed. I tried to make an impression. When I came there, they said: but you are perfectly all right. We can give you a job. But the salary they offered didn't suit me. That's it. Of course we are looking for another job...'

For a 50-year-old Russian speaking woman, it is almost impossible to find a better paid job. The obstacles to mastering Estonian are, on the one hand, of social-psychological kind; namely, lack of communication with the Estonian speaking community, low motivation, fear of speaking etc. On the other hand, there are such factors as the lack of time and money.

'I worked for the railway for a long time, as an accountant, then for a private firm, there were mostly Russians, that's why I paid little attention to learning Estonian and thought it to be of little importance. I just didn't need it...'

'I have started several times. I went to three courses. I have started. But if there's no communication, there's no language.'

'When I talk to the administration, they know I can't speak Estonian so that it would be possible to understand me. They are all my age, they speak Russian perfectly, it's easier for them to speak Russian to me than listen to my Estonian. I'd rather say nothing than start talking.'

The courses offered by the enterprise are not popular among the employees. Although the courses are free of charge, the employer withholds the wage for the hours that people spend off work to attend the courses.

'You know, we have those courses here. Many don't want to go because one works for 12 hours, the other from 8:00 to 16:30, we have different schedules. The courses are in the centre of the town, and you have to leave from Elcoteq for 3-4 hours, that's what you have in the end. They take place during the day or in the evening. No time management. When I work a 12-hour shift, I have to take time off, go to the centre, waste an hour going there, an hour going back, it makes up 3-4 hours. Then I have to make up for that time. I have worked for 12 hours and then I have to come here on my day off and make up for that time. If it's possible at all to make up for it by working. If not, I lose money. Whoever wants that?'

The respondents were generally happy with their everyday life in Estonia. The problems were caused by low income and permanently rising prices. The relationships with Estonians were generally described as friendly, and there was no experience of discrimination in everyday communication. Still, some respondents have experienced negative attitude on the part of officials. The impolite and sometimes downright hostile behaviour of the Citizenship and Migration Board officials in connection with applying for visas or residence permits was given as an example. More passive behaviour in comparison to Estonian speaking clients was also mentioned.

'I don't even know. I had such a problem. I went to the municipality service, I sent my son to another school. There was a problem as I came there and started speaking

very rusty Estonian or Russian. For some reason, they replied in quite a bullying way. When my husband [Estonian] started talking to them, the attitude changed. So already then, 6 or 7 years ago I decided that I would never again go there, he would start going for me. So Estonian was forgotten completely. Because I knew I had an interpreter. Such problems there were. Really. They occurred in the County government quite often. Their replies to me and to him were very different. They tell him everything, show and even calculate things for him. It was the same in a school. When I sent the child to another school, not in our part of town. They didn't want to accept us. But then my husband went to a higher place, and the headmaster got a phone call, and everything was perfect. But I spent two weeks coming to see the headmaster every day. He wouldn't listen. When the husband came here, and started speaking Russian and Estonian, he also said, I cannot. My husband said, all right, I'll go higher.'

The respondents are interested in what is happening in Estonia and have participated in (local council) elections.

'Of course we are interested and go to elections. Of course we read and think who to vote for.'

'I was for Savisaar before. But now I am for Ansip. The opinion is formed only by reading newspapers and watching AK [Aktuaalne kaamera, news show on ETV].'

Still, it was stated that the information about Estonia in Russian was insufficient.

'You get negative information from TV and newspapers. If you read newspapers in Russian and then the same in Estonian. Everything is then different. It's all excellent in Estonian newspapers.'

'The Russian media does not discuss everything the Estonian media does... they are totally different... that is why we lack information. The information is presented from a different angle.'

The excessive political overtones ascribed to inter-national relationships (for instance, the April events) do not interest simple people [... *it doesn't matter where this Aljosha stands*]. It was also found that the spring political events have not changed people's everyday relationships.

'Monument. It's just, my husband is Estonian. Our guests are both Estonians and Russians. We have no problems. When we all get together and start discussing this monument... how they present it on TV... we don't have that in our communication. Common people take it easy. What is written and what is happening in the government is another story. Even all my co-workers say, it's their thing, it has nothing to do with us. We are friends like before, we talk like before. We have a drink together as we did before.'

'... but when they have a drink together, there are no barriers.'

'A Russian starts speaking Estonian, an Estonian starts speaking Russian, and that's it. I don't know. There are both Estonians and Russians in our family. Of course, when we watch the news with my husband, we argue. But that's all a bit of joking. Again, that's familiar. But when we get together, notaries, lawyers, people with higher education, and some factory workers. It's all right, we have no obstacles. You are Russian, you are this and that. We are all alike. I don't know, I think it's OK with us.'

The lack of social benefits and services was mentioned as a problem. Still, personal experience and contacts with the welfare system were mainly positive. The success of the children in Estonian society was considered positive and delightful. Children have almost

all the opportunities because they speak Estonian and are fully integrated into society. Children's going to Estonian operating kindergartens and schools was seen as a factor fostering integration.

The problems set during the focus group interviews in **Narva** were similar to those at the Elcoteq session. The main issues included, in the first place, financial difficulties: low salary, fear of unemployment, inflation, inequality, lack of social protection. Still, two major differences in comparison with the Elcoteq group can be brought forth. The first point of difference concerns the respondents' social, cultural and geographic commitment to Russia. The second factor is the worries concerning the children's future. The ethnic homogeneity of the population of Narva and the whole of Ida-Viru County as well close contacts with Russia are the main factor hindering the local non-Estonians' integration into Estonian society. Many Russians have relatives, friends and even property in Russia. St. Petersburg is still the main centre of economic and cultural attraction in the region. In order to simplify the communication with Russia, many non-Estonians living in Ida-Viru County have chosen Russian citizenship [*'Narva has historically always been connected to Russia and will remain so despite whatever integration policy'*]. Thus, Narva non-Estonians' social and cultural contacts with other regions of Estonia have been minimal, and they mainly identify Estonia with Ida-Viru County and, to a lesser extent, Tallinn. In the past, the life standards of Estonia in comparison to the regions of Russia bordering Ida-Viru County supported the residence of Narva population and their commitment to Estonia. However, the fast economic growth of Russia and the increase of salaries and social security has lowered the local non-Estonians' motivation for commitment to Estonia. Thus, a large number of Russian citizens in Ida-Viru County does not seem to be related only to the complications of applying for Estonian citizenship. It also seems to be the rational choice of local non-Estonians. The participants of the focus group expressed the concerns about their children's future.

'The problem is how to bring up children and teenagers. So that they would have free time and opportunities to spend it wisely. Not even the free time, but something in which they would find themselves and be useful to society. Steer them away from possible drug abuse. This is probably the main social issue'

Although Estonian is a compulsory subject in schools, the level of teaching is not enough to master the language.

'My elder child has now started grade 3. I don't see any good level or knowledge right now. She always needs help. And the exercises are so childish, I don't know...'

'I think they take the middle level examination in Grade 12. They have to take it. It's an official exam so they must have some knowledge.'

'Maybe, the knowledge will accumulate by Grade 12.'

The language skills are passive due to few opportunities for communication. It is obvious that the young generation's commitment to Estonia will remain modest in the future. Opportunities for children are rather found abroad. Estonian (and, automatically, the EU) citizenship opens numerous opportunities for studying and working in the EU countries. That is why children are encouraged to have the best possible English command. Still, it is believed that intensive foreign language learning endangers mother tongue acquisition. The strategy of placing a child into an Estonian operating kindergarten, so popular among non-Estonians in the recent years, does not seem to be the most successful.

'I know that there is no Russian language teaching in Estonian kindergartens. Children are not prepared for going to Russian schools. My friend sent the child to an Estonian kindergarten, and she had to pay a private tutor for the whole summer and make up for it when she learnt they wouldn't teach Russian any more. For the child to read and write in Russian, she had to work all summer to go to Grade 1 with normal preparation. And still, he could barely cope with the Russian language studies for the first two years. But his Estonian is excellent.'

The role and the functions of the state are, first and foremost, described as handling social problems and providing financial and social security:

'I would like more social security for people. So that if you lost your job or anything like that, you wouldn't have to think how to feed your family. Of course, children benefits are very small. I think the government should have thought better. Because this is ridiculous. The little money we get for children. It's a pity the stratification is so huge. Of those who earn little and who earn a lot. I think there shouldn't be anything like this in the country.'

4. CONCLUSION

The social risk group research conducted within the framework of the State integration programme 2008-2013 development project focused on the aspects of social-economic integration. The target concerning these aspects is worded as *'all the people's opportunities for coping financially are equal, regardless of their nationality, mother tongue or residence area.'*

The quantitative analysis of social-economic risk groups concentrated mainly on determining the extent, structure and factors of social exclusion. The analysis revealed that the general social exclusion risk fell by 2006, in comparison to 2004, to 28% from 31%. The decrease was caused by lowered poverty risk due to the general welfare increase. At the same time, the population's general informedness increased. Within the two years, social exclusion risk increased for non-Estonians, especially non-citizens of Estonia. However, it decreased for Estonians; thus the gap between the Estonians' and non-Estonians' level of exclusion increased. The main reason of the increase of exclusion for non-Estonians is the growing lack of trust and lack of information.

The regression analysis method was used to determine the factors influencing social exclusion. The Whole-sample analysis Revealed statistically significant correlation between the risk of social exclusion and a person's education, age, and unemployment experience. In 2004, the most important factor predicting possible social exclusion was the person's education. In 2006, it was unemployment experience. In addition to the variables, it was observed how the exclusion risk is correlated with nationality. It should be noticed that between 2004 and 2006 the risk of exclusion for non-Estonians doubled. The results of the regression analysis give a reason to claim that the risk factors for Estonians and non-Estonians vary. For Estonian, education was an important factor predicting social exclusion, both in 2004 and 2006. The risk of social exclusion for people with elementary or basic education was three times higher than for people with university education. Similar correlation was revealed for non-Estonian population in 2004. However, in 2006 education has lost its statistical relevance as a predicting factor of social exclusion. It also became apparent that there was no statistically significant correlation between citizenship, being born in Estonia or personally perceived discrimination and social exclusion level for non-Estonians. Thus the non-Estonians' social exclusion risk is not clearly structured. Probably, it could be explained by using other factors such as, for example, social-psychological characteristics or attitudes.

Youth risk behaviour research showed that risk behaviour is generally more widespread among non-Estonians than Estonians. However, the social-demographic background of both Estonian and non-Estonian delinquents is similar. Both groups mainly include young people of low educational level (unfinished or completed basic education) coming from one-parent or divorced families. The experts taking part in the research claimed that there was no direct connection between risk behaviour and the family's social-economic and cultural background. There can be delinquents or drug addicts in poor or rich families, born to highly educated parents or those with low education level and cultural interest. The attitudes widespread in society are considered to be the reasons of risk behaviour. These attitudes include excessive consumption, lack of responsibility, strong focus on (material) success, general disrespect to others, intellectual laziness, etc. Raising the young's informedness was considered one of the opportunities of decreasing their risk behaviour. What is problematic about implementing the measures for decreasing risk

behaviour is the lack of risk behaviour specialists speaking Russian as mother tongue or on a very high level. This hinders the prevention measures in society as well as correction and counselling activities.

The brainstorming session focused on the young's receiving higher education and introduction to the labour market. It became apparent that Estonian language skills are the most important resource of non-Estonian young people in education and labour market. Language skills enable one to be informed and participate in community activities on equal terms with Estonians. Until one speaks the language, there is no interest in current issues and the opportunities offered by society. The young of Ida-Viru County are in the most disadvantaged situation as to the language skills and society knowledge. The general language skills level and commitment to Estonia is much lower there than in the other regions of the country.

The research results revealed that non-Estonians' educational choices are based on rational decisions. The opportunities to obtain practical professional education and to find employment in the sphere, as well as the language requirements for different positions are taken into consideration. There is clear preference for the specialties where the high level of Estonian language skills is not necessary. Non-Estonian young people are more eager to obtain information about education opportunities (preferably in Russian). The young in the process of obtaining university education did not see any difficulties entering the labour market. Obtaining university education gives non-Estonians equal opportunities with Estonians. In addition, Russian language skills are considered an extra resource and advantage in competition.

In the course of the *study into highly educated non-Estonians' success opportunities*, three focus groups interviews and six individual interviews were conducted. As expected, the main factor limiting highly educated non-Estonians' success opportunities is the language command. This is what usually prevents them from taking up most position in the public sector. The other obstacle, alongside language skills, is the narrow technical engineer education common for many non-Estonians, which has not been in demand in the labour market after economy restructuring. Several respondents considered insufficient social networking and such social-psychological factors as low motivation or fear problematic. The complicating influence of age and residence area is also important.

The conducted interviews proved the results of several earlier studies which claimed that the proportion of non-Estonians participating in additional and retraining courses is smaller than of Estonians. The non-Estonians' low activity in life long learning is explained by their lower than average occupational status (the rate of participation is higher in courses for executives and specialists). The problems are also said to lie in the lack of training courses in Russian and fewer (financial) opportunities for non-Estonians.

The problem of the occupation not consistent with once obtained education concerns, first of all, the middle-aged and elderly employees. For younger generation (mostly fluent in Estonian), fewer opportunities for (top) career success, especially in the public sector, are problematic. In order to solve the problem, non-Estonians' employment for executive positions in the public sector should be encouraged and supported.

5. INTEGRATION PROGRAMME TARGET GROUPS

For more efficient implementation of the integration programme, the planned measures should be focused on particular target groups. The groups differ as to their integration

level, age, and education. The target of integration fostering activities and outcome indicators should be set for each group separately.

The following target groups can be distinguished on the basis of the research results:

- **Integrated non-Estonians.** The group comprises Estonian citizens who are usually fluent in written and spoken Estonian. They will usually have developed a bilingual social network, are well informed and trust/support government institutions. Many integrated non-Estonians were born and educated in Estonia, including secondary education. They might have or be from mixed families and cannot exactly determine their national identity. Integrated non-Estonians have higher than average education level and social-economic status. Integrated non-Estonians often consider their labelling as “non-Estonians” or “subjects of integration” personally insulting. The problems are, thus, mainly social-psychological and stem from not being accepted as equals by Estonians and insufficient social acknowledgement. The ‘ethnic frustration’ on the Estonians’ part could be caused by imperfections in the language command (accent in speech, minor grammatical mistakes in writing) and some differences in interpretation of history and social issues. Ensuring the principle of equal opportunities applied in practice could be a central universal strategy. The specific measures meant for integrated non-Estonians should be encouraging, supporting, and motivating. The measures should provide people with accomplishment and fulfilment opportunities as well as opportunities for more social acknowledgement on the community’s part.
- **Partially integrated non-Estonians** are mostly Estonian citizens. Their language skills are more or less sufficient for everyday communication. Still, their communication circle and media space are mainly Russian operating and oriented. The attitude to the Republic of Estonia and society is in a way ambivalent in its trust and mistrust. They identify themselves as Russians, Ukrainians or representatives of other national groups. The social-economic status of the group in question in Estonian society is relatively stable. However, the employment pattern mainly includes production and service occupations, and Russian-speaking or mixed Estonian-Russian staff. The main group-specific problem lies in social-economic, cultural and geographic segregation. It hinders further integration due to the lack of exposure to Estonian community, culture, and language. The exposure should be more extensive in different spheres of life: work, leisure, community and political activity the improvement of adequate information availability in Russian and a scope of measures to offer better opportunities for involvement and self perfection are important areas of integration.
- **Not integrated non-Estonians.** The group mainly consists of Russian citizens and people of undefined citizenship. Their attitude to the Republic of Estonia is indifferent or negative. Several subgroups can be distinguished within the group:
 - 1) The ‘voluntarily marginalised’ part of the non-Estonian population whose connection with Estonia is mainly restricted to living here. The group is characterised by nonexistent Estonian command, the absence of exposure to Estonian community and of interest in current issues in the country (indifference). The group is mainly concentrated in the towns of Ida-Viru County. The members of the group are mainly elderly (retired). Its financial situation is generally satisfactory
 - 2) The ‘socially and economically excluded’ part of the non-Estonian population. The group consists of people with unstable employment status (the unemployed, underemployed, and discouraged). The financial situation of the group is poor, the language command is nonexistent, and the attitude to Estonia is indifferent or

moderately negative. A typical risk group representative will have low education level and be passive and pessimistic.

- 3) The 'hostile towards Estonia' part of the population. The majority of the group firmly identifies themselves as citizens of Russia or some other (former USSR) country. They are socially and politically active and see their mission in active opposition to the Republic of Estonia and its society

6. ASSESSMENT OF THE MEASURES PLANNED IN THE INTEGRATION PROGRAMME 2008-2013

SIP 2008-2013 gives reference to the document titled 'Social Inclusion State Programme 2004-2006. There is also the programme for years 2006-2008. However, it is titled '*National Report on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion 2006-2008*', so specific reference should be mentioned in the SIP.

Moreover, the existing integration programme gives the wording '*The measures listed in the action programme within the framework of the integration strategy with emphasis on non-Estonians and the activity programme for the spheres not presented directly*' (SIP 2008-2013, p 23). At the same time, the report on social protection and social inclusion of 2006-2008 gives reference to the integration programme that should support the social involvement of non-Estonians more than before:

[The Government wishes to strengthen the integration of non-Estonian residents through various fields of policy, but in a coordinated manner. An integration programme for 2008-2013 is currently being prepared, paying greater attention to socio-economic integration – until now main emphasis has been put on general education and language training. Therefore, in addition to continued support to language-learning, large-scale measures for the non-Estonian population are devised, such as reducing unemployment and for HIV/AIDS prevention. Measures are mainly focused on Ida-Viru County, including, among other things, increasing the proportion of people in that region who read, write and speak Estonian. Also, more job rotation programmes in different regions of Estonia, and tolerant attitude towards various national groups and their cultural differences are shaped across all population groups (in particular among young people). Based on the experience of European countries dealing with integration challenges regarding new immigrants during last fifty years, adaptation programmes will be prepared and applied aimed at preventing the social problems that can accompany the migration of workers.] (National Report on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion 2006-2008' 2006-2008, p 11).

Thus we find that the SIP should more specifically word the measures in question and show how they are connected with the plan of action. Also, the groups at greater risk should be distinguished among non-Estonians in case they do not coincide with the risk groups listed in the plan of action, and their peculiarities should be described.

5.1 Suggestions

According to the results of the social risk group research the following general suggestions can be provided:

- The measures of the State Integration Programme 2008-2013 should be focused on particular target groups. The groups are to be distinguished by the level of integration, age, education and other criteria. Thus there emerges the need of developing a systematic information strategy describing what type of information is provided to whom, in which form and through which channels.
- One of the priority target groups (and so far out of focus) could be the so called 'integrated' non-Estonians. This group feels the 'glass ceiling' effect and,

consequently, displays dissatisfaction and lack of trust, although its *high political mobilisation potential* could be used. The development of the integrated and contented Russian elite would give an example of ‘good practice’ and create a positive reference group for the rest of non-Estonians.

- The role of education (including university), school and teachers in the integration of the youngest target group is important for both Russian and Estonian speaking youth.
- Any type of segregation (social-economic, spatial, cultural or media related) is the biggest obstacle to integration for any target group. The decrease of segregation should be one of the most important targets of the integration strategy and the wider national policy.

The suggestions and proposed changes in accordance with the sub-goals of social-economic integration are stated below.

Sub-goal 1. Raising the non-Estonians’ competition capability on the labour market

- Decreasing labour market segregation. The non-Estonians’ employment in the public sector should be encouraged and supported (for instance, by means of so called positive discrimination). The myths that, for instance, Russians are not accepted for government office jobs should be proven false.
- Better dissemination of information about education and work opportunities by means of Russian operating information channels.
- Encouraging language learning at work (free language courses for the employees of enterprises with a large proportion of Russian speakers).

Sub-goal 2. Increasing business incentive among the non-Estonian population

- Providing assistance with compiling, writing, and translating projects (EU structure funds) as the information about such opportunities is not widely available.
- Offering (additional) training courses in Russian, both charged for and free. In comparison to (additional) training courses in Estonian, the proportion of those in Russian is small, but the demand is great.

Sub-goal 3. Better direction of social services

- The implementation of specific nationality-centred measures is not justified. It would rather foster stigmatisation on the basis of language/nationality.
- Wider and more purposeful implementation of the case management principle would help to find out particular needs and to implement particular (i.e. integrating) services.
- Language nuances can affect the efficiency of services as far as the services concerning personal welfare are in question. Opportunities for receiving such services in one’s mother tongue should be provided. For instance, medical translation hotline could work for health care; translation could be provided for social services or court procedures. The same is advisable for service introducing materials, such as web pages, government regulations, and legal acts.
- Educating bilingual social workers and possible education procurement. Social workers should be educated in order to work with clients who do not speak Estonian in the multicultural environment. Education in social welfare spheres should be popularised among Russian speaking youth.
- Russian operating information space needs expanding. Counselling and consultation shows should be introduced.

- The language component does exist on the labour market, but its better direction is needed. For instance, courses for occupationally relevant language could be conducted instead of general level exam preparation courses
- The availability of health care in Ida-Viru County should be improved. Currently the lack of medical personnel is a problem.

In addition to the points mentioned above, it should be emphasised that Ida-Viru County differs from the rest of Estonia. Integration in Ida-Viru County might mean additional measures complementing the process of integration.

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State Integration Programme 2008-2013
Final Report on Needs and Feasibility Research

Part VI

Integration in the Labour Market

Public Contracting Authority: Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Estonia

Sten Anspal
PRAXIS Center for Policy Studies

Unofficial Translation

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1. INTRODUCTION

The main research question asked in this study is to what extent a person's success in the labour market depends on his/her ethnicity and to what extent on other (including ethnicity-related) factors. This research question was formulated based directly on the area goal of socioeconomic integration, which states that equal opportunities for economic self-realisation and for social coping are guaranteed to all residents of Estonia regardless of their ethnicity, mother tongue or place of residence. The area goal can be generally considered appropriate in that it is closely linked with the equal opportunity emphasis of the integration policy. The research questions, main results and suggestions are generally based on this goal. In addition to equal initial employment opportunities, the integration in the labour market also covers professional advancement. The latter is not only related to the basic economic welfare but also to opportunities for self-realisation and for being more involved in the public life. For ethnic minorities the shortcomings that the target groups perceive in this field can be an important reason for discontent.

Previously there have been several studies of the women's and ethnic minorities' situation in the labour market conducted in Estonia. Of the ones dealing with ethnic minorities, one can mention, for example, overviews compiled in the framework of integration monitoring (Pavelson 2000, 2005). Leping and Toomet, for example, have analysed the differences in wages between Estonian and non-Estonian men (2007). Rõõm and Kallaste have analysed explained and unexplained differences in wages between men and women (2004).

In this study different forms of multiple linear regression analysis were used as methods of analysing differences in the labour market using data from the Estonian Labour Force Survey from the second half of 2000 to 2006. The multiple regression method enables one to evaluate the effect of several variables (e.g. education, language skills, work experience, etc) on the dependent variable (e.g. wage). One of the biggest advantages of this method over cross-tabulation and simple correlation coefficients is that it allows to isolate the effects of single variables. This allows for a significantly improved understanding of the essence of the gender and ethnic differences in the labour market. For example, a simple comparison of averages will tell you that the wage of representatives of ethnic minorities is 25 % smaller than that of Estonians. The question is how to interpret this. Does the difference result from the fact that the employees who are not Estonian do not have sufficient command of the national language, that they are not as educated or that they are concentrated in the less-economically-developed geographical areas? If there are several possible reasons, which of them are the more important ones and are they important at all?

Regression analysis makes it possible to tackle these questions. It is possible to determine to which extent one variable or the other influences the variation of the dependent variable with other variables held constant. In order to achieve this, a so-called parameter estimate is calculated for each explanatory variable which shows how strong the influence is and a corresponding test statistic that indicates the statistical significance of the relationship.

We use three outcome indicators as dependent variables in the study of the ethnic differences in labour market: employment rate, wage and occupational attainment. For each of the indicators we calculate separate equations for employees who are Estonian and for those of ethnic minorities, and these reflect the effects of the explanatory variables. We observe what role the ethnicity-related indicators like language command and citizenship play in coping in the labour market. We also compare whether the effect of such variables

as age and education on the output indicators is different for Estonians and for people of other nationalities.

The use of regression models is, however, limited by the variables that can be measured and included in the model. The existing statistical data makes it possible to measure only the effect of a select number of variables, and a certain amount of ethnic differences in labour market indicators will inevitably remain unexplained. For example, such factors as different job search networks for Estonians and people of other nationalities, ethnic segregation into “Estonian” or “Russian” enterprises, discrimination and many others are not reflected in the data. Through regression analysis you can only measure how large the portion of the variation to the labour market indicator that remains unexplained is. What hides behind the unexplained part, however, needs to be analysed either through collecting additional quantitative data or using other (qualitative) methods.

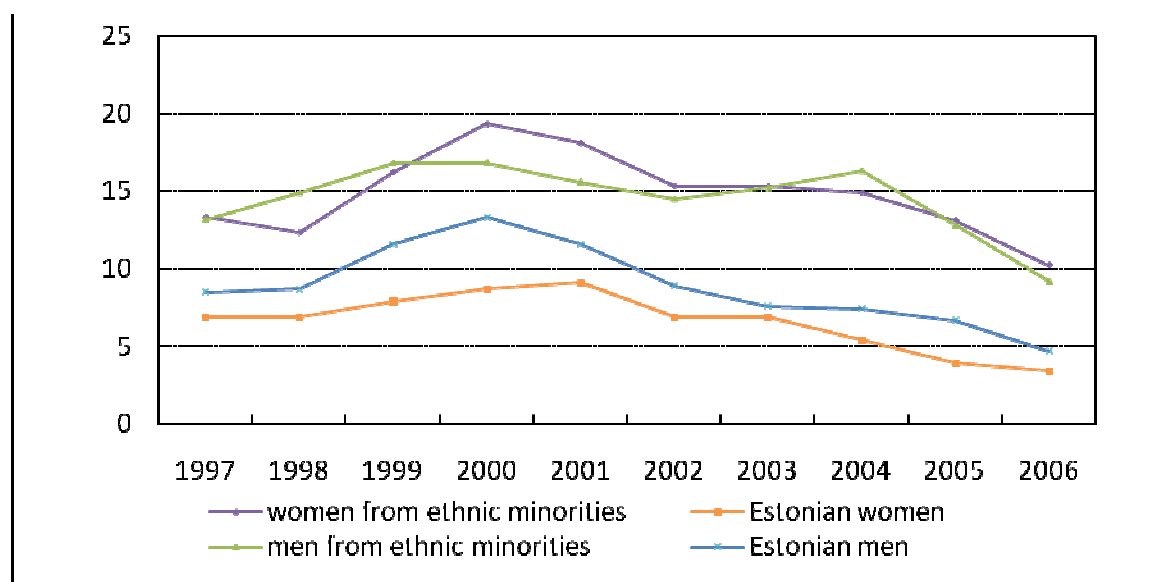
It needs to be emphasised separately that regression analysis on the basis of the data from the Estonian Labour Force Survey does not directly allow to prove the existence or extent of discrimination – it is only possible to measure the effect of various explanatory variables and the share of ethnic differences that these do not account for. The existence of unexplained differences in the labour market can only indicate the possibility that discrimination may be present (and vice versa – lack of unexplained differences can indicate that existence of discrimination in the labour market is unlikely). There can be, however, other reasons for unexplained differences. For example, if it transpires that the effect of having higher education on working in a higher position is smaller for employees of other nationalities than it is for Estonians, the reason for this can be that Estonians with higher education are favoured when people are hired for top positions. Alternatively, the reason can be in the difference in the average quality of higher education or a difference in the professional profile of minorities, or in different job search networks, etc. In addition to the regression analysis of the data from the Estonian Labour Force Survey, the current study also presents some background information on the perceived discrimination in the Estonian society.

This report is structured as follows: in the next chapter we review the factors that affect the likelihood of Estonians and people of other nationalities being employed. In the third chapter we analyse the differences between the ethnic groups in advancing to management positions. The fourth chapter reviews the explained and unexplained differences in wages. Chapter Five gives a summary of the focus group with the employers. The sixth chapter reviews existing information on discrimination. The remaining chapters give a summary of the research results, recommendations on integration programme target groups and assessment of the measures proposed in the integration programme.

2. EMPLOYMENT RATE

Even though the extremely rapid economic growth of the last few years resulted in the unemployment rate in Estonia so low that it is no longer considered an important problem for the country, the same cannot be said about ethnic minorities. As can be seen from Figure 1, in 2006 the unemployment rate in the latter group, both among men and women, was still bordering 10 %. The reasons are partly in the uneven geographical development of Estonia – Ida-Virumaa is still one of the regions of Estonia with the highest unemployment rate. At the same time in Tallinn, the most successful regions of the country, the difference in unemployment rate between Estonians and ethnic minorities is at least as large: by 2006 unemployment rate among Estonians in Tallinn decreased to almost 2.1 percent whereas the same figure for other nationalities was 7 %.

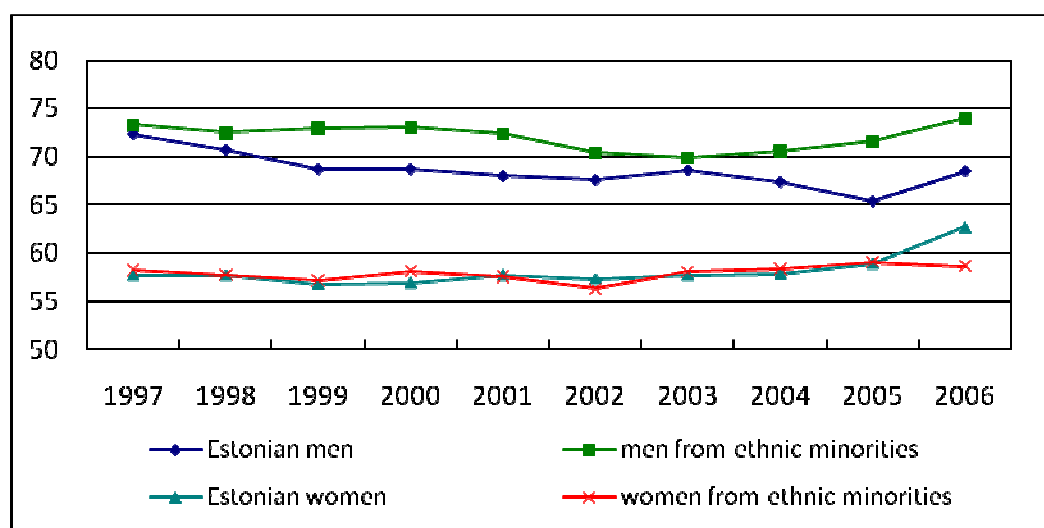
Figure 1. Unemployment rate (% of the workforce, age group 15-74)



Source: Estonian Labour Force Survey by the Statistical Office, author's calculations

Figure 2 gives an overview of the dynamics of the labour force participation rate across the ethnic groups. The labour force participation rate reflects the percentage of the working-age population that is involved in the labour market, i.e. is either employed or is looking for work. The remainder – those who are neither employed nor seek employment – have various reasons for their lack of activity, e.g. studying, raising children, health problems or retirement. If the different ethnic groups display systematic differences in their labour force participation due to, for example, differences in family behaviour, it would also be reflected in the employment figures. As can be seen from Figure 2, however, no significant differences in labour force participation rates of Estonian women and women of other nationalities can be observed. The only exception is the year 2006 when the participation rate of Estonian women exceeded that of women of other nationalities by 4 percentage points. The gender differences in participation rates are wider for minorities since the participation rate of men of ethnic minorities is higher than those of Estonian men.

Figure 2. Labour force participation rates (% of population aged 15-74).



Source: Estonian Labour Force Survey by the Statistical Office, author's calculations

Regression analysis focuses on the probability of finding employment for those people who participate in the labour market (i.e. those who are not inactive). For this a dependent variable was created, taking the value at 1 if the person was employed and 0 if the person was unemployed. The differences between Estonian employees and those of other nationalities were viewed across the genders, and also for the whole of Estonia and separately for Tallinn. Viewing Tallinn separately was justified because the sizes of the Estonian population there and that of people of other nationalities are comparable, and the labour market is more homogeneous. When viewing Estonia as a whole, the results are influenced by the fact that the percentage of Estonians living in rural areas is bigger than the same figure for ethnic minorities. If living in the rural areas is correlated with below average figures in the labour market and since the percentage of people living there is different between the ethnic groups, this can influence the comparability of the indicators. The results are presented in Table 1.

Looking at the results, the age group that stands out due to its poorer situation is 15-19 y.o. both for Estonians and people of ethnic minorities (for Estonians it is also the age group 20-24 y.o.). Being part of the 60-and-over group gives a positive effect that is most likely related to the fact that people do not leave employment for unemployment but rather for inactivity. When it comes to ethnic minorities, the women group aged 55-59 is also with a positive sign (see Appendix 2).

The effect of both upper secondary and higher education on labour force participation is bigger for ethnic minorities than it is for Estonians.

Table 1. Employment Regression: Estonians and other nationalities, all of Estonia and Tallinn

Variable	Estonians		Other nationalities	
	Coefficient	P> z	Coefficient	P> z
Woman	0.01**	0.034	0	0.986
Age 15-19	-0.129***	0	-0.152**	0.016
Age 20-24	-0.032***	0.004	-0.008	0.711
Age 25-29	-0.008	0.362	0.008	0.641
Reference: Age 30-44				

Age 45-49	0.001	0.943	0.031**	0.038
Age 50-54	-0.006	0.422	0.024	0.141
Age 55-59	-0.002	0.787	0.024	0.214
Age 60-64	0.036***	0	0.09***	0
Reference: basic education				
Upper-secondary education	0.045***	0	0.076***	0
Higher education	0.072***	0	0.102***	0
E.I. used at home			0.033	0.11
E.I., oral+written			0.059***	0
E.I., is able to speak			0.027*	0.087
E.I., is able to understand			0.006	0.677
Country of birth	-0.008	0.626	-0.017	0.173
Citizenship of another country			-0.051***	0.007
Undetermined citizenship			-0.03**	0.034
En.I, oral+written	-0.001	0.86	-0.033	0.282
En.I., is able to speak	0.007	0.291	-0.039	0.155
En.I., is able to understand	0.009	0.155	0	0.988
R.I, oral+written	0.006	0.348		
R.I., is able to speak	-0.003	0.687		
R.I., is able to understand	0.008	0.276		
Married	0.024***	0	0.086***	0
Single parent	-0.023	0.132	-0.027	0.421
Number of 16 y.o. children	0.018***	0	0.047***	0
<i>Number of observations</i>	10983		3978	

Marginal effects presented in the table.

*** by the figures means that the estimate is statistically significant with at least a 99% probability, ** – with a 95-99% probability, * – with a 90-95% probability.

The full model (see Appendix 2) also uses marital status, year, region and field of activity as explanatory variables.

Considering all other factors, neither of the ethnic groups displayed a lower probability of women finding employment when compared to men. For Estonians, being a woman means that the probability of being employed is slightly higher, the effect is greater in Tallinn where it reaches 3.6 percent.

The results confirm that the command of the Estonian language is important for finding employment, especially at the level of oral and written command of the language (the following levels of language command were distinguished: oral and written command of the language, level of everyday communication and understanding the language). Undetermined citizenship status and citizenship of another country generally have a negative effect on employment (although in Tallinn it does not prevent from finding employment).

3. OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Even though with the rapid economic growth and high employment rate, unemployment has become a smaller problem in the current decade, this is not the only labour market indicator that reflects problems for ethnic minorities. Ethnic differences in the labour market can also exist for people who are already employed – in the form of professional status segregation.

Table 2 illustrates the distribution of people of different genders and ethnicities in accordance with their professional status using the main categories (with the exception of the armed forces) used in ISCO-88 (*International Standard Classification of Occupations*). The gender and ethnicity differences are clearly seen from the table: the percentage of Estonian men in management positions is substantially higher than that of women or ethnic minorities. At the same time, the percentage of women in the professional category is higher than that of men (this is due to more women working in the field of education and healthcare). The percentage of people in the management and professionals groups (the sum of the first and second rows) is biggest for Estonian men followed by Estonian women followed, in turn, by men and women representing ethnic minorities, for whom the respective sums are nearly the same. When it comes to lower level occupations, the relative relevance of gender and ethnicity differences varies. In relative terms, the “service workers and shop and market sales workers” group can be called a feminine group. The percentage of women working in these spheres is several times larger than that of men, and this is true for both Estonians and people from ethnic minorities. The percentage of men in the “plant and machine operators and assemblers” category is relatively similar for Estonian workers and those from ethnic minorities, the difference between women from ethnic minorities and Estonian women, however, is almost double.

Table 2. Distribution of employees of different genders and ethnicities according to their occupation, 2006

	Estonian men	Men of other nationalities	Estonian women	Women of other nationalities
Legislators, senior officials and managers	18.8%	13.6%	11.1%	4.4%
Professionals	10.8%	6.1%	22.4%	14.3%
Technicians and associate professionals	9.0%	6.3%	17.9%	15.1%
Clerks	2.9%	2.4%	6.5%	9.3%
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	5.1%	4.6%	19.9%	23.1%
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	3.0%	0.1%	2.0%	0.6%
Craft and related workers	24.9%	34.4%	3.6%	4.2%
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	19.5%	21.8%	7.2%	15.1%
Elementary occupations	6.1%	10.8%	9.3%	13.9%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: *Estonian Labour Force Survey by the Statistical Office, author's calculations*

One can assume that the factors that affect being employed for management or professional positions are, among others, the level of education, language command, work experience, field of activity, etc. There is no significant difference in the percentage of men with higher education among Estonians and people from ethnic minorities 15.5 %

and 15 % respectively) and between the same percentages for women with higher education (22.8 % and 20.2 % respectively). At the same time, the age distribution of people with higher education does differ – among the ethnic minorities there are somewhat more people with higher education in the older age groups. Language command, etc is also somewhat related to age. Regression analysis was used for assessing access to various occupations in order to take all of these different factors into account at the same time.

There are several ways to study occupations using regression analysis. The approach and the methods used differ depending, for example, on whether the observed occupations are viewed simply as different choices without assuming that one is necessarily more preferred over the other or whether they are viewed as a hierarchy and positioned in the order of preference. The latter approach, however, requires a method to compile the “preference indicator”.

Table 3. Regression: occupational attainment, Estonian employees and employees from ethnic minorities, the whole Estonia *

Variable	Estonians		Other nationalities	
	Marginal effect	P> z	Marginal effect	P> z
Woman	-0.071***	0	-0.038***	0.001
Age 15-19	-0.153***	0		
Age 20-24	-0.093***	0	-0.052***	0.002
Age 25-29	-0.064***	0	-0.029*	0.065
Reference: Age 30-44				
Age 45-49	0.013	0.371	-0.001	0.953
Age 50-54	-0.022	0.151	0.016	0.357
Age 55-59	-0.032*	0.056	0.026	0.222
Age 60-64	-0.074***	0	-0.037**	0.041
Married	0.025**	0.034	0.001	0.91
Number of 16 y.o. children	0.005	0.447	0.027***	0.001
Basic education	-0.16***	0	-0.09***	0
Reference: upper secondary education				
Higher education	0.397***	0	0.292***	0
Country of birth	0.053*	0.068	-0.002	0.835
E.I. used at home			0.111***	0.003
E.I., oral+written			0.075***	0.002
E.I., is able to speak			0.054**	0.016
E.I., is able to understand			0.037**	0.045
En.I., oral+written	0.218***	0	0.103***	0.002
En.I., is able to speak	0.16***	0	0.064**	0.016
En.I., is able to understand	0.104***	0	0.064***	0.009
Single parent	-0.021	0.374	-0.043**	0.027
Citizenship of another country			-0.024*	0.063
Undetermined citizenship			-0.035***	0.003
Employer: foreign owner	-0.016	0.311	0.007	0.701
Employer: public sector	0.036*	0.055	0.008	0.665
Work experience with the employer	0.007***	0	0.004***	0
Part-time job	-0.023	0.167	0.034	0.203
Observations	9918		3285	

* Marginal effects.

*** by the figures means that the estimate is statistically significant with at least a 99% probability, ** – with a 95-99% probability, * – with a 90-95% probability.

A selection of the estimated parameters is presented in the table. The full model also uses marital status, year, region and field of activity as explanatory variables (see Appendix 2).

This research used the simpler of the approaches (similar to the study by Heath and Cheung (2006)) and occupations were divided into two main groups: “white collar”, i.e. management and professionals, and the rest. In the context of this research, the white collar occupations were defined as belonging to the two top groups according to the ISCO classification (legislators, senior officials and managers, and professionals). Whether a job belonged to this occupational group was considered a dependent variable of the regression analysis, and the factors affecting the probability of Estonians and people of other nationalities working in those positions were analysed. The results are presented in table 3.

The effect of higher education is stronger for Estonians than it is for ethnic minorities, and it is higher in Tallinn for both groups than it is in Estonia as a whole. Looking at the whole of Estonia, the negative effect of basic education compared to upper secondary education is higher for Estonians than for ethnic minorities (and in Tallinn not a single person from an ethnic minority with basic education working in a management position could be found).

One factor that prevents employees from the ethnic minorities from reaching white collar positions is the lack of Estonian citizenship. Command of the Estonian and English language is also important. Estonian being one of the languages used at home has a particularly strong effect, but language command at any level statistically significantly increases the probability of working in a white collar occupation.

The probability of working in a management or professional position in the public sector is negatively affected by being a representative of an ethnic minority (also considering other factors like the command of the language and citizenship). From the descriptive statistics it seems that the percentage of people working in white collar positions is higher than that of people of ethnic minorities, and the difference is larger in the public sector than it is in the private sector.

The negative effect of being a woman on working in a white collar position is somewhat lower for ethnic minorities than it is for Estonians.

Table 4. Differences in Occupational attainment: Fairlie decomposition

	All of Estonia		Tallinn	
	Difference in total	Explained difference	Difference in total	Explained difference
Estonian women and women from ethnic minorities	11.1%	10.1%	16.6%	15.3%
Estonian men and men from ethnic minorities	9.6%	6.5%	20.3%	5.4%
Estonian women and men and women and men from ethnic minorities	10.4%	5.2%	18.5%	8.9%

Source: *The Estonian Labour Force Survey by the Statistical Office, author’s calculations*

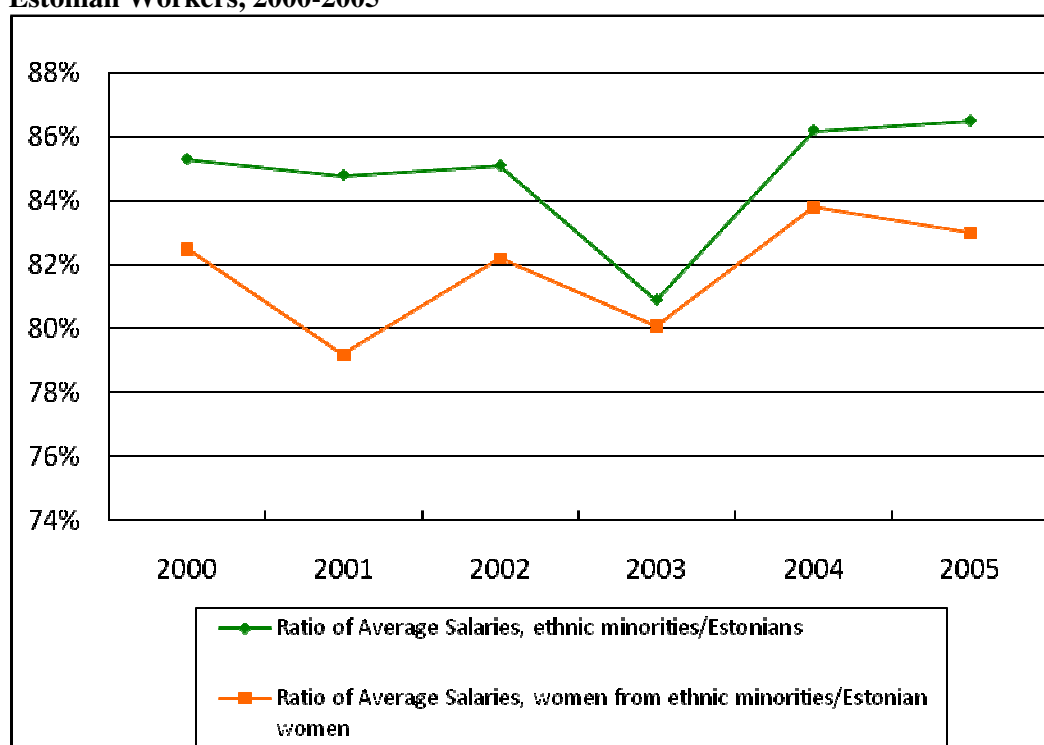
The differences in the probability of working in a management or professional position were decomposed, i.e. the proportion of these differences that can be explained by various measured factors like age, work experience, etc, was calculated, and so was the proportion that cannot be explained through those factors. The Fairlie method was used (Fairlie 2005). The results show that almost half of the differences between Estonians and people from ethnic minorities working in white collar positions can be explained by various explanatory variables, the rest are unexplained ethnic differences. There are also some gender-based variations – the difference in occupational attainment for Estonian women and women from ethnic minorities is almost fully explained, while a large portion of the differences for men is not explained.

4. WAGES

Studies of ethnic wage differentials conducted in other countries have mostly shown that the immigrants' wage is below the average level. In most cases unexplained difference in wages was discovered, which is not connected to the differences in the observed indicators between the various ethnic groups. The reasons behind the unexplained differences can be, for example, discrimination, negative effect of the neighbourhood (Kahanec 2006) or different social networks (Kugler 2003).

In Estonia the salaries of ethnic minorities are 86.5 % (men) and 83 % (women) of the salaries of, respectively, Estonian men and women. These ratios have not changed significantly when compared to figures from year 2000.

Figure 3. Wages of Workers from Ethnic Minorities as Percentages of Wages of Ethnic Estonian Workers, 2000-2005



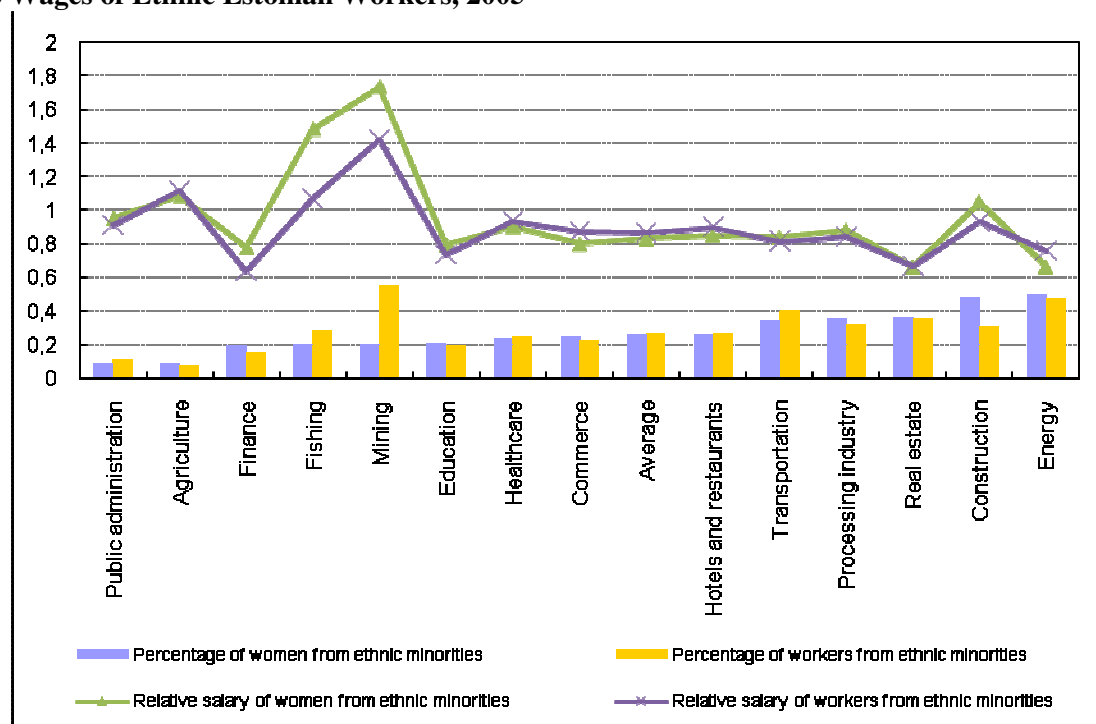
Source: Estonian Labour Force Survey by the Statistical Office, author's calculations

Differences in wages are a post-Soviet phenomenon in Estonia. Already in 1994 the wage differential was 5.2 % in favour of the Estonians whereas Kroncke and Smith (1999) estimated that considering the characteristics of Estonians the potential difference would have been 11.6 % in the other direction. When analysing differences in salaries between Estonian men and men from ethnic minorities, Leping and Toomet (2007) found that beginning from the restoration of independence, the unexplained differences in wages have grown from basically zero to 10-15 percent in favour of the Estonian-speaking population at the beginning of this century.

At the same time, gender wage differentials have decreased in Estonia after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Even though the general variation in wages was smaller in the Soviet time, gender segregation influenced the differences in wages between men and women. During the period of independence, the ratio of women with higher education has increased whereas women with lower levels of education left the labour market earlier than men with lower levels of education. The predominately female service sector has

expanded and the number of traditionally male jobs has decreased (Vodopivec et al. 2000). When studying the differences in salaries between men and women, Rõõm et al (2004) estimated that between 1998 and 2000 women earned approximately 28% less than men, of which the difference not explained by various characteristics comprised approximately 20 percent points. At the same time, the average gender difference in wages has decreased during the independence period.

Figure 4. Percentage of Workers from Ethnic Minorities in the Total Number of People Involved in Particular Spheres and the Ratio of Salaries of Workers from Ethnic Minorities to Wages of Ethnic Estonian Workers, 2005



Source: Estonian Labour Force Survey by the Statistical Office, author's calculations

The factors affecting wages were also studied using regression analysis. The results for full-time employees from ethnic minorities and Estonian workers for Estonia as a whole and separately for Tallinn are presented in table 4.

As expected, belonging to the 15-19 age group has a negative effect on wage level both for Estonian workers and for workers from ethnic minorities, and this is also the case for the 20-24 age group among Estonian workers. Older workers (in this context – aged 50 and above) are in the less favourable position both for Estonian workers and for workers from ethnic minorities.

Having higher education with the other variables remaining the same is associated on average with a 31 % higher wage for Estonian workers and with a 19 % higher wage for workers from ethnic minorities.

Command of the Estonian language has a rather large effect on wage. Having oral and written command of the Estonian language is associated with a 6.1 % higher wage; having command of the language at the level of communication, as well as understanding the language, have no statistically significant effect. Having the Estonian language as one of the languages spoken at home is associated on average with a 10.1 % higher wage. Having command of the English language is associated on average with an 8.6 % and a 6.7 % higher wage for Estonians and workers from ethnic minorities respectively.

Being a citizen of a foreign country or having undetermined citizenship does not have a statistically significant effect on wages in comparison with having Estonian citizenship.

Working in the public sector is associated with an approximately 4.7 % lower wage for Estonians but with a 4.5 % higher wage for workers from ethnic minorities. Both Estonians and ethnic minorities have higher wages if employed in companies with foreign ownership – by 16 % for Estonians and by 9 % for ethnic minorities. Salaries are above average in mid-size and large companies compared to smaller ones.

Each additional year of work experience (with the same employer) is linked to a 0.3 % higher wage for Estonians and a 0.5 % higher wage for ethnic minorities.

Taking into consideration all other factors, being a woman has similar effect on the wage both for Estonians and for ethnic minorities.

Table 5. Wage regression: Estonians and workers of other nationalities (both men and women), the whole of Estonia

Variable	Estonians		Other nationalities	
	Coefficient	P> z	Coefficient	P> z
Woman	-0.235***	0	-0.226***	0
Age 15-19	-0.271***	0	-0.156*	0.059
Age 20-24	-0.073***	0.001	-0.042	0.171
Age 25-29	-0.023	0.201	0.004	0.883
Reference: age 30-44				
Age 45-49	-0.022	0.135	-0.024	0.275
Age 50-54	-0.062***	0	-0.054**	0.023
Age 55-59	-0.103***	0	-0.075***	0.007
Age 60-64	-0.182***	0	-0.114***	0.002
Reference: basic education				
Higher education	0.312***	0	0.192***	0
Upper secondary education	0.073***	0	0.064**	0.019
Country of birth	0.01	0.784	-0.021	0.202
E.I. used at home			0.102***	0.001
E.I., oral+written			0.061**	0.017
E.I., is able to speak			-0.009	0.705
E.I., is able to understand			0.025	0.229
Citizenship of another country			-0.047**	0.029
Undetermined citizenship			-0.036**	0.043
Command of the English language	0.086***	0	0.067***	0.001
Married	0.031***	0.005	0.033*	0.055
Number of 16 y.o. children	0.024***	0	0.039***	0.001
Employer: public sector	-0.047**	0.016	0.045*	0.082
Employer: foreign ownership	0.164***	0	0.092***	0
Reference: small company				
Mid-size company	0.091***	0	0.088***	0
Large company	0.13***	0	0.124***	0
Work experience with the employer	0.003***	0	0.005***	0
Percentage of workers from ethnic minorities in the profession, sector	-0.146	0.163	-0.126	0.351
Percentage of women in the profession, sector	0.051	0.28	0.032	0.661
<i>Number of observations in the sample</i>	6717		2578	

Source: Estonian Labour Force Survey by the Statistical Office, author's calculations.

*** by the figures means that the estimate is statistically significant with at least a 99% probability, ** – with a 95-99% probability, * – with a 90-95% probability.

The differences in wages between Estonians and workers of other nationalities were also analysed with the goal to find out how much of the differential is explained how much is unexplained. Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition method (Oaxaca 1973) was used for this.

First, linear wage equations were calculated for each group of employees using the method of least squares, estimating the relationship between the natural logarithm of wage and the various characteristics of the occupation and the individual:

$$\log w_{gi} = \beta_g X_{gi} + \varepsilon_{gi},$$

(1)

where g – group,

i – individual.

Next, the wage differences were decomposed:

$$\overline{\log w_E} - \overline{\log w_R} = (\bar{X}_E - \bar{X}_R)' \hat{\beta}_E + \bar{X}_R' (\hat{\beta}_E - \hat{\beta}_R)$$

(2)

where differences in natural logarithms of wages ($\log w$) between Estonians (E) and other nationalities (R) come from the difference in the mean characteristics (X) that is multiplied by the coefficient of the Estonians' wage equation ($\hat{\beta}$) and from the differences in coefficients of wage regressions for Estonians and people of other nationalities that is multiplied by the mean characteristics of the ethnic minorities. The first half of the right side of the equation shows the share of the wage differential that is explained by the differences in characteristics of Estonians and ethnic minorities if they were evaluated in accordance with the Estonians' regression coefficients. The second half reflects the unexplained differences in salaries, i.e. the difference in values of the Estonians' characteristics and those of ethnic minorities.

The difference in wages between Estonian workers and those of ethnic minorities included in the equation was 14 %, of which 10.7 % were explained differences and 3.3 % unexplained. A more detailed analysis, however, shows important differences across genders. Even though the wage differential between Estonians and people from ethnic minorities were larger for women (17.2 %) than they were for men (11.4 %), the larger part of them are explained differences (14.5 %). In the case of men, the percentage on unexplained differences (3.8 %) was higher.

Table 6. Explained and Unexplained Differences in Wages

	All of Estonia		Tallinn	
	Explained differences	Unexplained differences	Explained differences	Unexplained differences
Estonian women and women from ethnic minorities	14.6%*	2.7%	16.2%	22.2%***
Estonian men and men from ethnic minorities	7.6%	3.8%	16.4%	15.8%
Difference in wages between men and women from ethnic minorities	7.4%***	22.3%***	6.3%	25.2%***

Source: Estonian Labour Force Survey by the Statistical Office, author's calculations.

*** by the figures means that the estimate is statistically significant with at least a 99% probability, ** – with a 95-99% probability, * – with a 90-95% probability.

The fact that there are more Estonians in rural areas also decreases the average statistical differences in wages between Estonian workers and workers of other nationalities – the incomes of people living in rural areas is smaller. If we consider Tallinn separately, the differences in salaries are significantly larger. The difference in wages of Estonian female employees and those from ethnic minorities in Tallinn was 38.3 % of which only 16.2 % are explained. In the case of men the difference in wages is 32.3 % of which 26.9 % are explained.

The gender differences in wages also vary across ethnic groups: it is 23.7 % for Estonians and 29.5 % for ethnic minorities. At the same time the percentage of unexplained differences in wages between men and women is not significantly higher for ethnic minorities – 21.5 % against 20.9 % for Estonians. What is also different is that if in the case of women command of the Estonian language is a factor strongly affecting the wage, in the case of men it is not statistically significant.

5. FOCUS GROUP WITH EMPLOYERS

In addition to the statistical data analysis, in November 2007 a focus group interview was conducted with human resource managers of six (large) Estonian companies.¹

When selecting participants for the focus groups the following factors were considered: the size of the company (larger companies have more experience with personnel), diversity of the areas of activity of the company and also experience with employees from ethnic minorities.

The goal of the focus group was to determine the attitudes and expectations of the employers regarding the national integration policy. The topics covered in more detail were the command of the language on the part of ethnic minorities, their wage expectations, the April 2007 unrest, as well as the topics related to the two-way integration and the measures proposed in the integration programme. The more important results of the focus group are given below.

To what extent do the employers' attitudes, including discrimination, affect how ethnic minorities cope in the labour market?

From the focus group it transpired that in the employees' opinion, a person's ethnicity is not at all important in the selection of personnel, and the companies that participated in the focus group employ people from ethnic minorities on all levels – engineering staff, professionals, office workers, as well as in management positions.

In these companies the workers from ethnic minorities are not just Russians – there are employees of Ukrainian, Swedish, Lithuanian, Italian, German, Finnish backgrounds, etc. It was emphasised that all of the employers selected their personnel based on their professional attitude and not on the ethnicity. The employers were pleased that there is no forced integration in Estonia and the situation is noticeably more lenient in comparison with several Western countries (for example, there are no prescribed quotas). The fact that the number of non-Estonians in the labour market is increasing serves as proof that the system is fair.

Language skills

From the focus group it transpired that although the level of the command of the language in the companies is uneven, the front-line staff generally know Estonian at a good level. Ida-Virumaa is the only exception, and companies experience serious difficulties in finding workers who know the Estonian language at a satisfactory level. The language used at work is, as a rule, Estonian, but this depends both on the traditions of the company and on the ethnicity of the management and the subordinates. It can be said that the higher the position of a person from an ethnic minority is in the company, the better, as a rule, is his/her command of the language (both the Estonian and the English language).

¹ The focus group was conducted by Annemai Mägi, Maarja Unt and Omar Nõmm from InterAct Projektiid & Koolitus OÜ. Sten Anspal from the PRAXIS Center for Policy Studies participated in the study as an observer.

It was revealed during the focus group that the requirements set by the Language Inspectorate have several times altered the recruitment results of the companies. Representatives of the companies have noted that good candidates had remained not recruited due to Language Inspectorate requirements (the candidate does not have command of the Estonian language at a sufficient level).

In the situation of the shortage of labour, most of the larger companies have introduced Estonian, English and Russian language courses for the existing and potential employees. The companies usually carry either the complete costs of the language courses or half of it. The acquired level of language command is also important for the companies since most of them do not compensate the costs of a language course if the person does not pass the examination at the end of the course. At the same time they feel there is a considerable shortage of **professional language courses** and according to the employers, it is hard to find good professional training courses (e.g. fire safety courses) in Russian or in English, which gives an additional dimension to the language problems.

Differences in wage expectations and in its level

When the representatives of the companies were asked if there are differences in wage expectations between Estonians and ethnic minorities and if so, to what extent, emerged that **generally there are no differences in wage expectations** between native speakers of Estonian and candidates from ethnic minorities that have command of the Estonian language. It can even be said that people from ethnic minorities in management positions actually ask for higher salaries than Estonians do. The employers did also state that in the recent past there were differences in wage expectations (the situation when wage expectations of representatives of ethnic minorities were smaller than those of Estonians). Differences in wage expectation occur, especially for lower positions, when the level of the command of the Estonian language is not sufficient. It was clear that human resource managers, if possible, prefer workers who know Estonian at least at a communication level to those who do not speak it. Most of representatives of the companies acknowledged that the difference in wage expectations does not depend on ethnicity as much as it does on age – older people ask for a significantly smaller wage than young people.

Steady pay and a stable job is important for representatives of ethnic minorities, especially those for whom Russian is the mother tongue, and this is why more representatives of ethnic minorities than Estonians apply for “less prestigious” but well-paid jobs. When comparing job position and wage expectations, it is definitely important to take the workers’ previous education path into consideration. Graduates of schools with Russian as the language of instruction are generally stronger in sciences, and this is the reason why jobs where technical knowledge is important are often occupied by workers from ethnic minorities.

Interaction circles

During breaks and outside work workers prefer to communicate in their mother tongue, and, for example, in canteens the people are grouped together with the workers speaking the same language. This is why it can be said that interaction circles in companies are often formed based on ethnicity (Russians prefer to interact with Russians; Estonians prefer to interact with Estonians, etc). At the same time representatives of all companies stated that language communication is not a problem and interaction with representatives of other ethnicities is normal and good-hearted. Interaction circles are often formed among people who work together in physical isolation from the others, and ethnicity here becomes secondary. An example was given when two Estonians were appointed into a work environment consisting predominately of workers from ethnic minorities. They were

taken under special care there and that, in turn, meant that other workers started using the Estonian language more in their work-related communication. Most human resource managers have noticed the trend that when the group consists of many workers of one nationality and a representative of another ethnicity is introduced into the group, the latter is not isolated from the rest of the group but on the contrary, there is even more interest in his fortunes.

April disturbances

The disturbances of April 2007 in Estonia were undeniably a real test of the unity of Estonians and Russians. The employers noted that during the disturbances the ethnic Russian workers tried to explain to the co-workers that they do not agree with the moods displayed in the streets. The behaviour of Russians and Estonians was reserved and in most cases there were no problems. There were isolated conflicts but thanks to quick reactions from the employers (meetings, explanations of the situation, attempts to preserve unity) they were quickly and peacefully resolved.

More problems arose among the workers in Ida-Virumaa, the reason being both the larger percentage of the Russian-speaking population and the home pressure on the workers, which is why it was easier for conflicts between ethnic groups to develop.

What are the employers' expectations regarding the solution to labour force problems through the integration policy?

The representatives of employers unanimously agreed that in contrast to the situation several years ago, young people from ethnic minorities today are competitive in the labour market and there is no need for a separate support programme (again, Ida-Virumaa was mentioned as an exception since the general cultural environment there does not facilitate a broad use of the Estonian language). The situation of older people from ethnic minorities in the labour market is, however, complicated today as well, which can be explained primarily by lack of initiative and language command.

The reverse language problem and one-way integration

The employers stated that the situation for Estonian young people and those of ethnic minorities in the labour market is changing – if earlier ethnic Russian youths were at a disadvantage, nowadays they often have very good command of the Estonian language and they have a noticeable advantage in the labour market over the Estonian young people. A large portion of the latter do not speak Russian, and thus it is easier for the Russian young people who have good command of several languages to cope in the labour market. This trend is particularly evident in the tertiary sector.

The employers also found that it is not possible to only integrate ethnic minorities and that tolerance of the Estonian young people also needs developing. The problem starts already at school where young people are not explained or taught cultural diversity. Language immersion is conducted in Russian schools, and also more intense state language instruction is introduced. At the same time the mindset that we must also consider the ethnic minorities that we live together with is not widespread in the education in the Estonian language.

Broader language integration

During the focus group it transpired that language study is emphasised primarily for the Russian-speaking population. At the same time, learning Estonian should be an important part of the integration of all non-Estonians living in the country and the distinction between Russians and other ethnic minorities must disappear from the society. Integration is often reduced to just two ethnic groups (Estonians and Russians), and all focus group interview participants were unanimous in that such situation is wrong.

Readiness to consider other ethnicities needs to be actively expanded since it is very likely, especially considering the quick economic growth, that in the future more and more people of different skin colour, traditions and religious beliefs will come to live in Estonia.

Expectations of the measures taken by the state

The representatives of employers were asked to express their opinions on the following hypothetical government measures:

1. Creating additional high-quality retraining opportunities and refresher courses for Russian-speaking workers;
2. Developing integrated Estonian language and professional courses for various spheres of activity;
3. Developing and implementing integrated language and adaptation programmes for unemployed Russian-speaking workers, including conducting them in areas where labour shortage is most prominent;
4. Developing and conducting Estonian language courses for Russian-speaking prisoners in penitentiary institutions;
5. Developing and implementing in-service training programmes for employers on the topic of multiculturalism;
6. Developing and implementing sets of measures that facilitate the mobility of the workforce.

Most of the representatives of the companies found that the first and second measures cannot be separated and ideally they would be combined. In addition, the first two were also considered the most vital. Support for improvement of training, at the same time, is important both for Estonian workers and for those from ethnic minorities. It is important to be able to provide service both in Estonian and in Russian. It transpired here as well that all parties of the process need to be integrated and one-way integration can lead to results that are opposite to the expected ones. The joint view was that ethnicity is not a “disability” and it is not reasonable to give advantages only to a particular nationality.

Most of the focus group participants expressed doubts in the importance of the third course of action since in 2007 it is the problem of labour shortage and not unemployment that Estonia faces. At the same time this point is important if we consider the people who will immigrate into Estonia in the future.

The fourth measure solution was considered less important compared to the other ones, but it was noted that conducting language courses in penitentiary institutions would be a welcome activity. Everyone who participated agreed that the problem exists and needs to be resolved but the target group in question should be dealt with regardless of ethnicity.

The fifth course of action received strong support among the human resource managers, in particular taking into consideration multilevel multiculturalism and not just the relationship between Estonians and Russians. All of the participants of the focus group considered the complex training programmes for employers (how to manage multicultural groups and what the most successful approaches are) important.

There were two main opinions on the sixth approach. On the one hand, there is constant labour force shortage in Tallinn and it would make it useful to bring workers from other areas of Estonia to Tallinn. On the other hand, it would not be useful for the country to increase the population of Tallinn as today’s centre of attraction, and the wish is to develop other centres besides the capital.

Summary

It transpired from the focus group that if a person has sufficient command of languages (as a rule, Estonian, Russian and English) then ethnicity is not an obstacle for finding employment. It can be said that today a situation has developed when young people from ethnic minorities (who speak both Estonian and Russian) have a competitive advantage over young Estonians (who often do not speak Russian) in the labour market. In the employers' opinion, there are no substantial differences in wage expectations between Estonians and people from ethnic minorities, the existing differences are more related to age.

The employers' expectations do not differ much from the courses of action proposed in the integration programme, but the issue of the importance of two-way integration was raised. This issue does not devote sufficient attention to this issue. The terms multiculturalism and integration need to be redefined since at present they are too centred on the relationship between Estonians and Russians and, taking the future into consideration, need to be broadened.

To summarise, based on the focus group it can be said that the situation of the ethnic minorities (especially young Russians) in the labour market is improving and according to the employers, one's personality, professional knowledge and command of foreign languages are the important factors, not ethnicity.

6. DISCRIMINATION IN THE LABOUR MARKET

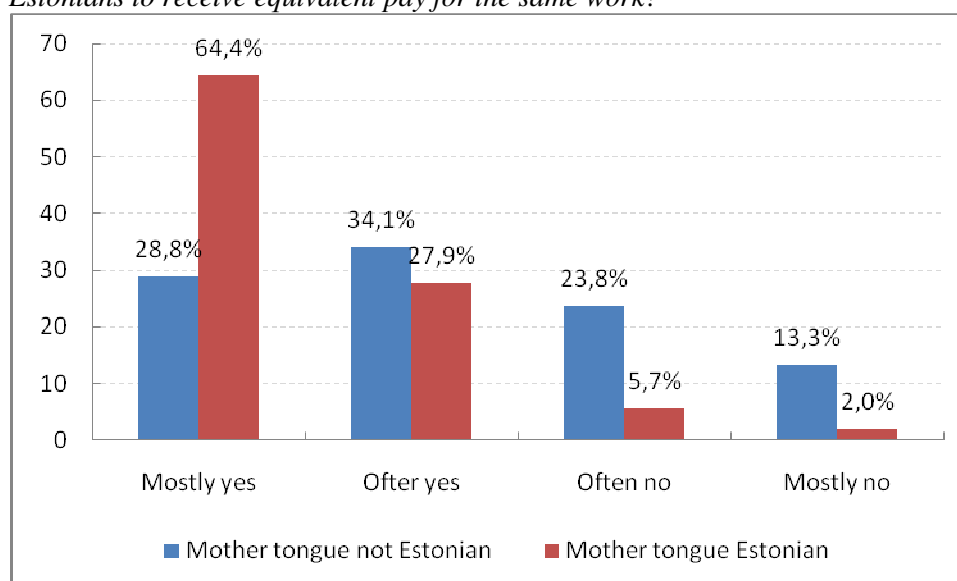
From the results of the data analysis above it transpires that the situation of ethnic minorities as a group in the labour market is on average less favourable. From the point of view of the labour policy it is important to know the reasons for the differences in order to identify the possible risk groups. Regression analysis allows to do that for those characteristics that are measurable. As discussed previously, in several cases only some of the difference was explained through observed characteristics. Interpretation of unexplained differences is much more complicated.

Many studies have attributed unexplained differences to discrimination, but, and this is especially true considering the Estonian context, other reasons (e.g. segregated job search networks) are not at all excluded. The important question of whether discrimination in the labour market obstructs having equal opportunities, thus, needs to be approached using a different kind of data, and there are several possible approaches here. When it comes to salaries, one option would be to use combined employer-employee data, which would allow to compare the salaries paid to employees with their actual productivity and the salaries of different ethnic groups within the company. There is, however, no such data available in Estonia at this time. The second option would be to use the correspondence study method, when candidates of different genders or from different ethnic groups whose other characteristics are similar send their CVs in response to job ads. Then the researchers compare whether one of the groups receives more, on average, invitations for interviews or job offers. This method is limited by the fact that it can only observe discrimination at the stage of hiring and not, for example, in promoting or wage, etc.

Subjective assessments of evaluation in the society, discrimination perceived by the people themselves, etc, can be used as indirect indicators. Data based on a small selection is available for Estonia, and it is possible to find such assessments from that information. This chapter presents some of the results that describe the perceived discrimination in Estonia. The questionnaire from the 2004 Estonian Social Survey contained a section on ethnic integration.

Figure 5. Perception of Equal Opportunities: wages

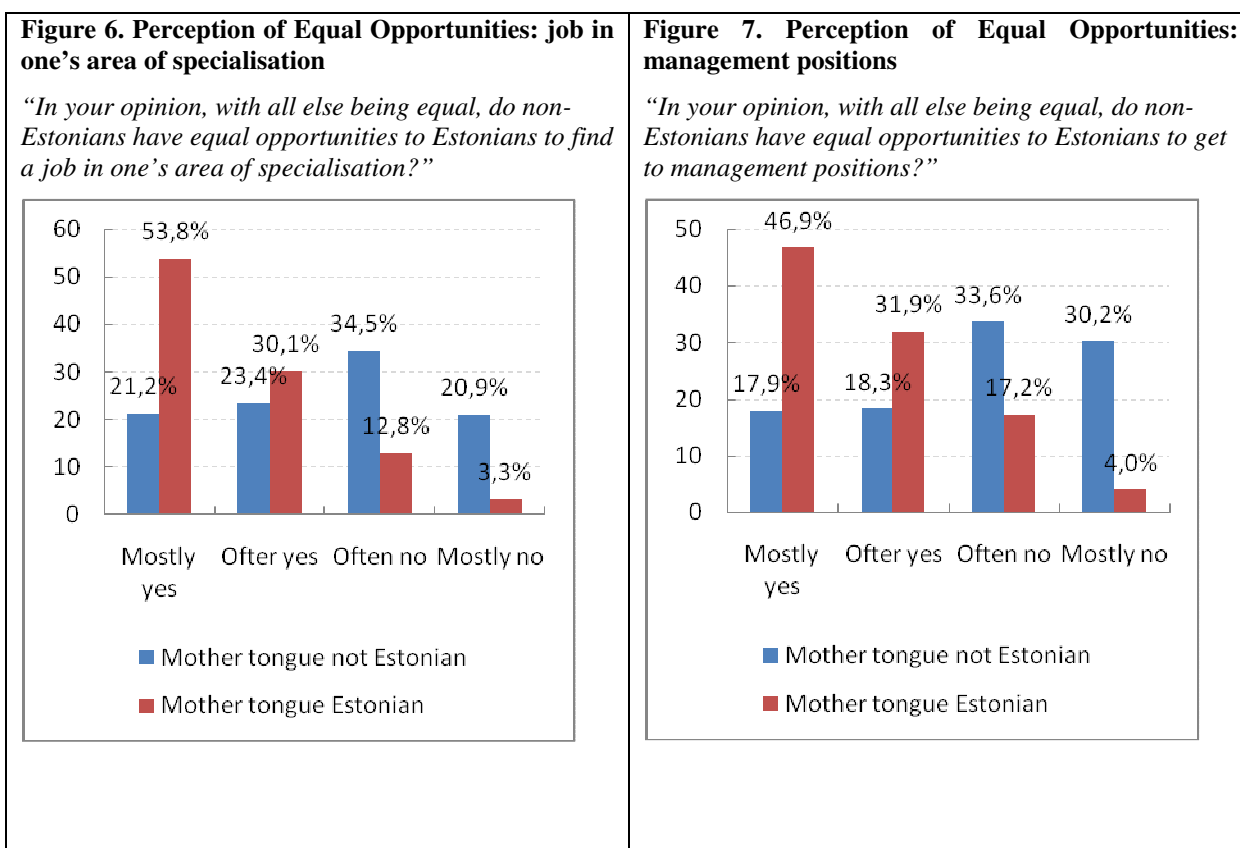
“In your opinion, with all else being equal, do non-Estonians have equal opportunities to Estonians to receive equivalent pay for the same work?”



Source: Estonian Social Survey 2004 by the Statistical Office, author's calculations

Figure 5 illustrates the comparison of evaluations by native speakers of Estonian and those whose mother tongue is not Estonian of whether different ethnic groups, with all other things being equal (the condition is defined in the question as follows: "All other things being equal means, for example, that both are citizens of the same age with similar education, language command and experience") have equal opportunities to receive equivalent pay for the same work in Estonia. Assessments by the two groups differ significantly: native speakers of Estonian considered the opportunities to be mostly equal over twice as frequently as those whose mother tongue is not Estonian.

The opinion of the different ethnic groups on the opportunities to get the job in one's area of specialisation or reach management positions with all other things being equal (figures 6 and 7). Here the native speakers of Estonian are also noticeably more optimistic than the people who do not speak Estonian themselves.



Source: Estonian Social Survey 2004 by the Statistical Office, author's calculations

It can be concluded from the answers that there is lack of equal opportunities perceived by ethnic minorities. It is harder to interpret the vast difference in the responses given by native speakers of Estonian and by those whose mother tongue is not Estonian. One possibility is that Estonians are more accepting in their attitude towards workers from ethnic minorities than the latter believe or perceive. In this case, lack of belief in one's opportunities can, in turn, result in, for example, in less people applying for higher positions.

Another hypothetical possibility is that the respondents may have interpreted the "all other things being equal" condition in the question in, for example, the part that applies to

language skills. Do equal conditions mean just knowing Estonian or having perfect accent-free command of the language on the same level as native speakers do? Discrimination can also manifest itself as indirect discrimination, when a seemingly neutral condition puts workers from ethnic minorities into an inferior position compared to others (EU - Council Directive 2000/78/EC). This can be done through excessively high language skill requirements that do not in reality correspond to actual job requirements: e.g. selecting an Estonian instead of a worker from an ethnic minority who has excellent command of the Estonian language but speaks it with an accent.

Another collection of data that provides information on the perceived unequal treatment in the labour market is the Working Life Barometer survey (date from 2005). Workers were asked in which situations they personally have felt being treated unequally in the last five years. Answers given by Estonians and people of other nationalities are shown separately in Table 7, and so are the percent points illustrating the difference in the frequency of the answer variants.

Table 7. In the last five years, have you experienced unequal treatment in the following situations:

(% of respondents replying “yes”?)

	Estonians	Other nationalities	Difference*
During recruitment	8.98	16.8	-7.8***
When being paid the wage	24.59	32.19	-7.6**
In professional recognition	17.8	26.35	-8.6***
When making the career, in promotions	10.38	13.31	-2.9
During delegation of work assignments, during management of work time	20.13	22.21	-2.1
In participation in training organised by the employer	8.54	6.9	1.6
In receiving work-related information	15.17	10.67	4.5*
In receiving non-monetary benefits	13.2	12.66	0.5
In the attitude of colleagues or the immediate superior towards you	15.19	21.91	-6.7***
In termination of labour relations	9.27	9.98	-0.7

Source: Working Life Barometer 2005, author's calculations

**** by the figures means that the estimate is statistically significant with at least a 99% probability, ** – with a 95-99% probability, * – with a 90-95% probability.*

From the information in the table it seems that ethnic minorities perceive unequal treatment statistically significantly more frequently in matters related to recruitment, wage, professional recognition and the attitude of colleagues and immediate superiors. At the same time the difference in, for example, the matter of promotion is too small to be statistically significant with the given sample (approx. 1000 people in total).

Table 7, however, does not explain the basis – ethnicity, age, gender, etc – for the perceived unequal treatment. Those who had perceived unequal treatment were separately asked about the reason why they were discrimination. The answers are given in table 8.

Table 8. If you have been treated unequally, was it because you ...
 (% of respondents replying “yes”)

	Estonians	Ethnic minorities	Difference*
are too young	1.4	4.44	-2.9***
are too old	0.58	2.11	-1.5*
are male	0.2	0.33	-0.1
are female	0.75	1.76	-1
are a parent to a small child	0.94	2.71	-1.8**
are pregnant	0	0.24	-0.2
have a chronic illness or disability	0.2	2.45	-2.3***
are of a certain sexual orientation	0.23	0	0.2
are of a different ethnicity to most of the staff	0.58	3.49	-2.9***
are religious	0	0	0***
do not speak the national language	0.13	8.36	-8.2***
belong to a political party	0.76	0.24	0.5
belong to a trade union	0.41	0	0.4

Source: Working Life Barometer 2005, author's calculations

*** by the figures means that the estimate is statistically significant with at least a 99% probability, ** – with a 95-99% probability, * – with a 90-95% probability.

Workers from ethnic minorities more frequently than Estonians feel unequal treatment because of age (especially young people), being a parent to small children, health, ethnicity and because of not speaking Estonian. Gender discrimination is rarer than unequal treatment based on language skills, ethnicity, age and illnesses.

Not knowing the national language is most frequently cited by workers from ethnic minorities as the reason for unequal treatment. Unequal treatment on the basis of language generally should not constitute discrimination (if the language skill requirement is justified). It is discrimination only if one ethnic group is indirectly preferred to the other based on ethnicity through unjustifiably high language skill requirements. In any case, it is noteworthy that unequal treatment based on language skills is perceived much more frequently than direct discrimination based on ethnicity, which emphasises the importance of the language skill problem in the context of the labour market.

7. SUMMARY

This research reviewed the situation of the workers from ethnic minorities in the Estonian labour market. Out of labour market indicators the research focussed on gender and ethnic differences in employment, occupational attainment and wages.

Differences in employment and unemployment rates have remained rather large during the current decade. Despite the rapid economic growth the unemployment rate among ethnic minorities is still high, reaching almost ten percent. When it comes to the unemployment rate of women from ethnic minorities, ethnic rather than gender differences transpire; the unemployment rate of men and women from ethnic minorities as remained at an approximately same level.

The risk group that emerges when viewing finding work are the young people, both for ethnic minorities and for Estonian women. The effect of both upper secondary and higher education is positive in the case of women from ethnic minorities and is stronger than for Estonian women. Commands of the Estonian language and citizenship have a strong positive effect.

When it comes to occupational attainment, access to management and professional positions was analysed. Here command of the national language also had a strong positive effect. The effect of upper secondary and higher education was also strong – stronger for Estonian women than for those from ethnic minorities. Lack of citizenship had a negative effect; the effect of being a citizen of another country was statistically negligible. With all other factors being equal, being a woman had a negative effect and it was somewhat stronger for Estonian women than for ethnic minorities.

Almost half of the differences in the likelihood of working in a white-collar occupation between Estonians and ethnic minorities were explained through other explanatory variables. In the case of women, almost all of the ethnic differences in access to certain positions were explained; a large portion of these differences between men is unexplained.

Regression analysis of wages also demonstrated that belonging to a young age group has a negative effect; Estonian people aged 50 and over, as well as same from ethnic minorities, were also in a worse position. The effect of higher education is important and is stronger for Estonians than for people from ethnic minorities. Wages are also affected by the command of the Estonian language and citizenship-related variables. With all other factors being equal, working in the public sector is associated with a lower wage for Estonians and with a higher wage for people from ethnic minorities. The wage level is positively associated with the size of the company.

If one were to look at Estonia as a whole, most of the differences in wages between Estonians and people from ethnic minorities are explained. If viewing the situation in Tallinn only, a large portion of unexplained wage differences for women emerge (over 20 %). Large unexplained gender-related differences in wages both for Estonians and for workers from ethnic minorities also exist. For women from ethnic minorities, thus, the “double disadvantage” situation transpires – both gender- and ethnicity-related differences.

Existence of unexplained differences in the labour market cannot be directly interpreted as proof that discrimination is present in the labour market. While discrimination cannot be excluded, the differences may result from other reasons. Surveys show that subjectively ethnic minorities do perceive inequality in the labour market – in access to jobs in one’s

area of specialisation, salaries and access to management positions. The perceived inequality, however, is more often related to language skills than to ethnicity directly.

8. INTEGRATION PROGRAMME TARGET GROUPS

Based on the research results above, several target groups can be identified among the ethnic minorities. Specific measures directed at these particular groups can be justified in the interests of a more efficient integration policy:

- **Young people from ethnic minorities**, i.e. people aged 15-24 is a relatively typical risk group;
- **Older people** in the labour market, i.e. people aged 50 and over who is past their so called “prime working age” (30-45). This target group may encounter specific problems like weak job searching skills and network, poor self-confidence, outdated qualifications, insufficient information about professional and in-service training and about retraining, and the result can easily be poor coping in the labour market or accepting job opportunities that insufficiently utilise the worker’s skills and abilities.
- **Women from ethnic minorities**, in addition to ethnicity-based labour market differences, also face the gender disadvantages, which makes it harder for them to cope in the labour market.
- **Employers** feel the need for, e.g. training in the field of managing a multicultural business and for being introduced to best practices.

When developing indicators, the labour market markers need to be viewed across genders and all age groups (incl. not observing just young people, for example, but also middle-aged and older workers). Also in addition to employment rate indicators, other indicators of labour market performance need to be taken into consideration, e.g. professional segregation, because differences in those can hide ethnic economic inequality even in situations when employment rate indicators are uniformly high.

9. EVALUATION OF THE PLANNED MEASURES OF THE 2008-2013 NP

A large portion of the proposed measures is related to offering **opportunities for language study** to various target groups (including people from ethnic minorities who have disabilities, the unemployed, etc). Informational activities and development of teaching materials is also linked to that. The results of this study confirm that language skills have a strong and statistically significant effect on various aspects of labour market performance. So much so, that if the proposed measures can in fact increase the command of the language, positive effect on labour market performance can be expected.

Since there is apparent shortage of opportunities for professional training of workers from ethnic minorities in the labour market, it is appropriate to also **develop integrated Estonian language and professional courses** in various areas of specialisations and for

various target groups (including the unemployed, students of vocational education institutions).

Employers express large interest in **additional training programmes for employers on the topics of multiculturalism**, as well as in getting familiarised with best management practices based on the experiences of multicultural and multinational (international, with foreign ownership) companies. Employer-targeted training can also have a role in avoiding possible manifestations of discrimination.

In the interests of efficient implementation of limited resources, for all of the measures described above it is advisable to assess the effectiveness of the measures both through monitoring the activities and through conducting evaluations of the substantive effects.

This study cannot serve as basis for evaluating the development and implementation of language and adaptation programmes for new immigrants and returnees, as well as the development and implementation of workforce exchange programmes and in-service training programmes on multiculturalism and language skills for instructors at informal education training centres.

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APPENDIX 1. DATA AND VARIABLES

The analysis uses the data of the Estonian Labour Force Survey collected by Statistics Estonia in the period of the second half of year 2000 to year 2006. The persons who filled the questionnaire twice were excluded from the sample, and only those who responded once were used. The whole sample constituted 22,067 people, 74.43% of whom were Estonians and 25.57% belonged to the other nationalities. For regional analysis, the selection was further narrowed down. Non-participants were excluded from employment rate regressions; occupational attainment regressions only include employees; Wage regressions only include full time employees. The number of sample observations for each regression is presented in regression tables (*N*).

Dependent variables

Wage regressions: natural algorithm of wage

Employment rate regressions: indicator variable describing the labour market state valued at

=1 if a person was employed

=0 if a person was unemployed.

Occupational attainment regressions: indicator variables valued at

=1 if a person was working at a position of ISCO level 1 or 2

=0 if a person was working at a position of another ISCO level.

Independent variables

Age group dummies valued at 1 if a person belonged to the corresponding age group and at 0 if a person did not belong to it (reference group: aged 30-44 i.e. prime age):

Aged 15-19

Aged 20-24

Aged 25-29

Aged 45-49

Aged 50-54

Aged 55-59

Aged 60-64

Year dummies (reference year: 2000):

2001

2002

2003

2004

2005

2006

Education dummies (basic education as the reference education level for employment rate and wage regressions, upper secondary education as the reference education level for occupational attainment regressions):

Basic education: ISCED97 (labour force survey variable ed_level) level 1

Upper secondary education (including vocational education): ISCED97 (labour force survey variable ed_level) level 2 or 3 (upper secondary education or secondary applied education after upper secondary education)

Higher education: ISCED97 (labour force survey variable ed_level) level 4 (higher education, Master's or Doctor's degree)

Industry dummies

Agriculture, hunting, forest economy

Fishing

Mining industry

Processing industry

Electricity, gas and water supply

Wholesale and retail trade; motor vehicle and home appliance maintenance

Hotels and restaurants

Transportation, inventory control and communication

Finance exchange

Real estate, renting and businesses

Public administration and national defence; mandatory social insurance

Education

Healthcare and social welfare

Other occupation fields

Language competence dummies:

Est. 1. home language: Estonian among languages spoken at home

Est. 1. speaking+writing: speaks and writes in Estonian

Est. 1. speaking: speaks Estonian within limits of everyday communication

Est. 1. understanding: understands Estonian within limits of everyday communication

Eng. 1. speaking+writing: speaks and writes in English

Eng. 1. speaking: speaks English within limits of everyday communication

Eng. 1. understanding: understands English within limits of everyday communication

English language competence at any level

Rus. 1. speaking+writing: speaks and writes in Russian

Rus. 1. speaking: speaks Russian within limits of everyday communication

Rus. 1. understanding: understands Russian within limits of everyday communication

Country of birth: 1 = born in Estonia, 0= born outside Estonia

Citizenship dummies

Citizenship of another country

Undetermined citizenship

Family status dummies

Married

Single parent

Family status variable:

16y children number: number of children aged up to 16 in the family

Regional dummies:

Reference: Tallinn

Harju, excluding Tallinn

Hiiu

Ida-Viru

Jõgeva

Järva

Lääne

Lääne-Viru

Põlva

Pärnu

Rapla

Saare

Tartu

Valga

Viljandi

Võru

Part-time employment: 1 = a person works part time (less than 35 h a week) but not at a position where fewer than 35 hours week are regarded as full time employment

Employer ownership dummies:

Foreign employer ownership: a legal person in private law owns the enterprise/institution

Public sector employer ownership: the Republic of Estonia or a local government owns the enterprise/institution

Enterprise size dummies

Reference: Small enterprise (up to 19 employees)

Medium-sized enterprise (20-199 employees)

Large enterprise (200 or more employees)

Length of service with employer: length of service with the current employer (years)

APPENDIX 2. REGRESSIONS

Table L2.1. Wage regression: Estonian employees and national minority employees (male and female), whole of Estonia

Variable	Estonians		Minority nationalities	
	Coefficient	P> z	Coefficient	P> z
Female	-0.235***	0	-0.226***	0
Aged 15-19	-0.271***	0	-0.156*	0.059
Aged 20-24	-0.073***	0.001	-0.042	0.171
Aged 25-29	-0.023	0.201	0.004	0.883
Reference: Aged 30-44				
Aged 45-49	-0.022	0.135	-0.024	0.275
Aged 50-54	-0.062***	0	-0.054**	0.023
Aged 55-59	-0.103***	0	-0.075***	0.007
Aged 60-64	-0.182***	0	-0.114***	0.002
Reference: 2000				
2001	0.036*	0.082	0.066**	0.027
2002	0.151***	0	0.154***	0
2003	0.239***	0	0.248***	0
2004	0.306***	0	0.371***	0
2005	0.478***	0	0.533***	0
2006	0.635***	0	0.65***	0
Reference: basic education				
Higher education	0.312***	0	0.192***	0
Upper secondary education	0.073***	0	0.064**	0.019
Country of birth	0.01	0.784	-0.021	0.202
Est. 1. home language			0.102***	0.001
Est. 1. speaking+writing			0.061**	0.017
Est. 1. speaking			-0.009	0.705
Est. 1. understanding			0.025	0.229
Citizenship of another country			-0.047**	0.029
Undetermined citizenship			-0.036**	0.043
English language skills	0.086***	0	0.067***	0.001
Married	0.031***	0.005	0.033*	0.055
16y children number	0.024***	0	0.039***	0.001
Public sector employer ownership	-0.047**	0.016	0.045*	0.082
Foreign employer ownership	0.164***	0	0.092***	0
Reference: Small enterprise				
Medium-sized enterprise	0.091***	0	0.088***	0
Large enterprise	0.13***	0	0.124***	0
Length of service with employer	0.003***	0	0.005***	0
Proportion of minority nationality employees in occupation, sector	-0.146	0.163	-0.126	0.351
Proportion of women employees in occupation, sector	0.051	0.28	0.032	0.661
Reference: Agriculture, hunting, forest economy				
Fishing	0.015	0.873	0.199	0.158
Mining industry	0.17**	0.042	0.448***	0
Processing industry	0.13***	0	0.136	0.101
Electricity, gas and water supply	0.277***	0	0.272**	0.011
Construction	0.214***	0	0.264***	0.002

Wholesale and retail trade; motor vehicle and home appliance maintenance	0.121***	0	0.035	0.668
Hotels and restaurants	0.098**	0.034	0.062	0.506
Transportation, logistics and communication	0.233***	0	0.222**	0.01
Finance exchange	0.237***	0	0.636***	0
Real estate, renting and businesses	0.065*	0.088	0.11	0.22
Public administration and national defence; obligatory social insurance	0.194***	0	0.159*	0.078
Education	0.024	0.558	-0.004	0.962
Healthcare and social welfare	0.053	0.192	0.005	0.955
Other occupation fields	0.027	0.505	0.029	0.74
Reference: Legislators, high ranking officials and executives				
Top specialists	-0.076***	0.001	-0.132***	0.002
Middle level specialists and technologists	-0.18***	0	-0.236***	0
Officials	-0.306***	0	-0.36***	0
Service and sales personnel	-0.455***	0	-0.429***	0
Agriculture and fishing industry skilled workers	-0.273***	0	-0.251**	0.02
Skilled workers and craftsmen/women	-0.29***	0	-0.305***	0
Line and machine operators	-0.331***	0	-0.332***	0
Unskilled workers	-0.5***	0	-0.518***	0
Reference: Tallinn	0***	0	0***	0
Harju, except Tallinn	-0.105***	0	0.057**	0.037
Hiiu	-0.299***	0	-0.268	0.294
Ida-Viru	-0.334***	0	-0.218***	0
Jõgeva	-0.36***	0	-0.304***	0.001
Järva	-0.286***	0	-0.133*	0.077
Lääne	-0.297***	0	-0.227***	0.002
Lääne-Viru	-0.292***	0	-0.07*	0.06
Põlva	-0.332***	0	-0.022	0.849
Pärnu	-0.262***	0	-0.049	0.304
Rapla	-0.312***	0	-0.187**	0.043
Saare	-0.308***	0	-0.116	0.34
Tartu	-0.183***	0	-0.069**	0.042
Valga	-0.35***	0	-0.293***	0
Viljandi	-0.312***	0	-0.114*	0.095
Võru	-0.336***	0	-0.014	0.886
Constant	8.254***	0	8.029***	0
<i>N</i>	6717		2578	
<i>R</i> ²	0,55		0,55	

Only full time employees in the wage regression. Dependent variable: log of monthly wage. Parameter interpretation: if the length of service parameter is, for instance, 0.003; then every additional year of service, ceteris paribus, is associated with a 0.3% increase in wage.

*The *** next to the values mean that the statistical significance of the value is at least 99%; ** mean that the statistical significance is 95-99%; * means that the statistical significance is 90-95%.*

Table L2.2. Wage regression: Estonian and national minority women, whole of Estonia

Variable	Estonians		Minority nationalities	
	Coefficient	P> z	Coefficient	P> z
Aged 15-19	-0.16**	0.042	-0.036	0.783
Aged 20-24	-0.078***	0.006	-0.047	0.259
Aged 25-29	-0.03	0.182	0.036	0.283
Reference: Aged 30-44				
Aged 45-49	-0.005	0.776	0.007	0.782
Aged 50-54	-0.031	0.105	-0.038	0.148
Aged 55-59	-0.066***	0.002	-0.08**	0.012
Aged 60-64	-0.146***	0	-0.052	0.277
Reference: 2000				
2001	0.092***	0	-0.004	0.918
2002	0.191***	0	0.128***	0.001
2003	0.253***	0	0.187***	0
2004	0.327***	0	0.308***	0
2005	0.471***	0	0.44***	0
2006	0.641***	0	0.573***	0
Reference: basic education				
Higher education	0.327***	0	0.206***	0
Upper secondary education	0.076***	0.001	0.039	0.287
Country of birth	-0.002	0.964	-0.026	0.184
Est. l. home language			0.15***	0
Est. l. speaking+writing			0.085***	0.005
Est. l. speaking			0.026	0.358
Est. l. understanding			0.034	0.178
Citizenship of another country			-0.035	0.18
Undetermined citizenship			-0.028	0.182
English language skills	0.079***	0	0.048*	0.07
Married	-0.01	0.433	-0.004	0.836
16y children number	0.009	0.353	0.032*	0.051
Public sector employer ownership	-0.058***	0.009	0.03	0.342
Foreign employer ownership	0.153***	0	0.117***	0
Reference: Small enterprise				
Medium-sized enterprise	0.084***	0	0.055***	0.009
Large enterprise	0.103***	0	0.057*	0.056
Length of service with employer	0.003***	0	0.003***	0.008
Proportion of minority nationality employees in occupation, sector	-0.279**	0.031	0.187	0.277
Proportion of women employees in occupation, sector	0.091	0.189	-0.053	0.62
Reference: Agriculture, hunting, forest economy				
Fishing	0.126	0.487	0.308	0.117
Mining industry	0.332**	0.023	0.19	0.204
Processing industry	0.123**	0.017	0.069	0.521
Electricity, gas and water supply	0.17*	0.061	0.056	0.675
Construction	0.089	0.182	0.218*	0.078
Wholesale and retail trade; motor vehicle and home appliance maintenance	0.087*	0.07	-0.026	0.807
Hotels and restaurants	0.067	0.244	-0.041	0.726
Transportation, logistics and communication	0.196***	0.001	0.114	0.313
Finance exchange	0.16**	0.017	0.577***	0.001

Real estate, renting and businesses	0.065	0.206	0.008	0.944
Public administration and national defence; obligatory social insurance	0.171***	0	0.18	0.116
Education	-0.008	0.884	-0.049	0.673
Healthcare and social welfare	0.029	0.6	-0.016	0.893
Other occupation fields	-0.025	0.648	-0.035	0.753
Reference: Legislators, high ranking officials and executives				
Top specialists	-0.019	0.48	-0.045	0.378
Middle level specialists and technologists	-0.146***	0	-0.192***	0
Officials	-0.285***	0	-0.343***	0
Service and sales personnel	-0.422***	0	-0.375***	0
Agriculture and fishing industry skilled workers	-0.269***	0	-0.085	0.538
Skilled workers and craftsmen/women	-0.272***	0	-0.328***	0
Line and machine operators	-0.326***	0	-0.33***	0
Unskilled workers	-0.447***	0	-0.496***	0
Reference: Tallinn				
Harju, except Tallinn	-0.1***	0	0.063*	0.066
Hiiu	-0.294***	0	-0.135	0.661
Ida-Viru	-0.345***	0	-0.176***	0
Jõgeva	-0.371***	0	-0.279***	0.002
Järva	-0.286***	0	-0.137	0.117
Lääne	-0.295***	0	-0.209***	0.006
Lääne-Viru	-0.297***	0	-0.061	0.164
Põlva	-0.285***	0	-0.014	0.909
Pärnu	-0.271***	0	-0.063	0.253
Rapla	-0.293***	0	-0.069	0.516
Saare	-0.303***	0	-0.363**	0.019
Tartu	-0.174***	0	-0.043	0.289
Valga	-0.308***	0	-0.229***	0
Viljandi	-0.316***	0	-0.123	0.119
Võru	-0.317***	0	-0.118	0.316
Constant	8.033***	0	7.898***	0
<i>N</i>	3584		1333	
<i>R</i> ²	0,59		0,59	

Table L2.3. Wage regression: Estonian and national minority men, whole of Estonia

Variable	Estonians		Minority nationalities	
	Coefficient	P> z	Coefficient t	P> z
Aged 15-19	-0.298***	0	-0.153	0.182
Aged 20-24	-0.067**	0.04	-0.027	0.567
Aged 25-29	-0.021	0.478	-0.016	0.71
Reference: Aged 30-44				
Aged 45-49	-0.056**	0.03	-0.082**	0.03
Aged 50-54	-0.124***	0	-0.105**	0.015
Aged 55-59	-0.18***	0	-0.085*	0.088
Aged 60-64	-0.241***	0	-0.2***	0.001
Reference: 2000				
2001	-0.029	0.399	0.121**	0.011
2002	0.11***	0.003	0.164***	0.001
2003	0.223***	0	0.292***	0
2004	0.279***	0	0.411***	0
2005	0.481***	0	0.607***	0
2006	0.63***	0	0.725***	0
Reference: basic education				
Higher education	0.288***	0	0.175***	0.003
Upper secondary education	0.066***	0.006	0.093**	0.026
Country of birth	0.058	0.368	-0.018	0.543
Est. l. home language			0.068	0.187
Est. l. speaking+writing			0.044	0.319
Est. l. speaking			-0.039	0.316
Est. l. understanding			0.018	0.606
Citizenship of another country			-0.057	0.111
Undetermined citizenship			-0.051*	0.09
English language skills	0.097***	0	0.082**	0.016
Married	0.101***	0	0.101***	0.003
16y children number	0.015	0.121	0.023	0.21
Public sector employer ownership	-0.008	0.817	0.05	0.246
Foreign employer ownership	0.179***	0	0.074**	0.045
Reference: Small enterprise				
Medium-sized enterprise	0.1***	0	0.128***	0
Large enterprise	0.16***	0	0.181***	0
Length of service with employer	0.003**	0.01	0.006***	0
Proportion of national minority employees in the occupation, sector	-0.109	0.535	-0.376*	0.097
Proportion of women employees in occupation, sector	0.05	0.504	0.029	0.807
Reference: Agriculture, hunting, forest economy				
Fishing	0.001	0.994	0.237	0.269
Mining industry	0.114	0.334	0.669***	0
Processing industry	0.136**	0.02	0.271**	0.042
Electricity, gas and water supply	0.311***	0.002	0.474***	0.008
Construction	0.223***	0	0.364***	0.006
Wholesale and retail trade; motor vehicle and home appliance maintenance	0.124**	0.012	0.132	0.314
Hotels and restaurants	0.101	0.295	0.272	0.185
Transportation, logistics and communication	0.239***	0	0.355**	0.01
Finance exchange	0.395***	0.005		

Real estate, renting and businesses	0.05	0.413	0.263*	0.065
Public administration and national defence; obligatory social insurance	0.164***	0.003	0.202	0.175
Education	-0.012	0.872	0.175	0.303
Healthcare and social welfare	-0.027	0.726	0.121	0.473
Other occupation fields	0.068	0.309	0.112	0.45
Reference: Legislators, high ranking officials and executives				
Top specialists	-0.179***	0	-0.233***	0.003
Middle level specialists and technologists	-0.215***	0	-0.232***	0.004
Officials	-0.276***	0	-0.318***	0.001
Service and sales personnel	-0.497***	0	-0.47***	0
Agriculture and fishing industry skilled workers	-0.297***	0	-0.368**	0.039
Skilled workers and craftsmen/women	-0.314***	0	-0.305***	0
Line and machine operators	-0.342***	0	-0.335***	0
Unskilled workers	-0.552***	0	-0.499***	0
Reference: Tallinn				
Harju, except Tallinn	-0.112***	0.001	0.044	0.304
Hiiu	-0.289***	0	-0.509	0.218
Ida-Viru	-0.32***	0	-0.259***	0
Jõgeva	-0.337***	0	-0.38	0.117
Järva	-0.285***	0	-0.12	0.352
Lääne	-0.297***	0	-0.208	0.168
Lääne-Viru	-0.29***	0	-0.068	0.263
Põlva	-0.388***	0	-0.039	0.855
Pärnu	-0.251***	0	-0.039	0.633
Rapla	-0.34***	0	-0.306*	0.058
Saare	-0.31***	0	0.106	0.572
Tartu	-0.19***	0	-0.085	0.122
Valga	-0.397***	0	-0.359***	0
Viljandi	-0.309***	0	-0.063	0.589
Võru	-0.359***	0	0.07	0.64
Constant	8.218***	0	7.884***	0
<i>N</i>	3133		1244	

Table L2.4. Wage regression: Estonian and national minority women employees, Tallinn

Variable	Estonians		Minority nationalities	
	Coefficient	P> z	Coefficient	P> z
Aged 15-19	-0.149	0.404	-0.155	0.404
Aged 20-24	-0.08	0.228	-0.098	0.158
Aged 25-29	-0.036	0.496	0.083	0.19
Reference: Aged 30-44				
Aged 45-49	0.075	0.137	-0.004	0.938
Aged 50-54	0.029	0.584	-0.091*	0.089
Aged 55-59	-0.047	0.406	-0.155**	0.01
Aged 60-64	-0.131**	0.048	-0.155**	0.046
Reference: 2000				
2001	0.162**	0.012	0.01	0.898
2002	0.157**	0.024	0.127	0.118
2003	0.217***	0.001	0.168**	0.034
2004	0.155**	0.024	0.281***	0.001

2005	0.444***	0	0.388***	0
2006	0.59***	0	0.517***	0
Reference: basic education				
Higher education	0.327***	0	0.132	0.132
Upper secondary education	0.078	0.32	-0.003	0.963
Country of birth	0.093	0.294	-0.025	0.523
Est. 1. home language			0.293***	0.001
Est. 1. speaking+writing			0.119**	0.039
Est. 1. speaking			0.052	0.326
Est. 1. understanding			0.049	0.383
Citizenship of another country			-0.006	0.911
Undetermined citizenship			-0.042	0.304
English language skills	0.149***	0	0.008	0.852
Married	0.006	0.851	-0.005	0.879
16y children number	0.069**	0.028	-0.001	0.967
Public sector employer ownership	-0.129**	0.024	-0.024	0.718
Foreign employer ownership	0.13***	0.004	0.088*	0.079
Reference: Small enterprise				
Medium-sized enterprise	0.049	0.159	0.113***	0.006
Large enterprise	0.084*	0.096	0.105*	0.074
Length of service with employer	0.002	0.469	0.006**	0.015
Proportion of minority nationality employees in occupation, sector	-0.257	0.43	0.254	0.416
Proportion of women employees in occupation, sector	0.018	0.918	-0.104	0.644
Reference: Agriculture, hunting, forest economy				
Fishing				
Mining industry				
Processing industry	-0.029	0.918	-0.314*	0.067
Electricity, gas and water supply	0.125	0.71		
Construction	-0.239	0.432		
Wholesale and retail trade; motor vehicle and home appliance maintenance	-0.002	0.994	-0.466***	0.007
Hotels and restaurants	-0.132	0.64	-0.457**	0.014
Transportation, logistics and communication	0.153	0.581	-0.281	0.105
Finance exchange	-0.038	0.893	0.307	0.255
Real estate, renting and businesses	-0.109	0.688	-0.474***	0.005
Public administration and national defence; obligatory social insurance	0.04	0.883	-0.382*	0.051
Education	-0.159	0.572	-0.517**	0.011
Healthcare and social welfare	-0.092	0.743	-0.426**	0.033
Other occupation fields	-0.227	0.412	-0.472***	0.009
Reference: Legislators, high ranking officials and executives				
Top specialists	-0.118*	0.072	0.039	0.698
Middle level specialists and technologists	-0.264***	0.001	-0.129	0.247
Officials	-0.464***	0	-0.441***	0.001
Service and sales personnel	-0.63***	0	-0.313**	0.012
Agriculture and fishing industry skilled workers	0.037	0.936		
Skilled workers and craftsmen/women	-0.372***	0.001	-0.322**	0.01
Line and machine operators	-0.455***	0	-0.378***	0
Unskilled workers	-0.583***	0	-0.475***	0
Constant	8.243***	0	8.371***	0
<i>N</i>	611		445	
<i>R</i> ²	0,59		0,57	

Table L2.5. Wage regression: Estonian and national minority employees, Tallinn

Variable	Estonians		Minority nationalities	
	Coefficient	P> z	Coefficient	P> z
Female	-0.22***	0	-0.252***	0
Aged 15-19	-0.537***	0	-0.283**	0.041
Aged 20-24	-0.067	0.192	-0.069	0.217
Aged 25-29	-0.006	0.883	0.067	0.211
Reference: Aged 30-44				
Aged 45-49	0.055	0.197	-0.039	0.391
Aged 50-54	-0.072	0.119	-0.1**	0.039
Aged 55-59	-0.042	0.4	-0.13**	0.018
Aged 60-64	-0.161***	0.004	-0.149**	0.028
Reference: 2000				
2001	0.05	0.353	0.119*	0.082
2002	0.123**	0.033	0.15**	0.035
2003	0.132**	0.017	0.251***	0
2004	0.172***	0.003	0.364***	0
2005	0.378***	0	0.507***	0
2006	0.54***	0	0.591***	0
Reference: basic education				
Higher education	0.246***	0	0.136*	0.066
Upper secondary education	0.005	0.93	0.081	0.174
Country of birth	-0.007	0.934	-0.034	0.343
Est. 1. home language			0.116	0.101
Est. 1. speaking+writing			0.058	0.227
Est. 1. speaking			-0.001	0.981
Est. 1. understanding			0.01	0.827
Citizenship of another country			-0.064	0.164
Undetermined citizenship			-0.066*	0.064
English language skills	0.072**	0.025	0.071*	0.062
Married	0.029	0.318	0.029	0.385
16y children number	0.065***	0.001	0.014	0.578
Public sector employer ownership	-0.171***	0.001	-0.006	0.922
Foreign employer ownership	0.191***	0	0.1**	0.026
Reference: Small enterprise				
Medium-sized enterprise	0.078***	0.006	0.123***	0
Large enterprise	0.142***	0.001	0.144***	0.004
Length of service with employer	0.003	0.107	0.007***	0.004
Proportion of minority nationality employees in occupation, sector	0.107	0.681	-0.078	0.785
Proportion of women employees in occupation, sector	0.16	0.197	-0.073	0.62
Reference: Agriculture, hunting, forest economy				
Fishing				
Mining industry				
Processing industry	-0.339*	0.097	-0.145	0.625
Electricity, gas and water supply	-0.236	0.335	-0.118	0.717
Construction	-0.287	0.155	-0.037	0.903
Wholesale and retail trade; motor vehicle and home appliance maintenance	-0.262	0.185	-0.274	0.366
Hotels and restaurants	-0.415**	0.049	-0.227	0.462
Transportation, logistics and communication	-0.172	0.398	-0.126	0.672
Finance exchange	-0.199	0.347	0.352	0.368

Real estate, renting and businesses	-0.35*	0.078	-0.229	0.446
Public administration and national defence; obligatory social insurance	-0.152	0.447	-0.202	0.525
Education	-0.43**	0.039	-0.314	0.31
Healthcare and social welfare	-0.363*	0.08	-0.271	0.378
Other occupation fields	-0.416**	0.04	-0.241	0.427
Reference: Legislators, high ranking officials and executives				
Top specialists	-0.182***	0	-0.027	0.728
Middle level specialists and technologists	-0.314***	0	-0.151*	0.069
Officials	-0.495***	0	-0.355***	0
Service and sales personnel	-0.672***	0	-0.351***	0
Agriculture and fishing industry skilled workers	0.031	0.948		
Skilled workers and craftsmen/women	-0.448***	0	-0.348***	0
Line and machine operators	-0.4***	0	-0.351***	0
Unskilled workers	-0.706***	0	-0.509***	0
Constant	8.838***	0	8.4***	0
<i>N</i>	1153		860	
<i>R</i> ²	0,52		0,48	

Table L2.6. Wage regression: Estonian and national minority men, Tallinn

Variable	Estonians		Minority nationalities	
	Coefficient	P> z	Coefficient	P> z
Aged 15-19	-0.724***	0	-0.28	0.202
Aged 20-24	-0.033	0.69	-0.04	0.671
Aged 25-29	-0.004	0.954	0.078	0.407
Reference: Aged 30-44				
Aged 45-49	-0.025	0.728	-0.094	0.251
Aged 50-54	-0.18**	0.029	-0.141	0.118
Aged 55-59	0.033	0.711	-0.118	0.263
Aged 60-64	-0.237**	0.014	-0.121	0.316
Reference: 2000				
2001	-0.141	0.122	0.224*	0.058
2002	0.008	0.937	0.166	0.194
2003	-0.011	0.905	0.313**	0.014
2004	0.128	0.19	0.47***	0.001
2005	0.245***	0.009	0.627***	0
2006	0.437***	0	0.686***	0
Reference: basic education				
Higher education	0.231**	0.016	0.117	0.371
Upper secondary education	0.007	0.929	0.144	0.168
Country of birth	-0.293	0.139	-0.031	0.634
Est. l. home language			0	0.998
Est. l. speaking+writing			0.025	0.77
Est. l. speaking			-0.028	0.71
Est. l. understanding			-0.025	0.731
Citizenship of another country			-0.08	0.33
Undetermined citizenship			-0.096	0.127
English language skills	-0.009	0.87	0.136**	0.039
Married	0.095*	0.096	0.089	0.193
16y children number	0.052**	0.045	-0.003	0.95
Public sector employer ownership	-0.233**	0.015	0.028	0.788
Foreign employer ownership	0.251***	0	0.123	0.143

Reference: Small enterprise				
Medium-sized enterprise	0.097**	0.041	0.124**	0.033
Large enterprise	0.198***	0.005	0.192**	0.029
Length of service with employer	0.005	0.145	0.007	0.115
Proportion of national minority employees in the occupation, sector	0.367	0.418	-0.219	0.702
Proportion of women employees in occupation, sector	0.338*	0.074	-0.045	0.863
Reference: Agriculture, hunting, forest economy				
Fishing				
Mining industry				
Processing industry	-0.582*	0.059	-0.137	0.711
Electricity, gas and water supply	-0.473	0.207	-0.122	0.765
Construction	-0.416	0.163	-0.032	0.934
Wholesale and retail trade; motor vehicle and home appliance maintenance	-0.45	0.127	-0.276	0.481
Hotels and restaurants	-0.686**	0.04	-0.171	0.705
Transportation, logistics and communication	-0.386	0.208	-0.139	0.706
Finance exchange	-0.133	0.691		
Real estate, renting and businesses	-0.513*	0.084	-0.181	0.64
Public administration and national defence; obligatory social insurance	-0.306	0.303	-0.213	0.622
Education	-0.631*	0.05	-0.242	0.588
Healthcare and social welfare	-0.657*	0.054	-0.409	0.405
Other occupation fields	-0.501	0.1	-0.184	0.642
Reference: Legislators, high ranking officials and executives				
Top specialists	-0.259***	0.001	-0.153	0.289
Middle level specialists and technologists	-0.363***	0	-0.221	0.14
Officials	-0.476***	0.004	-0.266	0.143
Service and sales personnel	-0.591***	0	-0.411**	0.013
Agriculture and fishing industry skilled workers				
Skilled workers and craftsmen/women	-0.463***	0	-0.375***	0.003
Line and machine operators	-0.364***	0	-0.349***	0.003
Unskilled workers	-0.789***	0	-0.57***	0.001
Constant	9.308***	0	8.306***	0
N	542		414	

Table L2.7. Employment rate regression: Estonian and national minority employees, whole of Estonia

Variable	Estonians		Minority nationalities	
	Coefficient	P> z	Coefficient	P> z
Female	0.01**	0.034	0	0.986
Aged 15-19	-0.129***	0	-0.152**	0.016
Aged 20-24	-0.032***	0.004	-0.008	0.711
Aged 25-29	-0.008	0.362	0.008	0.641
Reference: Aged 30-44				
Aged 45-49	0.001	0.943	0.031**	0.038
Aged 50-54	-0.006	0.422	0.024	0.141
Aged 55-59	-0.002	0.787	0.024	0.214
Aged 60-64	0.036***	0	0.09***	0
Reference: 2000				
2001	0.007	0.337	0.021	0.278
2002	0.013*	0.08	0.002	0.908
2003	0.028***	0	0.023	0.234
2004	0.025***	0	0.002	0.946
2005	0.041***	0	0.056***	0.002
2006	0.048***	0	0.082***	0
Reference: basic education				
Upper secondary education	0.045***	0	0.076***	0
Higher education	0.072***	0	0.102***	0
Est. l. speaking+writing			0.059***	0
Est. l. speaking			0.027*	0.087
Est. l. understanding			0.006	0.677
Country of birth	-0.008	0.626	-0.017	0.173
Citizenship of another country			-0.051***	0.007
Undetermined citizenship			-0.03**	0.034
Est. l. home language			0.033	0.11
Eng. l. speaking+writing	-0.001	0.86	-0.033	0.282
Eng. l. speaking	0.007	0.291	-0.039	0.155
Eng. l. understanding	0.009	0.155	0	0.988
Rus. l. speaking+writing	0.006	0.348		
Rus. l. speaking	-0.003	0.687		
Rus. l. understanding	0.008	0.276		
Married	0.024***	0	0.086***	0
Single parent	-0.023	0.132	-0.027	0.421
16y children number	0.018***	0	0.047***	0
Reference: Tallinn				
Harju, except Tallinn	0.01	0.314	0.036*	0.065
Hiiu	-0.005	0.692	-0.166	0.387
Ida-Viru	-0.045**	0.048	-0.016	0.247
Jõgeva	-0.106***	0	-0.23***	0.005
Järva	-0.037**	0.024	-0.036	0.621
Lääne	-0.039**	0.046	-0.021	0.708
Lääne-Viru	-0.004	0.73	0.016	0.554
Põlva	-0.069***	0.001	-0.043	0.713
Pärnu	-0.022	0.126	0.04	0.157
Rapla	0.004	0.743	0.037	0.475
Saare	-0.009	0.522	0.027	0.807
Tartu	-0.014	0.243	0.034	0.137

Valga	-0.009	0.527	0.027	0.41
Viljandi	-0.021	0.106	-0.034	0.56
Võru	-0.015	0.318		
N	10983		3978	
R ²	0,1		0,08	

*Marginal effects. Dependent variable: 1 if a person is employed, 0 if a person is unemployed.

Table L2.8. Employment rate regression: Estonian and national minority women employees, whole of Estonia

Variable	Estonians		Minority nationalities	
	Coefficient	P> z	Coefficient	P> z
Aged 15-19	-0.244***	0	-0.32**	0.013
Aged 20-24	-0.114***	0	-0.068*	0.077
Aged 25-29	-0.028**	0.041	0	0.988
Reference: Aged 30-44				
Aged 45-49	0.004	0.68	0.032*	0.097
Aged 50-54	-0.004	0.694	0.027	0.19
Aged 55-59	-0.001	0.888	0.061***	0.004
Aged 60-64	0.037***	0	0.095***	0
Reference: 2000				
2001	-0.002	0.857	0.03	0.237
2002	0.005	0.645	0.001	0.985
2003	0.015	0.107	0.021	0.445
2004	0.021**	0.015	0.019	0.496
2005	0.035***	0	0.047*	0.061
2006	0.042***	0	0.077***	0
Reference: basic education				
Upper secondary education	0.034***	0	0.076**	0.015
Higher education	0.059***	0	0.114***	0
Est. 1. speaking+writing			0.088***	0
Est. 1. speaking			0.022	0.287
Est. 1. understanding			0.017	0.383
Country of birth	-0.007	0.731	-0.032*	0.059
Citizenship of another country			-0.05*	0.065
Undetermined citizenship			-0.037*	0.061
Est. 1. home language			0.057**	0.02
Eng. 1. speaking+writing	0.005	0.593	-0.083	0.1
Eng. 1. speaking	0.008	0.303	-0.073	0.113
Eng. 1. understanding	0.003	0.748	-0.041	0.245
Rus. 1. speaking+writing	0.009	0.24		
Rus. 1. speaking	-0.002	0.76		
Rus. 1. understanding	0.01	0.213		
Married	0.012*	0.081	0.04**	0.034
Single parent	-0.012	0.405	-0.032	0.441
16y children number	0.002	0.727	0.023	0.237
Reference: Tallinn				
Harju, except Tallinn	-0.017	0.378	0.021	0.461
Hiiu	-0.031	0.2	-0.233	0.434
Ida-Viru	-0.08*	0.066	-0.011	0.572
Jõgeva	-0.165***	0	-0.162	0.118
Järva	-0.096***	0.006	-0.057	0.581
Lääne	-0.049	0.138	-0.023	0.766

Lääne-Viru	-0.062**	0.018	0.026	0.474
Põlva	-0.108***	0.007	-0.046	0.778
Pärnu	-0.071**	0.018	0.007	0.878
Rapla	-0.045*	0.097	0.074	0.219
Saare	-0.042	0.13	-0.048	0.789
Tartu	-0.042*	0.065	0.036	0.225
Valga	-0.076**	0.028	0.062*	0.084
Viljandi	-0.069**	0.016	-0.082	0.376
Võru	-0.08**	0.02	-0.028	0.797
N	5440		2010	
R ²	0,12		0,1	

*Marginal effects. Dependent variable: 1 if a person is employed, 0 if a person is unemployed.

Table L2.9. Employment rate regression: Estonian and national minority male employees, whole of Estonia.

Variable	Estonians		Minority nationalities	
	Coefficient	P> z	Coefficient	P> z
Aged 15-19	-0.059**	0.034	-0.03	0.588
Aged 20-24	0.011	0.288	0.044**	0.039
Aged 25-29	0.012	0.257	0.027	0.235
Reference: Aged 30-44				
Aged 45-49	-0.004	0.722	0.009	0.702
Aged 50-54	-0.011	0.37	0	0.997
Aged 55-59	-0.008	0.551	-0.04	0.267
Aged 60-64	0.032***	0.006	0.065**	0.031
Reference: 2000				
2001	0.014	0.192	0.013	0.631
2002	0.02*	0.05	0.002	0.95
2003	0.04***	0	0.018	0.525
2004	0.026**	0.011	-0.028	0.439
2005	0.043***	0	0.057**	0.018
2006	0.051***	0	0.079***	0
Reference: basic education				
Upper secondary education	0.054***	0	0.079***	0.003
Higher education	0.075***	0	0.086***	0
Est. I. speaking+writing			0.032	0.19
Est. I. speaking			0.039*	0.074
Est. I. understanding			-0.005	0.83
Country of birth	-0.007	0.776	0.002	0.925
Citizenship of another country			-0.036	0.153
Undetermined citizenship			-0.012	0.538
Est. I. home language			0	0.991
Eng. I. speaking+writing	0.003	0.828	0.026	0.43
Eng. I. speaking	0.007	0.483	-0.011	0.737
Eng. I. understanding	0.014	0.133	0.033	0.204
Rus. I. speaking+writing	0.004	0.662		
Rus. I. speaking	0	0.976		
Rus. I. understanding	0.006	0.606		
Married	0.046***	0	0.186***	0
Single parent	0.005	0.861	0.11***	0
16y children number	0.025***	0	0.045***	0.005

Reference: Tallinn				
Harju, except Tallinn	0.033***	0.003	0.058**	0.017
Hiiu	0.015	0.285	-0.108	0.67
Ida-Viru	-0.024	0.362	-0.02	0.311
Jõgeva	-0.068***	0.009	-0.304**	0.016
Järva	-0.001	0.935	0.007	0.938
Lääne	-0.022	0.327	-0.006	0.936
Lääne-Viru	0.035***	0.001	0.01	0.783
Põlva	-0.039*	0.087	-0.084	0.657
Pärnu	0.011	0.431	0.072**	0.02
Rapla	0.034***	0.003	0.042	0.492
Saare	0.014	0.349	0***	0
Tartu	0.005	0.713	0.041	0.165
Valga	0.031**	0.014	0.008	0.874
Viljandi	0.008	0.544	0.041	0.482
Võru	0.024*	0.098	0.051	0.549
N	5543		1965	

Table L2.10. Employment rate regression: Estonian and national minority women, Tallinn

	Estonians		Minority nationalities	
	Coefficient	P> z 	Coefficient	P> z
Aged 15-19	-0.132	0.354	-0.21	0.27
Aged 20-24	-0.078	0.263	-0.011	0.814
Aged 25-29	-0.028	0.314	0.014	0.745
Reference: Aged 30-44				
Aged 45-49	-0.017	0.411	0.058**	0.035
Aged 50-54	0.001	0.901	0.039	0.192
Aged 55-59	-0.015	0.477	0.074**	0.011
Aged 60-64	0***	0	0.107***	0
Reference: 2000				
2001	-0.021	0.355	-0.022	0.708
2002	-0.007	0.642	-0.03	0.656
2003	0.008	0.275	-0.007	0.905
2004	0.004	0.629	0.02	0.698
2005	0.009	0.228	0.045	0.313
2006	0.017*	0.08	0.105***	0.005
Reference: basic education				
Upper secondary education	0.015	0.296	0.047	0.351
Higher education	0.018	0.128	0.093**	0.018
Est. 1. speaking+writing			0.075**	0.026
Est. 1. speaking			0.021	0.511
Est. 1. understanding			0.001	0.967
Country of birth	0.015	0.628	0.049	0.112
Citizenship of another country			-0.009	0.826
Undetermined citizenship			-0.036	0.242
Est. 1. home language			0***	0
Eng. 1.	0	0.989	-0.097	0.161

speaking+writing				
Eng. I. speaking	0.002	0.726	-0.043	0.433
Eng. I. understanding	0.007	0.231	-0.02	0.73
Rus. I. speaking+writing	-0.013	0.248		
Rus. I. speaking	-0.022	0.224		
Rus. I. understanding	-0.02	0.427		
Married	-0.004	0.528	0.031	0.28
Single parent	-0.158	0.39	-0.01	0.893
16y children number	0.011	0.343	0.068	0.121
N	609		658	
R ²	0,25		0,12	

*Marginal effect. Dependent variable: 1 if a person is employed, 0 if a person is unemployed.

Table L2.11. Employment rate regression: Estonian and national minority men, Tallinn

	Estonians		Minority nationalities	
	Coefficient	P> z	Coefficient	P> z
Aged 15-19	-0.095	0.37	-0.167	0.202
Aged 20-24	-0.071	0.196	0.016	0.711
Aged 25-29	0.005	0.878	-0.022	0.65
Reference: Aged 30-44				
Aged 45-49	-0.092	0.143	-0.024	0.612
Aged 50-54	-0.037	0.477	0.032	0.447
Aged 55-59	-0.099	0.189	-0.083	0.219
Aged 60-64	0.003	0.935	0.02	0.728
Reference: 2000				
2001	0.028	0.187	0.011	0.829
2002	-0.002	0.94	0.021	0.69
2003	0.045***	0.007	0.035	0.469
2004	0.025	0.279	-0.095	0.269
2005	0.027	0.229	0.031	0.539
2006	0.034	0.133	0.082*	0.057
Reference: basic education				
Upper secondary education	0.046*	0.095	0.025	0.581
Higher education	0.058**	0.012	0.051	0.254
Est. I. speaking+writing			0.077**	0.014
Est. I. speaking			0.081***	0.003
Est. I. understanding			0.032	0.287
Country of birth	-0.002	0.965	-0.012	0.722
Citizenship of another country			-0.049	0.273
Undetermined citizenship			0.013	0.687
Est. I. home language			0	0.999
Eng. I. speaking+writing	0.027	0.192	0.001	0.976
Eng. I. speaking	0.033*	0.059	-0.101*	0.099
Eng. I. understanding	0.004	0.849	0.019	0.629

Rus. speaking+writing 1.	0.032	0.212		
Rus. 1. speaking	-0.001	0.952		
Rus. understanding 1.	0.016	0.509		
Married	0.084**	0.013	0.1**	0.02
Single parent	0.035	0.123	0***	0
16y children number	-0.003	0.85	0.061*	0.065
N	592		643	

Table L2.12. Employment rate regression: Estonian and national minority men and women, Tallinn

	Estonians		Minority nationalities	
	Coefficient	P> z	Coefficient	P> z
Female	0.036***	0.001	-0.003	0.867
Aged 15-19	-0.111	0.161	-0.181*	0.087
Aged 20-24	-0.061*	0.092	-0.001	0.977
Aged 25-29	-0.015	0.469	0.005	0.86
Reference: Aged 30-44				
Aged 45-49	-0.041	0.136	0.025	0.324
Aged 50-54	-0.009	0.678	0.041*	0.091
Aged 55-59	-0.031	0.247	0.018	0.551
Aged 60-64	0.016	0.299	0.084***	0
Reference: 2000				
2001	-0.003	0.859	-0.015	0.71
2002	-0.011	0.575	-0.006	0.882
2003	0.025***	0.009	0.009	0.816
2004	0.014	0.243	-0.031	0.514
2005	0.018	0.115	0.043	0.184
2006	0.027**	0.028	0.092***	0.002
Reference: basic education				
Upper secondary education	0.026*	0.084	0.035	0.299
Higher education	0.037***	0.005	0.076***	0.009
Est. 1. speaking+writing			0.073***	0.002
Est. 1. speaking			0.047**	0.026
Est. 1. understanding			0.016	0.496
Country of birth	0.007	0.814	0.023	0.311
Citizenship of another country			-0.036	0.237
Undetermined citizenship			-0.013	0.546
Est. 1. home language			0.058*	0.08
Eng. 1. speaking+writing	0.014	0.19	-0.051	0.205
Eng. 1. speaking	0.013	0.197	-0.073*	0.075
Eng. 1. understanding	0.005	0.638	0.001	0.983
Rus. 1. speaking+writing	0.009	0.468		
Rus. 1. speaking	-0.008	0.562		
Rus. 1. understanding	0	0.981		
Married	0.021*	0.069	0.049**	0.03
Single parent	-0.028	0.481	-0.006	0.921
16y children number	0.008	0.425	0.073***	0.005
N	1254		1331	
R ²	0,18		0,1	

*Marginal effects. Dependent variable: 1 if a person is employed, 0 if a person is unemployed.

Table L2.13. Regression: occupational attainment, Estonian and national minority women, whole of Estonia

Variable	Estonians		Minority nationalities	
	Marginal effect	P> z	Marginal effect	P> z
Aged 15-19	-0.09	0.243		
Aged 20-24	-0.074***	0.008	-0.063**	0.013
Aged 25-29	-0.083***	0	-0.004	0.881
Reference: Aged 30-44				
Aged 45-49	0.021	0.317	-0.002	0.912
Aged 50-54	-0.045**	0.032	0.016	0.508
Aged 55-59	-0.067***	0.002	0.054	0.133
Aged 60-64	-0.073***	0.006	-0.015	0.668
Reference: 2000				
2001	0.02	0.521	-0.049*	0.054
2002	0.016	0.617	-0.04	0.135
2003	-0.016	0.603	-0.013	0.68
2004	-0.035	0.229	-0.027	0.355
2005	-0.011	0.719	-0.065***	0.003
2006	-0.047*	0.086	-0.025	0.38
Married	-0.016	0.351	-0.016	0.389
16y children number	-0.006	0.69	0.029	0.105
Basic education	-0.204***	0	-0.108***	0
Reference: Upper secondary education				
Higher education	0.394***	0	0.279***	0
Country of birth	0.045	0.308	0	0.977
Est. l. home language			0.15**	0.016
Est. l. speaking+writing			0.06*	0.075
Est. l. speaking			0.082**	0.024
Est. l. understanding			0.013	0.607
Eng. l. speaking+writing	0.045	0.308	0.145**	0.019
Eng. l. speaking	0.177***	0	0.032	0.365
Eng. l. understanding	0.142***	0	0.125***	0.007
Single parent	-0.052*	0.074	-0.056**	0.021
Citizenship of another country			-0.027	0.178
Undetermined citizenship			-0.042**	0.015
Foreign employer ownership	-0.018	0.488	0.013	0.651
Public sector employer ownership	0.111***	0	-0.015	0.557
Length of service with employer	0.008***	0	0.005***	0
Reference: Agriculture, hunting, forest economy				
Fishing	0.353	0.209	0.21	0.451
Mining industry			-0.081**	0.023
Processing industry	0.034	0.422	-0.032	0.624
Electricity, gas and water supply	-0.025	0.761	-0.069*	0.06
Construction	-0.05	0.488	-0.066	0.14
Wholesale and retail trade; motor vehicle and home appliance maintenance	0.119**	0.011	0.015	0.847
Hotels and restaurants	0.019	0.745	-0.036	0.573
Transportation, logistics and communication	-0.001	0.988	-0.033	0.567
Finance exchange	0.102	0.18	-0.073**	0.049
Real estate, renting and businesses	0.164***	0.006	-0.009	0.896
Public administration and national defence; obligatory social insurance	0.129**	0.026	-0.046	0.389
Education	0.346***	0	0.249	0.129
Healthcare and social welfare	0.021	0.646	-0.029	0.639

Other occupation fields	0.153***	0.008	-0.041	0.444
Reference: Tallinn				
Harju, except Tallinn	0.004	0.892	0.055	0.169
Hiiu	-0.015	0.659		
Ida-Viru	0.002	0.971	0.054**	0.017
Jõgeva	0.017	0.657		
Järva	-0.078***	0.009	-0.025	0.691
Lääne	-0.02	0.609	-0.046	0.284
Lääne-Viru	0.003	0.929	0.003	0.95
Põlva	-0.035	0.309	-0.016	0.861
Pärnu	-0.055**	0.047	0.007	0.889
Rapla	-0.06*	0.054	-0.038	0.566
Saare	-0.043	0.165		
Tartu	-0.028	0.239	-0.032	0.256
Valga	-0.045	0.184	-0.021	0.63
Viljandi	-0.024	0.412	-0.029	0.625
Võru	-0.095***	0.001		
Part time job	-0.024	0.278	0.033	0.295
<i>N</i>	4990		1648	
<i>R</i> ²	0,31		0,33	

*Marginal effects. Dependent variable: 1 if a person is employed at an ISCO 1 or 2 position, 0 if a person is employed at another position.

Table L2.14. Regression: occupational attainment, Estonian and national minority men, whole of Estonia

Variable	Estonians		Minority nationalities	
	Marginal effect	P> z	Marginal effect	P> z
		P> z		P> z
Aged 15-19	-0.162***	0***		
Aged 20-24	-0.086***	0***	-0.041*	0.056*
Aged 25-29	-0.041**	0.029**	-0.042**	0.011**
Reference: Aged 30-44				
Aged 45-49	0.001	0.957	-0.009	0.633
Aged 50-54	-0.001	0.953	0.011	0.639
Aged 55-59	-0.008	0.731	-0.008	0.745
Aged 60-64	-0.078***	0***	-0.049***	0.005***
Reference: 2000				
2001	-0.053**	0.014**	0.004	0.906
2002	-0.058***	0.006***	0.041	0.313
2003	-0.05**	0.023**	0.046	0.277
2004	-0.052**	0.018**	0.031	0.456
2005	-0.082***	0***	0.051	0.24
2006	-0.074***	0***	0.077*	0.08*
Married	0.072***	0***	0.037**	0.033**
16y children number	0.004	0.609	0.018*	0.055*
Basic education	-0.127***	0***	-0.07***	0***
Reference: Upper secondary education				
Higher education	0.41***	0***	0.335***	0***
Country of birth	0.058	0.114	-0.007	0.622
Est. l. home language			0.109**	0.033**
Est. l. speaking+writing			0.103***	0.007***
Est. l. speaking			0.025	0.355
Est. l. understanding			0.068**	0.017**

Eng. I. speaking+writing	0.268***	0***	0.069*	0.07*
Eng. I. speaking	0.177***	0***	0.111**	0.011**
Eng. I. understanding	0.111***	0***	0.007	0.77
Single parent	0.058	0.328	0***	0***
Citizenship of another country			-0.019	0.263
Undetermined citizenship			-0.031**	0.045**
Foreign employer ownership	-0.013	0.491	-0.001	0.97
Public sector employer ownership	-0.053**	0.016**	0.03	0.298
Length of service with employer	0.006***	0***	0.003***	0.002***
Reference: Agriculture, hunting, forest economy				
Fishing	-0.05	0.462	-0.004	0.961
Mining industry	-0.023	0.768	-0.073***	0***
Processing industry	0.106***	0***	-0.037	0.453
Electricity, gas and water supply	0.232***	0.002***	-0.035	0.396
Construction	0.141***	0***	-0.03	0.497
Wholesale and retail trade; motor vehicle and home appliance maintenance	0.244***	0***	0.056	0.532
Hotels and restaurants	0.151*	0.08*	0.069	0.61
Transportation, logistics and communication	0.025	0.444	-0.049	0.186
Finance exchange	0.293**	0.013**		
Real estate, renting and businesses	0.349***	0***	-0.025	0.583
Public administration and national defence; obligatory social insurance	0.208***	0***	-0.076***	0***
Education	0.559***	0***	0.073	0.548
Healthcare and social welfare	0.269***	0.002***	0.039	0.716
Other occupation fields	0.317***	0***	-0.066***	0***
Reference: Tallinn				
Harju, except Tallinn	0.004	0.866	-0.034*	0.053*
Hiiu	-0.062**	0.014**		
Ida-Viru	-0.023	0.542	0.028	0.159
Jõgeva	-0.052*	0.056*	-0.018	0.843
Järva	-0.027	0.342		
Lääne	0.008	0.824		
Lääne-Viru	-0.077***	0***	-0.008	0.793
Põlva	-0.075***	0.003***	-0.032	0.593
Pärnu	-0.061***	0.004***	0.005	0.896
Rapla	-0.004	0.893	-0.015	0.851
Saare	-0.042	0.101	0.112	0.598
Tartu	-0.034*	0.075*	-0.04**	0.034**
Valga	-0.036	0.198	-0.028	0.484
Viljandi	-0.048**	0.029**	-0.063***	0.003***
Võru	-0.003	0.927	-0.048	0.135
Part time job	-0.013	0.626	0.014	0.797
N				

*Marginal effects. Dependent variable: 1 if a person is employed at an ISCO 1 or 2 position, 0 if a person is employed at another position.

Table L2.15. Regression: occupational attainment, Estonian and ethnic minority employees, whole of Estonia

Variable	Estonians		Minority nationalities	
	Marginal effect	P> z	Marginal effect	P> z
Female	-0.071***	0	-0.038***	0.001
Aged 15-19	-0.153***	0		
Aged 20-24	-0.093***	0	-0.052***	0.002
Aged 25-29	-0.064***	0	-0.029*	0.065
Reference: Aged 30-44				
Aged 45-49	0.013	0.371	-0.001	0.953
Aged 50-54	-0.022	0.151	0.016	0.357
Aged 55-59	-0.032*	0.056	0.026	0.222
Aged 60-64	-0.074***	0	-0.037**	0.041
Reference: 2000				
2001	-0.022	0.232	-0.014	0.494
2002	-0.028	0.146	0.006	0.819
2003	-0.035*	0.064	0.02	0.447
2004	-0.043**	0.019	0.009	0.728
2005	-0.05***	0.005	-0.006	0.781
2006	-0.063***	0	0.029	0.262
Married	0.025**	0.034	0.001	0.91
16y children number	0.005	0.447	0.027***	0.001
Basic education	-0.16***	0	-0.09***	0
Reference: Upper secondary education				
Higher education	0.397***	0	0.292***	0
Country of birth	0.053*	0.068	-0.002	0.835
Est. l. home language			0.111***	0.003
Est. l. speaking+writing			0.075***	0.002
Est. l. speaking			0.054**	0.016
Est. l. understanding			0.037**	0.045
Eng. l. speaking+writing	0.218***	0	0.103***	0.002
Eng. l. speaking	0.16***	0	0.064**	0.016
Eng. l. understanding	0.104***	0	0.064***	0.009
Single parent	-0.021	0.374	-0.043**	0.027
Citizenship of another country			-0.024*	0.063
Undetermined citizenship			-0.035***	0.003
Foreign employer ownership	-0.016	0.311	0.007	0.701
Public sector employer ownership	0.036*	0.055	0.008	0.665
Length of service with employer	0.007***	0	0.004***	0
Reference: Agriculture, hunting, forest economy				
Fishing	-0.031	0.694	0.02	0.797
Mining industry	-0.075	0.257	-0.079***	0
Processing industry	0.096***	0	-0.04	0.288
Electricity, gas and water supply	0.143**	0.013	-0.038	0.246
Construction	0.125***	0	-0.037	0.258
Wholesale and retail trade; motor vehicle and home appliance maintenance	0.204***	0	0.026	0.624
Hotels and restaurants	0.091*	0.062	-0.012	0.814
Transportation, logistics and communication	0.035	0.22	-0.049*	0.089
Finance exchange	0.19***	0.002	-0.068***	0.009
Real estate, renting and businesses	0.289***	0	-0.022	0.562
Public administration and national defence; obligatory social insurance	0.18***	0	-0.071***	0
Education	0.478***	0	0.175*	0.089

Healthcare and social welfare	0.128***	0.001	-0.027	0.461
Other occupation fields	0.254***	0	-0.06**	0.01
Reference: Tallinn				
Harju, except Tallinn	0.005	0.79	0.003	0.886
Hiiu	-0.048**	0.017		
Ida-Viru	-0.021	0.492	0.037**	0.011
Jõgeva	-0.021	0.367	-0.063*	0.086
Järva	-0.051**	0.014	-0.049	0.154
Lääne	-0.01	0.709	-0.057**	0.03
Lääne-Viru	-0.043**	0.012	-0.002	0.937
Põlva	-0.059***	0.005	-0.023	0.672
Pärnu	-0.061***	0	0.013	0.68
Rapla	-0.036	0.108	-0.018	0.737
Saare	-0.046**	0.023	-0.073**	0.02
Tartu	-0.034**	0.029	-0.039**	0.02
Valga	-0.044**	0.043	-0.026	0.371
Viljandi	-0.04**	0.03	-0.044	0.176
Võru	-0.054***	0.007	-0.071***	0.001
Part time job	-0.023	0.167	0.034	0.203
N	9918		3285	
R ²	0,29		0,32	

*Marginal effects. Dependent variable: 1 if a person is employed at an ISCO 1 or 2 position, 0 if a person is employed at another position.

Table L2.16. Regression: occupational attainment, Estonian and ethnic minority employees, Tallinn

Variable	Estonians		Minority nationalities	
	Marginal effect	P> z	Marginal effect	P> z
Female	-0.15***	0	-0.071**	0.011
Aged 15-19	-0.249***	0.001	-	-
Aged 20-24	-0.132***	0.005	0.007	0.905
Aged 25-29	-0.103**	0.01	0.034	0.473
Reference: Aged 30-44				
Aged 45-49	0.039	0.433	-0.043	0.157
Aged 50-54	-0.096**	0.047	-0.007	0.829
Aged 55-59	-0.033	0.553	0.043	0.39
Aged 60-64	-0.129**	0.014	-0.045	0.245
Reference: 2000				
2001	-0.102*	0.058	-0.043	0.311
2002	-0.126**	0.02	-0.06	0.142
2003	-0.11**	0.041	-0.004	0.94
2004	-0.108**	0.048	-0.038	0.403
2005	-0.109**	0.043	-0.051	0.225
2006	-0.144***	0.005	0.008	0.883
Married	0.07**	0.039	-0.002	0.953
16y children number	-0.006	0.794	0.069***	0.001
Basic education	-0.202***	0		
Reference: Upper secondary education				
Higher education	0.404***	0	0.363***	0
Country of birth	0.19***	0.004	0.003	0.916
Est. 1. home language			0.174*	0.066
Est. 1. speaking+writing			0.123**	0.013
Est. 1. speaking			0.106**	0.036
Est. 1. understanding			0.054	0.265

Eng. I. speaking+writing	0.285***	0	0.021	0.589
Eng. I. speaking	0.18***	0	0.048	0.277
Eng. I. understanding	0.146***	0.005	0.014	0.736
Single parent	-0.022	0.786	-0.058	0.199
Citizenship of another country			-0.008	0.824
Undetermined citizenship			-0.046*	0.08
Foreign employer ownership	0.043	0.31	-0.054*	0.058
Public sector employer ownership	0.046	0.426	-0.028	0.469
Length of service with employer	0.01***	0	0.008***	0
Reference: Agriculture, hunting, forest economy				
Fishing			0.216	0.571
Mining industry				
Processing industry	0.23	0.308	0.06	0.716
Electricity, gas and water supply	0.111	0.675	-0.057	0.619
Construction	0.249	0.271	0.066	0.721
Wholesale and retail trade; motor vehicle and home appliance maintenance	0.302	0.163	0.172	0.441
Hotels and restaurants	0.091	0.709	-0.008	0.959
Transportation, logistics and communication	0.088	0.695	0.041	0.802
Finance exchange	0.427**	0.017		
Real estate, renting and businesses	0.428**	0.02	0.06	0.743
Public administration and national defence; obligatory social insurance	0.296	0.175	-0.07	0.408
Education	0.559***	0	0.514*	0.063
Healthcare and social welfare	0.337	0.109	0.089	0.668
Other occupation fields	0.332	0.113	-0.037	0.744
Part time job	0.072	0.221	0.027	0.61
N		1676		1053
R ²		0,28		0,33

*Marginal effects. Dependent variable: 1 if a person is employed at an ISCO 1 or 2 position, 0 if a person is employed at another position.



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Final Report on Needs and Feasibility Research

Part VII

Estonian Society Integration in the Local Government System

Public Contracting Authority: Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Estonia

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1. INTRODUCTION: INITIAL TASK AND THEORETICAL PRINCIPLES

The experience of numerous European countries shows that the human and social resources consolidated in the local government system are important for putting national integration policy into practice. The working version of the 'Estonian Integration Strategy, 2008-2013' dated by 25 January, 2007 (Office of the Minister for Population and Ethnic Affairs, OMPEA, 2007), is one of the primary starting points of the current part of the research. The strategy emphasises the importance of the local level in fostering the integration of people of the other nationalities in society. It is also stated that the activity of local governments in the sphere of integration is very uneven. This is caused by poor awareness of the nature of the existing problems and the suitable measures. Integration issues are seldom handled systematically by means of a policy uniting and spreading beyond local government tasks and areas of responsibility. The co-operation of the state and local levels in the sphere is not sufficient. Meanwhile, it is the co-operation that should become the basis for more balanced and systematic integration activity.

There are three major works that approach the issue of integration in Estonia in the context of the local government system. The first, 'Non-Estonian Speaking Population's Integration by local governments; measures and indicators' (Faktum, 2004) discusses several aspects. Its results give the latest overview of the selection and dissemination of integration measures taken and planned by local governments taking into account the proportion of the people of the other nationalities in a local government. Also, the quantitative distribution of the evaluations of integration importance, level, and measure efficiency given by the heads of local governments is presented. The research 'Mapping of the Availability of Public Services Offered by the State and Local Governments Locally' by Liis Kasemets (2006) gives a qualitative overview of the issue. The compendium reference book 'Local Government Non-Estonian Speaking Population's Integration Methods and Indicators', edited by Liis Kasemets and Ülle Kurvits (2005), interprets the result of the Faktum and other studies. Also, the first part of the reference book gives an overview of the integration and minority policy of three European countries. The different needs, tasks, and measures are described. Thus, there exists a general overview of possible integration needs and corresponding measures.

The content and problem statement of the current part of the research emerge from what is stated in the initial report 'State Integration Programme 2008-2013 Development'. The initial report states that the working version of the Estonian Integration Strategy (EIS) 2008-2013 strategic document presumes the (joint) liability of a local government for two measures:

- 1.2 Increasing labour force mobility
- 3.1. Better direction of social services and the development of the environment supporting the non-Estonians' health. Developing the attitudes and group norms to decrease risk behaviour.

Also, the importance of the role of local governments in the development of the integration-supporting environment is emphasised. The governments shape the civil service, provide public services, and inform the population.

One of the important focuses of the local government research is the feasibility study concerning measures 1.2. and 3.1. stated in the EIS strategic document. The measures and action directions stated in the strategy are, inevitably, quite generally worded. Consequently, the research aims at specifying the labour force mobility, social services,

and healthcare needs of the target groups in order to develop the programme implementation activities. Local governments are believed to be the beneficiaries of numerous measures of legal-political integration. Town councils and rural municipality governments believe that it is the educational and cultural measures that are mainly represented in local governments' everyday activity. Thus, in course of the study the initial task was expanded and the additional needs and the feasibility in these spheres were included as well.

The other focus of the local government integration related research was set at determining the features of the local government as integration supporting environment.

The theoretical framework of the research consists of three axes. First of all, the structure of the research and the interpretation of the results are based on the essential features of the local government system and the extent of their influence on the feasibility of using the local government level for putting the state integration programme into action.

According to the administrative procedures of Estonia, responsibilities of the local government are divided into mandatory and optional ones. The mandatory tasks of local governments are regulated by sections 1 and 2 § 6 of Local Government Organisation Act (LGOA):

(1) The functions of a local government include the organisation, in the rural municipality or city, of social assistance and services, welfare services for the elderly, youth work, housing and utilities, the supply of water and sewerage, the provision of public services and amenities, waste management, physical planning, public transportation within the rural municipality or city, and the maintenance of rural municipality roads and city streets unless such functions are assigned by law to other persons.

(2) The functions of a local government include the organisation, in the rural municipality or city, of the maintenance of pre-school child care institutions, basic schools, secondary schools, hobby schools, libraries, community centres, museums, sports facilities, shelters, care homes, health care institutions and other local agencies if such agencies are in the ownership of the local government. Payment of specified expenses of such agencies from the state budget or other sources may be prescribed by law.

The state audits the fulfilment of local governments' tasks by means of separate legal acts. As a part of the national administrative system, local governments are to fulfil government tasks alongside local issues. The former may be given following the legal act alone. Estonia has not yet passed an Integration Act. The expenses carried in connection with the fulfilment of legally regulated government tasks that local governments perform should be covered by the national budget, according to point 5 of § 6 of LGOA.

Thus the sphere of integration is at the moment one of the optional local government tasks –due to the fact that it is a local issue that is not 'regulated by a legal act to be the responsibility and in the administration of somebody else' - and every local government is to decide on its own whether and how to deal with it (see Haljaste et al, 2007).

On the other hand, numerous spheres closely linked with the integration issue set mandatory tasks for local governments. These spheres comprise social protection, youth social work, and maintenance of education and culture institutions.

To fulfil local administration and government tasks, a local government forms local administration organs as regulated by LGOA. These organs are the council and the board that have a right and sometimes are to found municipal institutions to fulfil their tasks. The institutions can include general education and extracurricular schools and culture or sports institutions. Local governments can delegate the fulfilment of some of their tasks to

the private or third sector on contract basis. In the local government system of Estonia, such delegation concerns leisure time and social spheres the most often.

The second theoretical starting point of the research is the concept of integration in its 'minimal' meaning (see Lynch, 2001). It is relatively universally shared and can be defined as 'merging parts into a whole'. The main issue of the Estonian integration programme is society and its national and cultural diversity. It is then appropriate to supplement the minimalism of the concept and word the following integration theory basis: integration is merging national and cultural parts into a whole. The other theories on the concept of integration are regarded in the further research from the ethnic-methodological point of view (e.g. see Coulon, 1995). They are used to the extent that such theories are employed by the participants of integration of Estonian society and give reference helping understand the participants' practices. Thus, the more specific essence of integration is left for the members of the local government system, which is the object of integration, to decide.

The third theoretical axis of the research is the concept of strategic planning. Namely, the research deals with how it is specifically expressed in the working version of the integration programme which largely determines the thematic focuses of the research in relation to the initial task. There are two complications to the interpretation of the materials under analysis. First, the intersection of strategic planning and Estonian administrative system assign a cathetic role to the members of the local government system. As local governments are parts of integration supporting environment, anything they state is interpreted in the course of the research as the indicators of this environment. As a part or partner of the national administrative system, they do or should actively participate in the development of integration policy. That would give them an opportunity to state which interpretations and goals they consider right and which measures they consider important from the point of view of their occupational position, organisation and the local government. Second, it is necessary to distinguish two interpretation methods of the data accumulated by the integration supporting environment. One of them regards the descriptions provided by the members of the local government system as factual messages about the state of the environment. The other is more interpretative and studies what is said, how it is said, and what is not stated as the information describing the speaker as a part of the integration environment.

The above stated means that the text of the research includes numerous quotations of the participants of the local government system. It systematises, categorises, and at times generalises their positions and views, still recognising their right for their own words and thoughts. The more critical and synthesising side of the research is concentrated in intermediate summaries. These are supposed to forward the information about the strengths and weaknesses of the local government as possible integration supporting environment.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: RESEARCH PROBLEMS, SELECTION, DATA AND ANALYSIS METHODS

The research problems of the feasibility analysis of measures stated in the working version of the integration programme stem directly from the descriptions of the measures. The study attempts at determining the measure feasibility conditions and the expectations for more detailed content of the measures. It also aims at characterising their variety in terms of local governments, spheres of activity, and administrative types of the local government system. It also determines the additional integration needs in the most important spheres of local life.

The questions concerning the features and development needs of the local government as the integration supporting environment fall into four groups:

1. How do local government and municipal institutions, and their partners interpret Estonian society integration and its targets, and how do the interpretations vary?
2. How effective has the local government system been as practical integration environment? What is the language competence and language use of the officials of the organisation? How does it affect the efficiency of the local government as the integration supporting environment?
3. How active have the local government organs been in planning and putting into use the national and/or local integration policy? How do they characterise their experience so far?
4. How does the local government perceive the division of integration fostering tasks into national and local ones? What are the needs perceived by the local government system participants?

Two central criteria determined the choice of local governments that were studied in the course of research. First, it aims at describing integration practices, problems and previously and currently effective solutions in different types of local governments. The types are distinguished by the relationships of the minority and the majority and integration. The other criterion concerns the importance of local governments in Estonian society integration. Their role as integration supporting environments, and the problems in the sphere of integration as well as effective and possible solutions are taken into consideration. Tallinn, Jõhvi, Kohtla-Järve, Narva and Tartu local governments have been chosen as typical on the basis of these criteria for the research purpose. The town on Narva represents the type whose population includes a small Estonian speaking minority. From the point of view of the local government's functioning in practice, there is dominating Russian speaking majority, which is the important Russian speaking minority for Estonian society. Kohtla-Järve does belong to the same type. However, the Russian speaking majority is less dominant there in the local community and functioning of the local government, and the Estonian speaking minority is larger than in Narva. Tallinn represents the type whose proportions of Estonians and Russian population are almost equal, but the local administration is clearly predominantly Estonian operating. Jõhvi represents the governments whose Russian speaking population is larger than Estonian speaking, but the Estonian speaking minority is predominant in the government. In Tartu, the Estonian language and Estonians are clearly predominant in both the population and the local government system.

The other dimension of the selection is the distribution of the local government system into three groups according to their hierarchy:

- Local government institutions – county government and city council officials, and the members of their boards.
- Municipal institutions (general education schools and kindergartens as well as extracurricular activities schools) - their heads and officials.
- Citizen organisations (non-profit association) – their representatives.

The sphere division was taken as the basis for identifying need variations of particular local integration related activities and measures. This selection included officials, clerks and organisation representatives dealing with general education, extracurricular education, leisure, social protection, and general administration.

The last dimension taken into consideration for the selection was the need to cover the target groups of both Estonians and non-Estonians. The tables below describe the division of the selection on the basis of these dimensions. The number of people involved in the research varies dimension-wise because several people represent several local governments (a council member in one and an official in another) or spheres.

Table 1. Distribution of people involved in the study by local governments

Target group	Number of people
Tartu	6
Tallinn	11
Jõhvi	17
Kohtla-Järve	22
Narva	5
Total	61

Table 2. Distribution of people involved in the study by organisation type

Target group	Number of people
Officials and council members	20
Municipal institution representatives	24
Citizens associations representatives	16
Total	60

Table 3. Distribution of people involved in the study by spheres

Target group	Number of people
General administration	5
General education	19
Culture and leisure	30
Social protection	8
Total	62

Table 4. Distribution of people involved in the study by national groups

Target groups	Number of people
Estonians	23
Non- Estonians	37
Total	60

Interviews and focus group discussions were used as a method of gathering data. The general interview plan that included all the questions was compiled. One respondent to characterise institutional peculiarities and one for sphere related ones were chosen from this interview plan for each particular interview and focus group discussion. In some cases, the questions suitable for the unit were chosen as well. Seven focus group discussions and 27 interviews were conducted.

The interviews and focus group discussions were conducted by Veiko Sepp (in Estonian and mixed in Estonian and Russian) and Marina Grintchak and Juri Gordejev (in Russian). Natalja Gordejeva assisted in human relations. Interviews and discussions were recorded and transcripts were written by Kädi Kruuda, Jüri Gordejev, Eero Noorkõiv, and Jaanus Veemaa. The head of the Geomedia research group was Rivo Noorkõiv.

The working version of the integration programme gives such categories as ‘mutual tolerance as target of integration’ or ‘education measures’. These are the initial systematising bases of the analysis. Additional categories were created within and outside this framework. These correspond to the ontological and normative theories of local government members concerning the nature of integration and the content, facts, measures, and different problems of its targets. Regional, national, institutional, and sphere related peculiarities of the necessary measures are also analysed in cases of systematic variability.

3. RESEARCH RESULTS

3.1 Local government system's interpretation of the nature, targets and image of Estonian society integration

The analyses described in the current subchapter uses the statement from the working version of 'Estonian Integration Strategy 2008-2013' updated by 25 January 2007 as a motivator and a determiner. The 2nd sub-goal of legal and political integration is worded as 'Developing the integration supporting environment by raising the administrative abilities of government offices and local governments in providing public services to non-Estonians'. The working version explains and expands it:

What is disturbing is the still remaining obscurity of the nature and targets of integration. To ensure the success of integration processes, the concept of integration and its targets should be uniformly and clearly understood and better acknowledged. That concerns society as a whole but also public services providers. That would create the prerequisites for recognising bouts of integration and its support. It would also help keep in mind integration and its support in providing public services on national and local government levels. Today, the officials providing public services are not noticeably aware of integration issues. This is why reaching the support for integration targets in the state's/local governments' communication with individuals in the process of providing public services is hindered.

Additionally, the 2nd working version defines integration process and its results:

Estonian society integration means involvement of the whole population of Estonia in society life on the basis of **equal opportunities and mutual tolerance** regardless of nationality. The main results of successful integration are the following:

- **rapid decline in the numbers of people of undetermined citizenship;**
- the **development of the common state identity** of the permanent population of Estonia as a democratic state based on the rule of law. The identity should be based on the protection **of Estonian as the official language and society's main communication language** and of **minority cultures**.

In order to decrease the above mentioned obscurity, the research studied the Estonian local government system members' interpretation of integration and its targets. It also studied the meaning of integration as a slogan. The analysis of integration target interpretation was based on the points presented in the working version, specified their meaning and inter-connections for the local government system members. The analysis of integration concept interpretation was based on some philosophical categories the most often used by the local government system members for describing the integration concept. These categories include subjectness, time, spatiality, limits. Regional, national, and institutional trends of interpreting integration are also analysed in cases of systematic variability.

3.1.1 Integration concept

Integration participants

Integration is usually described by different institutional and regional units of the local government system as a bi- or multilateral process. In the process of defining integration participants more specifically, rather different interpretations emerge, which obtain clear outlines in form of four typical understandings.

The first sees Estonian society or the state on the one hand and the people who need integrating on the other hand. It is thus the question of integrating the less integrated

individuals into society, including effort on their part. The insufficient command of the language is the most often the sign of an individual's insufficient integration into society. Integration means 'the adaptation of foreign speakers living in our country and supporting their language learning regardless of whether they are from the United States, Russia or the European Union'. Also, the uniformity of the state rules, complying with which shows the level of integration, is emphasised. Integrated 'people remain who they are, retain their identity, but live together obeying the rules of the given country'. Sometimes stating this concept means that 'an individual must make an effort to live in society'. This opinion dominates among the officials, including non-Estonians. It is also supported by some of the municipal institutions and local partners. There are no systematic regional differences of interpretation. This opinion finds supporters in all the local governments studied.

The second quite widespread interpretation sees integration as a process between the two communities: the Estonian community and the Russian (or Russian speaking, non-Estonian, alien) community. These are considered to be 'neighbour cultures' that should 'intertwine and mutually enrich each other' as the result of integration. On the normative level this opinion is common of so called Russian language municipal institutions and representatives of the local partners in Tallinn, Narva, and Kohtla-Järve. This concept is seldom developed by officials. The interpretation about the two communities is indeed also more widely held by Estonian speaking officials and other members of the local government system when it is seen as a given in discussions about practical issues of integration. The controversy between the normative approach and the practical world perception can be seen, for example, in the following opinion about the concept of integration. This is what a non-Estonian, a representative of a non-Russian minority culture association claims:

[Integration is] a complicated process, which should bring closer the two communities, the Estonian and Russian speaking community, whether we like this Russian speaking term or not. Though, yes, this Russian speaking one doesn't apply to us. Still [it is our goal] to retain our culture.

One of the radical expressions of this concept is the belief that young Estonians' learning Russian is an inevitable part of integration. Otherwise, they would not take part in integration and would not be able to:

It is necessary to provide the young with communication opportunities. And Russian needs to be taught as a foreign language in Estonian operating schools. There is this big neighbour, and a lot of the neighbour's language speakers live in Estonia. One-sided integration is emphasised – only Russians are to learn Estonian. And as if Estonians don't have to participate in integration. Maybe the young suffer because of this as well. And here, in Ida-Viru county, they don't feel comfortable because they don't speak the [Russian] language.

The third interpretation takes integration to a more general level of nationalities and cultures. Not only Estonian and Russian nationalities are discussed here, but many others. The integration of the Estonian culture and other (minority) cultures, or of the cultures of the nationalities living in Estonia, is discussed:

If we talk about integration, we don't only mean people of Estonian and Russian nationalities. More Chinese are arriving here, and...

The idea that 'all the cultures functioning in Estonia should be equal in social dialogue' as the working version of the strategy words it (OMPEA, 2007) has not been expressed. The levels of cultural functioning within Estonian society are different and perceived as such by the participants themselves, with the exception of some Russian culture representatives mainly from Ida-Viru County, as the cultures of national minorities. Integration as a

bilateral process uniting and representing the two communities is regarded in the context of the dissection of connections between current policies and cultural development of national minorities. Estonians and Estonian culture are rather seen as a part of Estonian nationhood as described in the strategy working version: 'the state of Estonian culture in relation to the state is different from that of the minority cultures because one of the targets of Estonian nationhood is to maintain and develop Estonian culture' (OMPEA, 2007):

When these events happened and riots, almost all the leaders of national minorities said and were glad that your integration failed. It seems funny to me. It's not important for Estonians, they live in their home country – this is for minority cultures to worry about. We don't think that integration should be a bilateral process. Where are Estonians to integrate? Into Belarusians?

In some cases integration is regarded purely on an individual's level as a practice of friendly relationships and communication. The last two interpretations still pose no competition for the first two. Regional, institutional, or national patterns cannot be found about the former either.

Integration time

In the interpretation of the temporal aspect of integration, the pace of the process is discussed the most. Virtually all the participants share the idea that it is a lengthy process. It is said that 'there cannot be fast changes; the experience of Europe shows it'. The advisory opinion that integration policy 'cannot be some project for 5 years; it should be planned for at least 20-25 years' stems from the previous one.

Nevertheless, there prevails a conviction that everything is changing for the better. The trend is explained, in the first place, by the exchange of generation, both on the abstract level and on the particular level of educational facilities' work for improving the population's language command. The participant of the Russian speaking discussion groups from the municipal institutions of Ida-Viru County reached the conclusion that no special integration policies are necessary; one just has to wait. The state does not have to struggle to force integration and language learning on the present generation. It will automatically happen when generations change.

A positive trend is also perceived after putting the integration process into a broader temporal context and comparing its current state with the 'beginning' of integration. This is what a citizens association representative recalls when arguing against the thesis of integration failure:

I don't agree with the politicians who say that integration failed. I was at the beginning of founding the round table. When then, in these years, Estonia regained its independence, the Russian speaking population had very categorical views on anything connected with Estonianhood, the language, the legal acts that were passed, what the requirements were and so on. In the past years, the most positive about integration is that we achieved a lot of what we were striving for from the beginning: mutual understanding, the feeling that it is our country regardless of nationality. Of course, I can't say 'oh, how nice; oh, how great!' - we have to strive for that. But some steps have been taken. We don't hear ideas like there were before. People have understood they need to study Estonian. Educated teachers have gone to schools. What a mass of people has gone to courses. They started learning, how successfully, that's another thing. Other type of interest in everything linked to Estonianhood emerged. For example, in Estonian theatre and writers.

It was quite interesting that the time of integration, for both Estonians and the representatives of the other nationalities, is limited with the period after the republic of Estonia regained independence. The only exception also mentioned the exemplary national policy of the Republic of Estonia before WWII. There are some discrepancies as to when exactly the issue of integration became important. For example, an Estonian official states, referring to an earlier period, that ‘the beginning would have been better if teaching the history and the language had started earlier’. However, a Russian official believed that ‘it is just now the situation is developing that they have started to understand they need to learn this language’.

Among the breaks in the integration timeline, the April events occupy the first place although their influence on the integration process elicits very different interpretations. Generally, the officials do not tend to dramatise the events. More pessimistic opinions can be heard from the non-Estonian representatives of partner organisations and schools heads from Ida-Viru County. The April crisis is interpreted, among other things, as an event turning back the clock of integration even by those whose opinion on integration trend so far is utterly positive:

Politicians act stupidly, make insensible decisions, throwing us back on the integration path. The issue of the Bronze Soldier is a vivid example. Was it really necessary to ruin the lives of young, deluded, determined, whatever else young people? There also were asocial ones among them who did not at all act out of ideology. Now everything has to be repaired, the authority of the state on the international level has been ruined. We were not able to choose the right politicians and ambassadors.

What had happened could even have shocked people with classic education, and that would forever haunt the Russian soul. While discussing the destiny of Russian intelligentsia after Estonia regained independence, the respondents compare the state’s actions in 2007 and early 1990s:

The whole nation was one in early 1990s, people had a feeling of freedom. We felt raised by the tide, but we were shocked by clearing the square... everyone with classical upbringing is educated. But when they are hit, they remember forever. Had it been said in the beginning that we don’t want you here... This was a shock. Everything seemed so good, all people united. And in April again... salt on the wound. That something like this could happen to us... We were turned into enemies once again. The reasons were mixed up with consequences.

The opinion of the Russian official was, on the contrary, more restrained and unconcerned:

... April didn’t change anything. Everything remained the same. The only thing is that those organizations like ‘Nashi’ are trying to get school pupils involved.

Integration space

The integration space of Estonian society is formed around two central dimensions or issues. The dimensions include the peculiarities of local and regional integration and the different levels of integration in Estonian society in different areas.

As to the regional integration peculiarities, the nature of integration in Ida-Viru County and especially Narva is stressed as the most important. The specifics of problems occurring there is also significant. In some cases Ida-Viru County is even described as a ‘crisis region’. The question arises ‘who should be integrated where?’

This, our region, this Ida-Viru County, especially if you go to Narva and Sillamäe, Estonians are scarce there. We, like, should be talking about the opposite integration there.

The small number of Estonians is also clearly reflected in the service providing and developing by local governments. As far as the development opportunities for Estonian operating schools are concerned, it becomes apparent that

We have classical 'village school' problems. Ours is a town school with village school problems – closed community. The only people who join are from the other language community.

On the practice level, both Estonians and the representatives of the other nationalities consider it natural that Russian is more spread as a communication language in the region. Estonian young people also 'can speak Russian' because 'they come from here, otherwise it's impossible here'. That is why:

There's rather a feeling that we are more integrated into the other language community. As for Narva, you virtually won't hear Estonian there. Let's say, there are 50 employees in Narva central library and one of them is Estonian, the director. They have Estonian courses there, I don't know, some have attended these some four-five times.

The representatives of other regions also mention the peculiarities of Ida-Viru in comparison with the situation in their area. Tartu officials state that Tallinn is similar to Ida-Viru and regard Tartu integration as 'special', which is why 'it is difficult to speak of any integration in Tartu'. This statement somehow contradicts their opinion that 'this issue should be dealt with in Tartu, but not as actively as in Tallinn and Ida-Viru County'.

In addition to the population national composition, the fact that the region is backward in terms of social development is also perceived rather acutely in the integration context:

It should be viewed by different dimensions, Tallinn dimension, Jõhvi. You can't compare Tallinn. You can't compare Jõhvi. The education level of population, opportunities, if you look again at a region with much unemployment. Here this non-Estonian speaking population, they look at their children, and eureka, I'll send them to and Estonian operating kindergarten, Estonian operating schools. This is my opportunity. And in Tallinn there can be others, or they'll send children to study in Finland.

If we compare kindergartens in Tallinn and Jõhvi, then we'll see that the children are different and the parents are different.

Sometimes the peculiarities of the situation or the existence of problems are seen as something beneficial for the integration within the reason. For example, this is the case when these problems are mentioned by some other region:

Still, when someone says something derogatory about our region, we react passionately. Rakvere region's opinion of us is especially unpleasant.

Or just the acknowledgement of local Estonians is expressed:

Well, here, in Ida-Viru County, I love the Estonian population. But if you move and happen to be outside Ida-Viru County. There is such haughtiness.

The other important dimension of the space of integration concerns the different levels of integration into Estonian society in different areas. The interpretations here even grouped by local governments are indeed quite controversial. First of all, Tallinn and Tartu perceive Ida-Viru County as the less integrated. This is the idea their suggestions for integration policy concerning the regions stems from. The officials from Ida-Viru County do agree that 'integration processes are slow as there's no language environment'. However, they do see clear differences between the towns, explaining these, among other things, with population history:

It seems to me that there are more Estonian speakers in Jõhvi. Here in Kohtla-Järve there are more people who came to work in mining and the plant after the war. The environment wasn't suitable for learning... The situation in Narva is even more difficult than here.

The representatives of Narva tend to deny such ideas from the start:

Those who think that Narva is somehow separated from Estonia are grossly wrong. People of Narva have always considered themselves Estonian population, and this is absolutely so... the majority of Narva young people feel friendly about Estonian, they also speak Estonian. They go to study to Tallinn and Tartu.

That was the opinion expressed by a Russian official. Estonians see the situation to be a bit more complicated and rather feel that Narva and its population and oppose themselves to the rest of the world:

This has been consistent here and Narva has in a sense always wanted to be different. Even in the Soviet times Narva wanted to differ from the rest of the Soviet Union by the fact that when you crossed Narva river, another soviet republic began and this could only be shown by street names in Estonian. I mean, written in roman type, not in Estonian, but with Latin letters. And this certain spirit remains in Narva. Now this idea that we, from Narva, differ from the rest of Estonia, stems from that. As if they want to show they are different. The only difference I have found as to their culture is that a part of Narva population, and not a small one consisting of some 5 people, but comprising 5,000 people, have never been outside Narva. Since they came to live in Narva, they have lived there. They haven't even seen Jõhvi, they have no idea what this town looks like. Let alone ever going to Tallinn or elsewhere. This is this part... and when they make it to Tallinn, go to a shop, and are talked to in Russian there, it's a great surprise to them. We thought nobody spoke Russian any more. This is an issue of culture, of informedness, and being a part of the Republic of Estonia.

In other words, in the interviews with people from Narva, even concerning other topics, such phrases as 'Narva people came to Estonia' could be heard. It seems to be an issue of principle and will for Narva population, and not perceiving the residence in Estonia as something natural.

Integration limits

In the discussion about integration, the issue of the limits of integration as a process emerges. First of all, concerning the representatives of the other nationalities, it is necessary to pay attention the essential differences between integration and assimilation:

Integration is what lets people retain their identity, respect the neighbour nation's culture and serve the country they live in regardless of nationality and language.

Assimilation is considered dangerous. 'I am the most worried about the perspectives of one nationality becoming another'. The topic of separation never emerged in the discussion.

3.1.2 Integration targets

Mutual tolerance

The majority of the local government system participants rated mutual tolerance, of all the targets, quite high. The interpretations differ greatly. It is believed that there are no tolerance problems in society, and it has been said that the situation is disastrous. The latter is obvious in comparison with the USA:

Well, here, in Ida-Viru County, I love the Estonian population. But if you move and happen to be outside Ida-Viru county. There is such haughtiness. By now, this society has been built,

intolerant society. My daughter came back from the States. There are so many nationalities and such freedom. People are not as badly treated as here. There is no such place in the world where you will be treated scornfully for not knowing the language.

In other cases, the low tolerance of Estonians (including colleagues) from Ida-Viru County was mentioned. Some Estonian speaking officials and representatives of institutions from the region admit that. They explain the fact with Estonians' defensive reaction as a minority or excessive tolerance in the past.

The perspectives of developing tolerance by means of the measures and activities of integration policy are met with scepticism. It mostly concerns adults as a target group. The ability of the state to ensure or develop tolerance is doubtful.

Equal opportunities

Similarly to tolerance, the local government system representatives did not have any objections to equal opportunities as a target. The only exception is the interpretation stating that equal opportunities are guaranteed by the law, and setting them as an integration target would mean they are not legally ensured at the moment, which is considered incorrect:

Honestly speaking, it's not a very good definition because such a legal document far above us as constitution gives us equal opportunities.

On the other hand, 'equal opportunities' have different practical interpretations. This decreases the importance of such goal setting for achieving social consensus. For instance, the issue of 'equal opportunities' and the equality of Estonians and the representatives of the other nations concerning the use of the native language and the opportunities for acquiring Estonian citizenship was mentioned in the first place. Equal opportunities are interpreted in a wide range of ways. For example, equality in using one's mother tongue in the public sphere, which in practice is not possible or considered in this way, was mentioned:

I understand there is a slight nuance. I meant, if people do not speak the official language, they limit themselves. But maybe this nuance should be emphasised in this context, not that it gives equal opportunities. The constitution does. But maybe it should somehow be worded differently. At least this aspect. When I have heard it, it's a pattern, a cliché, and the thought stops running, stops developing, even I feel it. Imagine other Russians. Once they have heard it on TV, that's it. When they read this definition, they'll start discussing and it will go in no other direction but this one.

Rapid decline in numbers of people of undetermined citizenship

The decline in numbers of people of undetermined citizenship is generally believed to be an important target. As an important argument, the possession of citizenship is said to be linked to the strength of state identity:

They are more loyal to the state. We should make effort to enable those who want it to obtain the citizenship. The requirements should be made milder, language requirements for the elderly...

On the other hand, both Estonian and non-Estonian officials doubt the efficiency of the rapid decline as an integration target. Thus when it is mentioned that elderly people might receive citizenship without any conditions, at the same time the certainty that 'they will not integrate anywhere despite that' remains. There are also disagreements as to whether people are 'more useful for the state' as citizens or there will not be any change. The latter

is explained by the assumption that on the individual level the acquisition of the citizenship is for many a pragmatic economic choice.

The main questions are how and on what terms the decline is supposed to happen. The need for and the content of the language and civics test are to be specified. Thus Estonian directors of Ida-Viru County municipal institutions express concern:

But we wouldn't be for this pattern. We have that language standard requirement. They'd make it milder, because oh we need more citizens and oh we are [so good]...

Some heads of Russian operating schools and citizens' association representatives believe that Estonian citizenship policy is unjust and not appropriate for a civilised country. Without changes in that, trust in the state and its integration policy is out of the questions. The contradiction between a democratic state based on the rule of law and the massive number of people of undetermined citizenship is perceived. It is stated that the rapid decline in numbers of people of undetermined citizenship is a prerequisite for integration.

It is said that the main problem of integration policy lies in the citizenship being linked to the language standard requirements:

We only have Estonia. And giving the citizenship just for speaking the language is low and shameful. Citizenship cannot be limited by language. Well, my generation grew up in Estonia. It is important to speak the language. You won't survive without the language. But somehow everything is determined by the language: one doesn't speak it, one isn't getting the citizenship.

There are suggestions that the citizenship should be determined more widely than before, by general humane achievements and distinguished service, not just the flair for languages that everyone might not have:

Look, a person is distinguished but won't be given the citizenship. And not everyone is good at languages, especially considering these requirements.

The language standard requirements for citizenship create a lot of confusion among citizens' associations and even municipal institution directors. The statement that the requirements for the citizenship application test are low, made during the discussion, is met with objections. It is argued that

The requirements are so high that Estonians can't pass the exam. I have some Estonian tests. We studied them with other Estonians. And half of the Estonians in the group don't know, can't answer the questions. Especially those on history and culture – many don't know.

Estonian officials have also criticised the test on constitution and Citizenship Act knowledge

Still at this citizenship exam, the questions I have heard about, well, oh my god. Even an Estonian won't answer them. Well it is based on logic, that's what I've heard, and such an exam on facts must not be based on logic. Maybe some people cannot think logically. You're not a citizen because you have no logic. I'd rather someone complied a bit and made this exam easier. And not the language requirements.

It has also been suggested that taking the constitution exam was possible in Russian:

My father, he's 57. He watches TV-shows, can write something, is in touch with events in Estonia. He is trying, he's loyal to the state. But I think he wouldn't pass it in Estonian.

Certain groups could be granted citizenship unconditionally:

The elderly should be granted the citizenship – they have no chance to master the language. Some 75-year-olds come to me. Would they ever be able to learn? But they want to be Estonian citizens. Many of them want, they all have ‘grey passports’, but they don’t want Russian citizenship. The younger take that.

State identity

There are not many discrepancies about the common state identity. Both the Estonians and non-Estonians from all the regions agree on this target. The main question of the discussion is how far the target is currently and what could help to reach it. It is sometimes believed that what comprises the state identity requires a lot of effort although the target may be supported by everyone, and the attitude may be enthusiastic. It is rather perceived as an achievement and not a natural course of things, at least not at the moment.

We overcame this barrier long ago. Children learn, children sing. I know that children are proud when they march along Tallinn streets in columns [for the song and dance festival]. And when Tallinn people greet them, and when there is cheering in Estonian, ‘Hurray, Narva is with Estonia! Narva is with us!’ then our children are proud. We really do live in this country. Despite all the difficulties, people learn Estonian, try, are proud that they can speak, read, answer questions.

An Estonian official from Ida-Viru County is much more critical and pessimistic about the problem;

Will is above all. A person must be willing to embrace the culture of this country and these rules. If there’s no will, do whatever you want. I don’t know how to stimulate it. So that they would consider Estonia their home. For which they would be ready to yell, like they were yelling here – Russia, Russia! I can’t imagine what would be the thing that would make those people of the other nationalities that Estonia is their home. Maybe, that could be the equal opportunities, for instance, in getting the citizenship. Simpler... I don’t know.

The last idea was met with more support with Russian-speaking local government officials from Ida-Viru County than institutions and citizen organisations. The confusing citizenship policy and the target of strengthening state identity are said to clearly contradict each other.

Many people who have lived here for 50 years don’t understand why they have to take the citizenship examination. Having the citizenship, people have the right to express their opinion, participate in the state and political life. But now they are people without rights. Maybe I’m wrong, but that’s my opinion.

Official language

The local government officials of both nationalities agree with the status of Estonian as the official language of the country. It is considered an important principle by Russians: ‘I am totally convinced that one has to speak the language of the country one lives in’. Estonians also agree with it: ‘the main question is that this state should dare to say out loud that this is the Estonian state and its language is Estonian’ or ‘it’s out of the question, I couldn’t imagine that Russian could become an official language in Estonia’. In the regions where Estonian speakers are in the minority the official language is considered to be the resource that hinders the full integration of corresponding regional communities by relying on the Russian language and culture.

In practice, it has only been prevented by the Estonian state and the remaining fear that the official language is required. So, in a way it can be said that it would have worked the other way round.

There have also been differences of opinion within the local government system expressed mainly by Russian speaking institution directors from Ida-Viru County. In the comments on the target, it is met with quite unanimous opposition:

I would like to say it's a misunderstanding. There should be bilingualism.

In my opinion, bilingualism is the question of the nearest several years. It's unavoidable.

The language standard requirements for working in the public and service sectors have caused disapproval and have been called, among other things, national discrimination of citizens:

Why has the state divided its citizens into two sorts of people: 1) people who were born here and whose mother tongue is Russian 2) Estonians of Estonian citizenship? There are two citizens, both were born and grew up in Estonia. But the one who was educated in Moscow is checked by the Language Inspectorate, and the other one isn't. How do I explain to the child when the parent is working, attending Estonian language courses, and then gets fined by the Language Inspectorate? The state uses force to make people learn the language.

On the contrary, Estonian officials feel threatened and refer to the instance when the state and local governments give up on imposing the language standard requirements:

We have just discussed it at work that when this Estonian Republic emerged, language policy was adhered to very actively. But it doesn't feel like that anymore. Before, one was afraid to lose the job, one wanted to get a better job. Now this has slowly become milder. A lot milder.

Estonian as the main communication language in society

In comparison to the target of Estonian as the official language, the one of Estonian as the main communication language in society is met with more controversy and objections. It is generally noticed that Estonian language skills are important; 'everything possible should be done for the young to have good Estonian language command'. Russian officials emphasise people's welfare and competitiveness in connection with the language command:

... if you want a good life in Estonia, you have to learn the language and know the history...

... the language barrier is the main thing. If you can't take part in culture events or anything, you will just fall behind.

The same statement expressed in normative terms by an Estonian official from Ida-Viru County:

... and in my opinion, Estonian is obligatory as a means of communication, you just can't live without it.

... I have heard the statements that learning Estonian is not important anymore, it secondary, here. I believe it is primary, the most important and when it has been mastered, other things can be built upon it. You just can't live without it.

The problem, however, is described by an official from Kohtla-Järve:

... one has to speak it, but many don't, and it's not their fault – the generation of my childhood was never taught, there were no Estonian language teachers.

The question of how and whether it is possible to learn Estonian for people of Russian and other Soviet brotherly national backgrounds generally elicits a lot of differences of opinion. Estonian officials of the region passionately argue against the often made claims that it is not possible to master Estonian in Ida-Viru County: 'the opinion that it's not possible to learn the language here is overstated – you can always find someone to talk to

or watch TV'. A Russian official describes personal experience in relation to language skills:

I only learned Estonian thanks to the fact of being in the Estonian environment, among Estonians. Had I gone to a Russian operating school, I would never speak it. They don't even need it. They are in school, in the family and in the shops where one can cope in Russian. What could they master? The language skills would be passive – reading. Speaking is only mastered with practice.

The development of language skills is considered to be a subjective process. The head of another Tallinn school states:

That would really be [difficult] for the people who indeed weren't born in Estonia, never studied Estonian at school and were trying to learn it at some language courses. But, you know, that's so different. There are some teachers in my school who were not at all young when they came here, and they have mastered this Estonian on the highest level. I really don't know how it should work.

The future strengthening of Estonian as the communication language is seen with optimism because the current political situation implies that:

Well, the target should remain, but my personal opinion is that language problems would be solved even if the state did nothing. It would probably take more time. In Soviet times, Estonians did master Russian per se. Now this attitude is returning that the more languages one speaks, the better. But basically what it's like now is that if we look at the current trends, at least 17% of non-Estonians in the country and 20% in Tallinn send their children to Estonian operating schools. Even if the person doesn't want to learn himself. It's like, I don't speak the language, but my child should have excellent language command. And this trend is there. I don't want to say everyone thinks like that, but there's the trend. So also the young understand one has to speak the language. In the current political situation, you won't make it anywhere without it. Estonians also need this feeling that we have the language. So it could remain.

There are also some local government officials who think that the target is ridiculous because 'people choose communication in the language that they speak on equal terms'. For instance, it's common practice in Kohtla-Järve that 'people usually choose Russian; if both speak Russian, then they choose Russian'. The target of 'the primary communication language' in its usual general interpretation also seems to be unlikely to achieve easily in Narva:

It's obvious that it's almost impossible to make Estonian the language of communication.

It should also be taken into consideration that if authority representatives do not use Russian, it can be considered insulting in Ida-Viru County:

Our retired population is insulted when there is a representative of authority giving a speech in Estonian while the audience is purely Russian speaking. This is bad. Let them at least make a summary in Russian. People have come to see the event and don't understand a thing. There are authority representatives whose Russian language skills are good, but they won't speak it. They ignore it, they basically won't speak it.

However, the situation is not that simple. There are several local government partners from Kohtla-Järve who do not like someone giving speeches in not exactly fluent Russian:

I took part in a high school graduation ceremony. And the head of the school, Estonian, had great difficulties speaking Russian when giving out certificates and gold medals. Couldn't they have found someone who would have performed it better?

There are found different reasons why the role of Russian as a communication language in society should not diminish. This opinion is also supported, among other things, by reference to the constitution of the Republic of Estonia which should show the right direction for further development of the state's language policy activities:

Bilingualism is better than unilingualism. And that's when nonsense starts. Bilingualism is regulated by the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia. If you read it carefully, you can find it. But it's not followed.

Others believe that bilingualism threatens social unity:

I think that, actually, bilingualism isn't the right decision. It can't be. We still live in the Republic of Estonia. There are many non-Estonians among our population, so what? It's like not the right decision. If we still introduce bilingualism, then one will keep living in one country, and someone else in the other.

The discussion goes on to advocate Russian as the primary communication language of society, which would make international communication easier. The idea is explained with hospitality principles and intensive Russian use by foreigners:

Well, foreigners come here. What language do we speak? Only Russian. It's easier for them. Not Estonian, not English. They switch over to speaking Russian. It's because everyone is trying to master this language. We are already used to it. It's very difficult to estrange from this communication language.

The issue of the communication language can be rephrased as stemming from Estonians' limited language skills that should be dealt with within the framework of the national integration policy:

As Russian speakers, we win. Because we can also speak Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian and we are learning Estonian. But poor Estonians only speak Estonian. And it's rare that someone speaks Russian or some other. Estonians definitely should speak Russian. It's the neighbours' language. And one has to be friends with the neighbours.

The heads of municipal schools of Kohtla-Järve compare the issue to a tough alternative:

What do we want? We want everyone to speak Estonian and smile to one another. Or the night when cars are put on fire? Like in France? Yes, everyone speaks French. Check that. And what's the result? Yes, language is one of the points. But that point can't be primary, the most important. Fifteen years have passed. It is necessary to analyse and make conclusions. It's not necessary to repeat the mistakes made before.

The reason why the language issue is that important is believed to lie in the fact that it wouldn't actually be beneficial for officials if everyone spoke Estonian:

Statistics show: a couple of years ago 87% of Kohtla-Järve school leavers went to study to higher education facilities in Estonia. 82% were going to study in Estonian. The question is, what else does this state want? The state wants to put a tick against 'process is gaining momentum'. Generally, that's what I call the Estonian Nokia. The Estonian Nokia is to show the whole world that we have problems with language learning. That Estonian Nokia will bring us money from different funds. That money is paid to the officials living in Tallinn, inspectors, language course teachers. The lion's share of this money is accumulated here, by officials. That's it, the problem solved. Imagine everyone's language skills are at the highest level. Who will lose their jobs? Estonian Nokia. It wouldn't be beneficial for the state if the whole population had excellent language command. If everyone speaks Estonian in Estonia, then the money – billions, millions – won't be given... I am for my country but against the debility in question.

Still, the situation is not that problem-free everywhere. The discussion with Jõhvi education workers show they perceive the issue as a simpler one, but still a multifaceted one in terms of the young's choice opportunities and success:

Of course my ambitions as a Russian could make me say it would be good to take into consideration the fact that we are still a nationality, especially in these regions, I mean, which is not exactly good at language skills. The Estonian language problems in Jõhvi and Kohtla-Järve are being solved already. What is happening in Narva is a disaster... a real disaster. I did study in Narva College and saw how difficult those courses were for them... my own Estonian language command is pretty average. I consider it an achievement in my life... Their language situation is very difficult. Equal opportunities for them. We always look at things through the prism of our children. They leave school and are going to universities. What is their choice? Where are they going? With such Estonian language skills. At a very low level...

I'd say that as time passes language command becomes better and opportunities grow. If we look at the school leavers in recent years, then their opportunities... of course, Grade 9 leavers do not have that many opportunities and the opportunities are behind this language command. But secondary school leavers, they have already consciously made their choices. And when they have gone to study further, the majority, I wouldn't be sure about all the schools, but the majority of our pupils have chosen studying in Estonian.

... We're coming back to the start that language is important. Language command changes their destiny. They can be free.

Minority culture protection

The protection of minority cultures is widely supported as a target. Still, numerous Estonian officials do not see the protection of minority cultures in Estonia as a problem:

There are opportunities and favourable conditions for minority cultures in the state. But it shouldn't be forgotten that it's the Estonian state and things go the Estonian way here.

National minority culture association perceive certain lack of security and believe it could be improved by legislation measures. The current Culture Autonomy Act is not considered exactly efficient enough.

It is not the maintenance of the language and cultural peculiarities that is the case about many minority nationalities, but introducing them. Several culture officials and national minority culture association representatives believe this process should precede the integration based on Estonian as the primary communication language in society.

The issue of Estonian language and culture protection in Ida-Viru County thus emerges:

We have to add something about protecting the Estonian language here. Often there's so much of that non-Estonian speakers' culture, that Estonian one is lost. You somehow have to push it and fend for it. The Estonian part is, on the contrary, oppressed here. Of course, not on the local government level. Not that. But just by all kinds of little things, like events, or you go to a usual shop, and these commercials played aloud in this sickening Russian voice, you know. You don't get, are you in Estonia or wherever. On the contrary, we, like, need more of this Estonian language protection.

3.1.3 Integration as a word

It is rather the Russian speaking respondents whose attitude towards integration as a word, term, and slogan is positive and normal. Estonians view it more critically and sceptically, and they are well aware of it.

'If you stress in an event description that it is an integration event, it can be a drawback.' Children's language camps are brought as an example. The term 'integration camp' raises tension about the children's and parents' expectations considering the results. 'This integration should go on without much shouting, but with actual activities; without scary slogans that this is now integration. They can often work in the opposite direction, be an obstacle.'

The success of integration process should be mentioned with care when speaking about integration, and different reactions stemming from expectations should be expected. This is illustrated by the feedback given to the event introducing the future integration programme by Jõhvi education institutions focus group:

We do as much as we can. And, alas, the teacher is the one who knows his mission and makes the effort. But I really can't stand all this media gibberish. They show some integration event in some hall and pretend it's like this everywhere. That's when I become angry because I know how it works from inside. The thing should work, not be put on paper once again. Praxis showed... Well, still too much theory. I didn't see any practical solutions.

In some cases, the officials are confused by the word 'integration':

We know the word 'integration', but we don't know what's behind it. We understand everything on the surface, but we would need more information.

3.1.4 Intermediate summary: practical interpretations and conclusions

The analysis of integration process and targets shows that the positions of the local government system participants are remarkably consistent with those presented in the state integration programme working versions. Officials tend to express their interpretations more 'loyally' than municipal institution directors or local citizens association representatives. Deeper differences of opinion are presented from outside local governments. There are clear national and regional peculiarities in some issues. The results show that the non-Estonian local government system loyalty in interpretations is formed by several factors. These are the closeness to the authorities, more active involvement in the system, more awareness about responsibility and control. Thus the general interpretation background improvement is to/can increase the involvement or at least the subjective perception of the involvement.

The dominant definition of participants of integration in the local government system is the one regarding Estonian society and individuals with bigger or smaller need of integration. This creates a strong basis for fostering integration in local governments. The alternative interpretation, including the two mutually integrating communities, is held rather strongly by the heads of Russian operating educational facilities and national culture associations. These are the people who are directly involved in educating the young, so the above mentioned fact could cause problems in further integration into Estonian society in the towns and rural municipalities in question. Thus the state's communicative target is to show the following by means of using local governments:

- a) Estonian society integration does not go along the borders of the nationality or language. An important and, hopefully, increasing part of Russian and other nationality representatives have integrated successfully into Estonian society;
- b) Russian culture and language enjoy more opportunities than any other minority culture in Estonia due to the large number of representatives. Apart from that, Estonian society (as opposed to Soviet society) sees no reasons to discriminate against Ukrainian, Tatar, Finnish or other nationality or culture in comparison to Russian nationality and culture.

The relative consensus between the positive progress of integration and its progress with its natural slow pace is the most important in interpreting integration time. That is why it would not be effective for the state to demand or expect fast results from local governments either. This shows the need for cooperation with local governments and discussing long term targets and tasks. Integration should not be limited by one-year projects. There is one main challenge for delegating integration policy to the local level. It is the discrepancy between the perception of history by Estonian society and the perception of history not synchronised with the former. The latter presents rather different judgements about certain historic periods and events. The discrepancy still exists in the local government system; it is not perceived among officials, but is rather noticeable on the level of municipal institutions and local partners.

There are large regional differences in integration problems and the level of integration into Estonian society. These mean that the planning of national integration policy for at least Ida-Viru County should show the connection between local and national integration, which is supposed to support the development of unity in both society as a whole and the local community. Regional differences do not mean higher importance of the local government, but just the contrary. Estonian society integration and the integration targets and content in a town may differ. Still, that does not mean the transfer of tasks from the national level to the local level but implies a uniform national policy. The latter does not exclude the possibility of a town or rural municipality planning its own integration policy that should be taken into consideration, but does not substitute for the national policy.

As to integration limits, the concept should be explained more clearly and the fact that 'integration into society is the result of each individual's free choice' should be stressed. Thus integration should be contextualised as opposed to its main alternatives, assimilation (avoided by many cultural associations but not the parents) and separation. Other opportunities should be presented and it should be explained why it is integration that the state develops. People of the other national background integrated into local governments system or active in the local integration process feel their excessive effort is not appreciated enough by the state/society. Such feelings are, most probably, highly justified. It would then be the most purposeful to stress integration choice as an individual's achievement, as opposed to separation or assimilation. The state and local governments should cooperate to assure national minority cultural associations that if they are active, representatives of national minorities can avoid assimilation. For the sake of credibility it should be mentioned that it does not matter for Estonian society whether an individual assimilates or integrates into it. Separation, however, causes problems for both the individual and society.

The analysis shows that there are no significant discrepancies between official integration target definitions and their interpretations by local government system participants. Still, interpretations of specified meaning of the targets do vary. Some Russian speaking municipal institution and national minority culture association representatives express the most disagreements on the issues of language and citizenship. Some opinions display rather superficial knowledge of starting points of Estonian citizenship and language policy. Thus, it would not be excessive to educate the local government system about the policy once again. The awareness about the results of the Soviet integration and language policy should be raised. Russians and the representatives of other Soviet Union nationalities considered it natural and timeless/historiless that Soviet minority nationalities were fully integrated and after leaving their home republic mainly assimilated into Soviet Russian society and culture.

The interpretations of the essence of integration and the meaning of its targets vary a lot and are very controversial at times. That poses a threat the use of integration as a term will add confusion to the communication within the local government system and politics the activities put into practice. Thus it would be sensible to determine separately the activities and states included in the official concept of integration instead of using it as a general term. That would foster the development of integration policy on the level of local governments.

3.2 Local government system functioning as practical integration environment

3.2.1 Language use within and among institutions

By the virtue of law regulations, the official working language of all town and rural municipality governments as well as councils is Estonian. The official communication with subordinate institutions is also to be conducted in Estonian. While the official working language of all town and rural municipality governments is Estonian and all official documents are written in Estonian, the situation in Narva local government organisations is somewhat more complicated. Internally, within the council it is stated that ‘Estonian is the official working language’ and ‘the council meetings are held in two languages’. As the majority of town population and council members are ‘Russian speakers’, all the documents are translated into Russian and these registered as unofficial. A city government official explains how bilingualism works for him:

In the council people speak Russian, including me. When I start, I greet people and start in Estonian, and then gradually go over to Russian because when the audience doesn't understand, no point trying. Otherwise I have to talk about it twice. Council member mainly speak Russian, also Estonians, publicly as well. But they have this right that when somebody comes and says I'll be talking in Estonian only the council chairperson translates afterwards.

Unofficially, there are two working languages in the local government system both in Ida-Viru County and Tallinn. The choice of the language depends on the habit and sometimes on one's wish to improve one's language use. The most important reason for choosing the language is the ease of communication and clarity. The issue is especially important in communication with subordinate institutions outside large towns of Ida-Viru County. Estonian official see no problem in using Russian:

... if I see I'd better talk to them in Russian, I always switch over to Russian. It's easier for me to communicate and the person feels more secure.

As to institutions and culture associations, if they don't fully understand all the nuances of Estonian, I speak Russian to them to explain the problem clearly.

The language practice of officials with average language skills may be limited by the green-eyed attitude towards language purity that Estonians sometimes express. An Estonian official explains how it happens:

... Russians are all right with my Russian skills. Estonians tend to make comments that it's not said like that... So Russians are afraid they will be made fun of.

3.2.2 National and language issues in providing services and information for population

Officials' language choice to provide services for population depends on the client's preferences. Similarly to communication within and among institutions, the main issue is

that of availability and clarity. Usually public services or assistance are available in Russian because

... when a person is in trouble, it is my job to help in the humane sense of the word. And they I still try to do it in the language a person understands. ... to make it clear, I often have to explain things in people's mother tongue, there's no point in fooling around

This is the general policy that is also recommended for use to subordinates. Skills in the languages of other nationalities residing in Estonia are rare and accidental for the officials, so it is not possible to provide services in, for example, Ukrainian or German. The possibility to use Russian also covers the population's written applications.

As 70% or more of our population are Russians, they can write applications and things in Russian. It's like a silent pact that we accept them and work through them.

Therapeutic application forms are mostly in Estonian only and are filled in the language a client prefers.

Otherwise, the officials do not perceive any distinctions stemming from nationality or language that would require service differentiation in their work. Still, certain national peculiarities of clients' character are perceived. The experience of Ida-Viru County local government officials in a way contradicts the statement mentioned in the strategy working version (OMPEA, 2007). The statement claims that 'non-Estonians are less active in contacting politicians and officials'. On the contrary, it seems that non-Estonians are more aware of their rights and opportunities related to local services and benefits. Estonians give a more modest impression. The officials of social affairs of several towns share an opinion that

Non-Estonian people are much more aware of legislative acts and often can defend their interests better than the native population ... Twice better than Estonians. It's in the Estonians' nature to turn for social help in the most desperate situation... Estonians are not that demanding.

It is very seldom that instances or accusations of discrimination in providing services or benefits are mentioned. The officials of social affairs in Ida-Viru county have rejected the accusations that

... Estonians are helped more and non-Estonians less, which actually is not right. We provide services in accordance with the law, how it is regulated. But there is still this perception that surely Russians are treated worse.

National minority culture associations and non-profit associations working in the social sphere do not feel any discrimination on the local governments' part in working with Estonian and non-Estonian associations either. Tallinn and Tartu officials do mention the positive discrimination policy in favour of minority culture associations in providing support for culture associations.

The population is informed about local government activities by means of several channels: web pages, information leaflets, town or rural municipality newspapers, county newspapers, local radio stations and TV channels. As a rule, information in Estonian is more extensive, especially concerning local legal acts and other official information. The best balance of information in Estonian and Russian has been achieved in Tallinn and Ida-Viru County by distributing free bilingual newspapers published by the local governments. Homepages are predominantly in Estonian with Russian prevailing in private owned media in Ida-Viru County.

3.2.3 Language competence and language use and competence influence on work

Estonian and Russian language skills of higher and medium ranking officials are generally good. The formal or informal requirements for both languages for employment in Tallinn and Ida-Viru County towns are one of the main reasons:

... we basically don't employ people who can't speak Russian. It's impossible that someone doesn't speak Russian. In fact, the skill level should be higher than everyday communication. Especially occupation related vocabulary.

Poorer language command is more characteristic of low rank officials and, concerning Russian, of young officials of Estonian descent. In the latter case the situation might be like in Tartu:

Everyone is enthusiastic to communicate, but our self-expression is clumsy.

Older colleagues see the issue as follows:

... our personnel is getting younger and younger, and the last generation of employees fresh from university were not taught Russian there anymore. Some don't understand at all. It's in the job description, but...

It is believed that officials' poor command of Russian will become worse in the future. Russian speaking officials are said to have good speaking skills but to need some improvement of written skills.

The situation concerning the language skills of Russian speaking municipal institution employees is more worrying. The trend of language command to become worse to the bottom of occupational hierarchy is also seen here. Institution heads are obliged by law to have good Estonian language command and that is what they actually do. However, the general language skill level of public service employees (e.g. teachers) is described by officials and institution directors as much worse. Estonian language command of any level seems rare among assistant personnel in Ida-Viru County. For teachers, it means that when an official reads the reports of the Language Inspectorate, they list 'fines, only fines'. Still, the language skills of municipal institution heads are not evenly good either. Officials have mentioned the following about school heads:

... during meetings it can be seen that a school head has brought an interpreter. It can be a totally acceptable school head according to the papers... but the actual language command might not at all correspond to them.

The Estonian language command of council members is also problematic, and that does not only concern Narva Town Council. The description of the work of one other Ida-Viru County town council reveals that

... in our council, there are people who don't understand at all. They just come to raise their hands and vote. When they are asked a question, someone else answers.

As local governments are virtually bilingual and everyone can at least speak Russian, there are no language barriers in communication. It is mentioned that certain aspects of a second language use should be taken into consideration:

When I speak Estonian to an institution head, I have to speak slower and stress certain things. If it happens to be obvious that the person does not understand, I use Russian to repeat things occasionally although my Russian is not that good, but I can handle it.

Language issues cause problems for some Russian speaking officials in Ida-Viru County and Tallinn. Estonian speaking officials' Russian language skills are sufficient, and they habitually switch over to Russian if they suspect that communication quality is suffering.

The local councils with a large number of officials whose Estonian language skills are worse than average the problem is solved by means of mutual assistance. Often it is the superior who communicates and forwards information:

If someone can't speak it, there are no problems as I speak both languages. They will speak the language they know. They feel comfortable.

The same approach is used to compensate for the poor Russian language command of the officials caused by the personnel's average age becoming lower.

Observers have noticed some work influencing distinctions of official of the other nationalities, regardless of their language skills:

Russian officials can be slower because documents are in a foreign language. Second, they are, as a rule, more cautious, this is the socio-psychological part, because they are afraid to make mistakes, they feel ill at ease. Estonian officials are not afraid, they are up their valley. Things take more time as they are not sure if it is right. They might be good at Estonian but may not understand legal acts. Estonians might not understand legal acts either, but they look up a phone number and ask. But Russians will reconsider it ten times, if they dare to make a call, what if they have an obvious accent, do they know the right words, what if people make fun of them, what if people will think they are dumb and stupid and so on. They may never make that call, or find an Estonian friend or somebody whose Estonian is better and ask them to make that call. Or they can follow the legal act literally...

Training needs research results (Sepp and Noorkõiv, 2006) show that Russian speaking officials are less active participants of training courses. It can be assumed that their activeness is to a certain extent hindered by their Estonian language command. Still, officials of the other national backgrounds are not willing to acknowledge the fact. They believe they can handle the situation. The issue becomes problematic for lower ranking officials. The problems can be caused by their poor language command and the town government organisation structure and culture of such local governments.

The correlation of language command and training activeness is highly worrying in relation to Russian operating municipal school teachers. The poor language skills of many mean that they cannot participate in additional training courses conducted in Estonian. They use the opportunities offered by Russia as an alternative, which does not support the development of Estonian education system. The distinctions in language command and consequent career opportunities also create tension among pedagogical personnel.

3.2.4 State identity of local government system participants

The participants' state identity strength and loyalty to Estonia and its constitutional order are important indicators of local government system as integration environment. The opinions expressed during interviews and focus group discussions give a reason to assume that there are no problems with officials', municipal institution heads' and local partners' state identity. Tartu representatives are convinced of the following concerning the other local government system participants:

... as to school heads and administration, I believe they are indeed integrated.

A positive trend is noticed for the time being among officials and municipal institution personnel: 'attempts to use Estonian have increased'.

Still, there are doubts in the strength and nature of the state identity of some educational facilities in some towns under research. The following has been stated in the discussion

about the transition to teaching some subjects in Estonian and participation in the integration process:

... it depends on the head's mentality and the whole school's mentality. It depends whether it is oriented to the republic of Estonia or some other state. ...

... discussions after the April events also included some bellowing from History teachers of our schools. It's clear that in their picture of the world it has not been understood at all which country they live in.

In another town the worries are shared but the outlook for the future is rather optimistic:

I think that this interpretation of which country we live in will start changing in Russian operating schools because these teachers who were educated in Russia, they are going to retire. The majority of teachers coming to work in Russian operating schools were still educated in Estonian universities and their attitude to the Republic of Estonia is different...

3.2.5 Intermediate conclusion

Estonian-Russian bilingualism versions are represented in the local government system in different proportions. Official communication is in Estonian as regulated by the law. Estonian is predominant in Tartu, Jõhvi, and Tallinn as the communication language of the personnel. Russian is mainly used in Narva, and Kohtla-Järve practices genuine bilingualism. Language use is closely linked to the administration or the director. The common practice is to switch the dominating language to the other when the director changes because the subsequent personnel changes support it.

Bilingualism is a non-official requirement for officials in Tallinn and Ida-Viru County. Officials of Estonian descent working in town and rural municipality governments usually possess good Russian language skills. There is a trend to overestimate one's language competence and to fail to recognise or admit the problems caused by insufficient language command. The local government participants of the other national backgrounds clearly display language competence hierarchy. Executive officials and heads of most municipal institutions possess (very) good language skills. The language skills of lower ranking officials are more or less satisfactory, and those of many public service employees (including teachers) are poor or nonexistent.

Aside from official requirements, the communication language is usually chosen according to the speakers' competence and habits and the choice poses no problems. Generally, the services are provided in both Estonian and Russian. Communication between people of the different nationalities within the local government system in Ida-Viru County and, to a smaller extent, in Tallinn tends to switch over to Russian. This is explained by habits and comfort. The latter phenomenon somewhat decreases the efficiency of local governments as integration environment united by the common language, Estonian.

The language competence hierarchy is linked to the system requirements and more active involvement in the broader pan-Estonian local government system. Limited language competence increases the time needed for task fulfilment and makes officials passive. They are afraid to make mistakes and show their limited competence. This is one of the reasons why they participate less actively in school and other events.

Despite the points specified above, it can be claimed that the local government system is rather efficient as integration environment. Attempts to apply drastic reforms (for instance, more forceful estonisation) would not produce the intended results. In fact, some officials

need an almost individual approach. It should be taken into consideration in some points of the local government system (and the points vary by local governments and spheres) national policies are unofficially partially translated. That is why the administration's and lower ranking official's awareness about national programmes and policies depends on the mediator (school head, official) and is usually rather low.

There are certain local governments with a large proportion of non-Estonian population (in the research context, Tallinn and the towns of Ida-Viru County). Their Russian operating municipal institutions are still connected with the local government system united by the common language, Estonian, and the unified education system set as a target in the strategy. The connecting links are well integrated institution heads and the pedagogical personnel efficient in Estonian operating education. There have been expressed doubts about some institution heads' loyalty to Estonia. Most pedagogical personnel's (including head teachers) capability to participate in the united education system has been characterised as barely satisfactory (especially in Tallinn, to a smaller extent in Jõhvi and Kohtla-Järve). As a result, that hinders their additional methodology training within the Estonian system of education. That is partly compensated by the training offered by Russia, which the officials consider not advisable regardless of its quality. As to the development of learning environment, educational institution heads do not perceive any discrimination on the part of town and rural municipality governments.

3.3 National and local integration policy experience so far

3.3.1 Local governments' and municipal institutions' integration activity so far

Tallinn, whose administration initiated the development of the town integration programme after the 'April events', has managed to come the closest to strategic integration development. Additionally, the education sphere integration programme i.e. model was compiled in Tallinn in 2006. It emphasises the organisation of the transition of teaching some subjects into Estonian in Russian operating schools and the development of the conditions for the transition. The officials state there are some integration characteristics in other local governments' development programmes and sphere development programmes.

The national integration development document is mentioned in Narva as an important policymaker on the local government level:

... the integration programme is taken into consideration in all the events that we plan and conduct.

At the same time, there is readiness and it is considered politically beneficial to pass a separate local integration programme based on the new state integration programme:

I am ready to make a proposal to the town council when the national integration programme has been passed and to pass an act that would help solve all the issues, taking into consideration our circumstances.

Within the framework of the 'Public procurement No 034118, State Integration Programme 2008-2013 Development', the approach of town and rural municipality development programmes and strategies to integration activities is analysed in more detail in a separate study. Town and rural municipality government officials' activity is not, however, always regulated by what is formally stated in the development programme.

Their actions are often motivated by the activity-based informal policy. The principles of supporting national minority culture associations in Tallinn are a characteristic example:

... there are two important indicators that we try to use to assess the projects. First, to support the internal structural development of the organisation. We don't want to give support to someone who's here today and disappears tomorrow. We want to support organisations that will stay. That would accumulate certain experience and develop traditions and expertise to do something. That is why we avoid initiating such short-term one-time projects. ... this is one aspect that is probably the most important in assessment. Another one concerns whether it is a cultural or creative one and what it does. Whether the thing they want to do, whether the target group is big enough, the people who are interested.

The local governments with a bigger number of employees of the other national backgrounds and their larger proportion in the population pay special attention to minority nationalities represented in very small numbers so that they could maintain and restore their culture.

Such essential attention is paid to those small nationalities learning their language. Tatars live here, and many did not speak their Tatar language. For these 10 years the associations have worked to keep up Sunday schools. So that children would start learning their Tatar language in Sunday schools in the first place. This has worked and we have considered it awfully important. To bring them back to their culture in the first place.

Multiculturalism is also emphasised as a target:

We have tried to support and help all possible kinds of national associations in culture. In order to retain this multi-nationalism and their own cultural nuances here in this area.

In Tartu, where the proportion of population of the other nationalities is smaller, integration principles applied to culture development are somewhat simpler. The existence of the integration aspect as such is the basis for project assessment. There is no difference whether it concerns the population of the town or global integration;

Because when we discuss who to support, we check that this integration policy or co-operation with representative offices of other towns is included. For example, the Toy Museum presented some project for co-operation with Russia. So this initiative that comes from the town, it is that much reflected in those project applications. But in general, we appreciate it.

The initiative of town and rural municipality governments in initiating integration related activities and projects varies. It depends on the local government and the sphere. In Tallinn, the top to bottom education policy is predominant, 'will, ideology and principles are given from the top'. The cultural life of the town is organised by the principle of bottom to top initiative:

Our task is to recognise the right project. We support integration projects, Sunday schools or festivals or national minorities' performances in their mother tongue. These suggestions arrive from the bottom where there are people who want to do it. What we have to do is to recognise that it is positive, it's efficient, that we, like, can allocate taxpayers' money for it. That it's, like, useful.

Similar policy is applied in relation to national culture associations in Jõhvi:

Speaking of, for example, national minority associations that we have here and that co-operate with us, they are all very active. They come here, express their ideas and suggestions, and then we think if these are possible or not to put to practice, and I wouldn't say that something is different. They also develop annual programmes, budgets and suggestions.

In Kohtla-Järve this policy is connected to the nature of the administrative machine, whereas it is implemented in both cultural and educational development;

The structure of our town government means that projects are written by institutions. When they are ready, we discuss and approve them.

Town governments are more active in trying to solve problems with teachers. For instance, Narva has successfully implemented allocating apartments to Estonian language teachers:

We had a problem, lack of Estonian language teachers. The town itself solved the problem. Allocated flats to teachers. And it continues restoring flats and renting them out to teachers when they come to teach here. The town keeps paying addition to Estonian language teachers' salary and to those who teach subjects in Estonian, so that they would keep receiving bonuses in comparison to the rest of teachers.

Town and rural municipality governments have also attempted to initiate co-operation between schools and achieved varied results.

Towns and rural municipalities support national culture associations (either) by financing their projects or allocating annual base benefit. The history of receiving the benefits and their size vary. As a rule, the same associations use the opportunities to receive project and other grants allocated by the state that are usually more substantial than local ones. The association are also given offices and rooms for organising their events. National culture association of Tallinn and Narva can use their 'national club' buildings, which still has not solved all the associations' space problems in Tallinn.

Numerous municipal institutions, especially schools, participate in state integration programmes, applying for financing from the Integration Foundation and the Ministry of Education and Research. In such cases, it is the task of town and rural municipality governments to write support letters for projects and refund part of the co-financing to supply the institutions' solvency margins. As a rule, there is no special local integration policy. A support letter is attached to every to every project presented by municipal institutions to government offices, and co-financing is provided. The issuing of support letters is basically sensible. In the process of handling these, officials become acquainted with the municipal institutions' activity in the sphere of integration, and their awareness improves.

3.3.2 Local government system participants' experience in implementing integration measures

Measures in the general education sphere

The language immersion programme is the education measure that receives unanimous support. Town and rural municipality governments are eager to aid it actively, for instance, in Tallinn:

The language immersion programme has been and is still working the most efficiently. It is very suitable and very well accepted by parents. I think this programme is expanding. ...

... we have given support, including financial, to schools that wanted to join the language immersion programme. The local government has also supported it a lot. It is one of the integration programmes that works very well but requires certain resources. Where there are the schools with early and late language immersion. These are becoming more and more popular. In some cases, a Russian operating school becomes an Estonian operating school. They have taken these steps themselves.

Language immersion is more and more often advised for implementation in kindergartens. However, the possible influence on the local education network development should be taken into consideration:

I think that this that language immersion groups have also appeared in kindergartens fosters this, but... children learn languages very quickly. If they go to a Russian operating kindergarten and there is a language immersion group, I think we have had it for a year or two, the dynamics can't be followed yet, but a large number of these children won't go to a Russian operating school any more. They will go to an Estonian one.

Still, language immersion cannot avoid problems either. Partially implementing it in schools, which is a usual approach, can raise tension within the school:

One problem, for example, is that the schools who have started using language immersion in the study organisation... very successful method. Teachers who are fluent in Estonian go to teach these classes. In the same school, another group of Russian teacher who do not speak the language. They feel their job is under threat and their classes are given to a teacher who speaks Estonian. These teachers feel anger, jealousy and fear for their lives as they have been going so far. How will they live on: no language skills, no work, who needs them?

Worries about the efficiency of language immersion are expressed in schools of Kohtla-Järve. There are doubts whether Estonia is implementing knowledge-oriented education policy or the trial and error method:

In language immersion schools there are personnel problems. One name the person who is a scholar, who teaches Russian children Estonian using the language immersion approach? Who is this person? The head of the school.

Similar doubts are expressed about the transition to teaching some subjects in Estonian in Russian operating upper secondary schools. An education official from Tallinn admits that

We have no experience. It's all new for us. We don't know what this process will result in. Everybody thinks that pupils will lose knowledge because of the transition. The essence of education will be lost. People will start concentrating on learning Estonian.

The fact that the support and directing from the state and the Ministry of Research and Education has not been sufficient is emphasised and criticised:

The state hasn't done anything for years. Just wrote, year 2007. And we started waiting. But schools were working: curricula were introduced, textbooks written, a lot of other learning materials prepared... what the schools have been doing turns out to be untimely. Estonian is so yesterday. It's not Estonian we should be talking about but who will start working there.

Tallinn has tried to overtake the initiative and stop waiting for the state to solve the practical problems of transition or not. It uses its own model for the transition:

Every school could choose its way according to its financial and human resources. I think it has worked well that we didn't force it upon schools but took into consideration the schools' initiative and opportunities. I can't say that going over to teaching in Estonian is a piece of cake when there haven't been any preparations. It's rather, let the school make the effort and look for resources, it's like the best to do it by having partners.

Estonian language instruction for teachers from Russian operating schools and kindergartens has been developed in co-operation with Tallinn University as a part of the model. The lack of teachers who would be able to teach subjects in Estonian in Russian operating schools is a common problem. This is how the readiness of Jõhvi teachers for teaching subjects in Estonian is described:

There are no teachers with the Estonian language skill so good that they could teach subjects in it. For instance, I am absolutely terrified by these Civic Studies, History, Geography. The

other subjects are more or less. But these are the very specific subjects for which our teachers are absolutely not ready. And to find that teacher, well, we can't use a teacher from an Estonian school. This is another specific, other methods. This has to be presented to children in entirely another way. How to put it, fifty-fifty. The lower, the more ready we are; the higher, the less. We can teach Estonian Literature or Music in Estonian.

In Kohtla-Järve, the state is directly blamed for failing to act:

Let's put it this way, not a single young teacher [of Estonian or Literature in Estonian] has come to work in our schools this year. Despite of all the talking and the state's promises, young specialists do not come to work in our schools. I think this is the failure to do something in higher education. It's just ...

... there will be no problems next year because additional courses for people who have volunteered to teach Civic Studies in Estonian have been running for two years. In three-four years, other subjects will follow, for instance, Geography. There is not a single geography teacher in the town at the moment. Will we be able to find one or train one of our teachers? Of our teachers that work here and speak Estonian well? Will they agree to teach their subject in Estonian, in addition to everything? There should be teachers' consent. We are working in this direction.

Of all the local governments in questions, only Tartu has no difficulties providing Russian operating schools with competent teachers who would teach subjects in Estonian. In the long term perspective, positive trends are also perceived elsewhere. For instance, an education official from Jõhvi is convinced that

... at the moment, 50% of language issues have basically been solved. If we compare to what was 6-7 years ago. It was a disaster. The kindergarten didn't have an Estonian language teacher. I went to schools to ask for one. Give me somebody to teach our children Estonian. Finally we got someone who had studied it in Narva College. And she devised the method herself, and it works perfectly.

Still, some fallbacks in teachers' additional training and retraining against the background of general development lately are mentioned:

Our teachers took part in teacher exchange. Some 8-10 teachers have taken part. One project was in Kadrina, they talked to teachers, watched and gave lessons. Another project was in Tartu. Where our teachers went to Tartu schools. They went there twice. One time lasted for two weeks and, I think, the other one too. Something like that. But this has given us positive motivation somehow. I mean, so that teachers would start using these methods, this terminology. But now it has somehow come to a standstill. A school cannot do anything alone. It needs support. If there was such a project now, there would be enthusiasts.

Some Kohtla-Järve schools perceive the funny aspect of the problem and its solutions:

How is it possible to retrain elderly school teachers for other subjects? They will not be retrained even if they go to 10 different courses. First of all, there's lack of communication. Will they start teaching children what they have heard at the courses there? That's ridiculous.

The complete solution of the problem is complicated by the fact that it depends both on the state and local governments. It requires effective partnership between the Ministry of Education and Research and town and rural municipality governments. On the one hand, as it was presented in Tallinn, the law makes 'finding teachers the town's responsibility'. On the other hand, the town is 'absolutely helpless because nobody wants even to study to be a teacher' at the moment. Moreover, the preparation of teachers is the state's responsibility. Cultural differences between education facilities set further challenges:

I think that teachers' work in state schools is still a missionary work. But we are running out of such people to do this work. A teacher won't readily go to a Russian operating school.

There are cultural differences and they are complicated. Although there are some, especially in language immersion schools. It begins with the school's concept and the state's expectations.

In addition to the lack of teachers, local government officials and school heads are concerned about how some acting teachers fit into the national education system of Estonia. Beside language skills, the problem is said to lie in teachers' and, to a certain extent, school heads' state identity:

But I still dare to think that the mentality ruling there depends on teachers a lot. Have they integrated into Estonia already or do we still have two separate communities. Ones watch other media channels and use other teaching materials, although there is a unified national curriculum. I don't know.

Still, the teachers' poor language skills are considered to be one of the main reasons of the phenomenon:

They are separated now. They prefer to keep to themselves and because they do not get information from Estonian sources. They use the opportunities offered by Russia. It means that someone brings them to additional training to St Petersburg or Moscow. They attend courses there, get pedagogical information there. There are very competent courses, but some aspects do not coincide with our curriculum. And the teacher learns the other country's concept, gets learning materials, etc. It's not Estonia-centred. This is the problem.

Schools argue against such opinions stating that it is not only the school that brings up children. The lack of patriotism of some children and young people in Estonia cannot be used to assess the teacher's activities in this sphere:

Teachers are still people responsible for following the national curriculum. And teachers understand very well what they are saying. They are responsible for their work. If they really talk about something that contradicts our laws it will not be kept quiet about. Teachers follow the national curriculum. They try and do it. But honestly speaking, the family is the primary source of influence on the child. How it is interpreted at home. So I wouldn't blame it on teachers that children are not loyal to Estonia. We are responsible for our work. We can and do demand that from teachers. They know, for instance, that they are History teachers and that they live in Estonia and they teach the history of Estonia. But there are some difficult issues in history, how to interpret them. The interpretation of the nationalities is different and it can't be ignored. Such opinions about our teachers humiliate and insult them.

Heads of municipal education institutions in Estonia are appointed by local governments; and teachers are, in their turn, hired or dismissed by the head of a school or pre-school facility. Still, officials feel helpless about changing the situation in the local governments where the personnel policy is politicised by the governing parties.

The lack of teachers meeting the requirements of the Estonian education system is a serious problem. However, officials and school heads consider the surplus of teachers not meeting these requirements to be another issue which causes personal problems and social tension:

Another issue is that now a Russian speaking people aged 50-60 working in school basically have nowhere to go. The school is the only place they feel comfortable and at ease. They can speak Russian, teach in Russian, but they wouldn't be able to work anywhere else. So, they'll take their time. And another thing, the Russian community keeps those teachers in schools even with relatively small workload, so that they would have at least some retirement benefit opportunities.

A head of a Russian operating school in Tallinn believes that there is nothing to envy about the situation of the teachers who do not meet the requirements:

Our teachers and language... it's quite a stress for them. Especially the ones who do not even have the intermediate level and receive papers that they don't meet the requirements every year. They have gone and brought me certificates that they have been to courses and took exams there, but it just doesn't work. This is the sword always hanging above a teacher's head. That they can come any moment and tell you to pay a fine.

Officials do not have a detailed concept of what is to be done concerning the pedagogical personnel:

Let's see, we're now speculating. But people are already being made redundant. Not in masses, but using different combinative tactics. Life will somehow sort things out. We hope that by the time we are to transfer teaching into Estonian entirely, by that time some teachers will have retired. And bilingual people will get the jobs. And we hope that there is enough work in basic education for those without the language and they can teach in Russian. The rest will obviously compensate for one another. We'll see, life will sort things out.

The current system of additional training for teachers is supposed to satisfy both the needs of the education system and the teachers personally. However, schools are not exactly optimistic about its efficiency. The problem is said to lie in the capability of (not-so-young-anymore) teachers, and not in their unwillingness:

Teachers' Estonian language skills are problematic. Let's put it this way, not everyone might have this intermediate level certificate that the state required from teachers. There are around 16 teachers out of 60 who do not meet the demands. Their level is pre-intermediate, they have tried several times. Thinking of this age, some are not able to study anymore. They can probably cope with the simplest things, but the intermediate level exam is rather difficult.

...although we have a head teacher who is brilliant, writes textbooks and knows all this terminology. She has compiled worksheets for immersion classes in cooperation with the Integration Foundation. But she won't start speaking. She is about to retire. She won't manage to master the language to the level when she can start teaching in Estonian. There is a lack of Geography teachers too. Who is going to teach this Geography here in a Russian school in Estonian?

Regrets that in Estonia are not as well organised as in Latvia are also expressed:

Our state has given it to people's own hands. They had to learn themselves. As to the organisation, when there were C and B language categories, we organised courses in the school and the exam took place here. And then they practically had very good results. Almost everyone had this C category that was required. Only several didn't. When this legislation was changed and the intermediate level requirement appeared, then, unfortunately, teachers did attend courses and tried but couldn't get that result, could pass this exam. That's how it remained and now they are suffering themselves. Try, and attend, and take exams, and some have taken it three or four times. They just really can't. They want to, but can't. There's no such attitude in the school that they don't want to and won't go there. They understand very well that it's the qualification requirement, they try and keep coming. But it's not like in Latvia where the state taught Latvian to teachers for free for years.

At the same time, there also are some positive examples of people overcoming difficulties. Such behaviour should be acknowledged and encouraged for further sustainability:

First of all, these successful teachers have gone to courses again. They learn Estonian and methodology night and day. How to teach a subject in Estonian. Their pronunciation and grammar are not perfect, but what will, and people pay for it themselves. To learn the language and have work later. There are some with some need for improvement in Estonian, but they got jobs in Estonian schools. To teach sciences. Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry are problematic in Estonian schools because there's a lack of teachers. That consensus brings results. Teachers teach Maths and improve their Estonian. Children help them with Estonian.

They can also be sent to courses later. Those who want to. Project financing is needed for that. Just so, for free, nobody will go anywhere and won't be employed.

The opinions about the effectiveness of education institutions' activities concerning the integration aspect vary drastically. School heads from Kohtla-Järve are satisfied with their work and do not notice any global nation-wide problems:

... now, apart from Estonian language lessons, 90% of our children in Russian schools learn in Estonian. It's a fact...

They can do it, give lessons at the highest level. Good teachers ... always find something, do a lot for children. And those subjects in Estonian ... they do give more opportunities to speak Estonian, learn the terminology.

Statistic shows that 87% of Kohtla-Järve school leavers went to universities in Estonia a couple of years ago. 82% wanted to learn in Estonian. And the question is, what else does the state want?

However, a parent and a citizen association representative is not that optimistic in expressing the personal opinion about the situation in Russian operating schools:

I'm glad that my grandchildren were lucky to go to an Estonian school. What if they had gone to a Russian school? Speaking Estonian, teacher cannot properly teach subjects or other languages. That accent and way of thinking and all of that... often it seems that incompetent people teach children.

In Jõhvi there are said to be discrepancies between the grades that school leavers have in the Estonian language and their actual language skills and language use:

... if you look at their school leaving certificates, everybody is fluent. Actually, it appears that is not at all the case. What's the reason? Is it that at a certain point the person just shuts up and won't speak, or that the knowledge is overrated – that's difficult to determine. It should be investigated by a surveillance institution, which is the county government.

Officials are concerned about the pupils' somewhat unsure state identity, which does not show in usual environment. However, it 'often becomes apparent in some crisis situations'. An Estonian official links this particular situation to school:

...looking at the given [April] situation that we had, listening to the young in the streets, a somehow had an impression that maybe it's teaching History somehow gone wrong,

A Russian official believes it is the influence of the atmosphere at home:

I thought everything was all right in this sphere [integration], but the April events showed ... this. It all seems perfect, but we don't know what's happening at home. Pupils have two lives. One in the school and the other at home. That's the explanation.

Estonian operating schools also experience some problems; they feel excluded. At the same time, they are influenced by the process of integration, namely, the importance of Estonian as the main language of communication in society for the parents of the other national backgrounds. First of all, the inequality is perceived in financing and acknowledgement of work:

I still would like to spoil the image of this integration a bit... Maybe, when we turned back, we were not able to stand for ourselves when necessary. Help was especially in late 1990s and early 2000s when there was a huge inflow of non-Estonian speaking children. The ministry wasn't interested in us, there was nobody to turn to there. Now there is. But help was needed then. We felt how much attention was paid to Russian operating schools, kindergartens. Honestly speaking, the financing was striking. The sums were very different. Everybody gave. Ministries and. Here were Tallinn, and Narva, and Sillamäe that received money. But what about Estonian operating schools where Estonian language teachers spent their free time until

late evenings giving those assistance lessons so that children could cope? Then it didn't feel right.

Estonian operating kindergartens, in their turn, struggle with pedagogical problems, because numerous Russian speaking families apply for their children to go there:

The problem is that Estonian speaking children are left without attention. It all falls back to language teaching once again. And Estonian children go back home and speak Russian. They say 'minu karandash' ['my' in Estonian, 'pencil' in Russian]. It's like Esperanto over there. And another thing. Russian speaking mummies come. What language should a teacher use to talk to them, Russian or Estonian? And what is the status of this group as such? Is this language immersion? Or just a mixed group? Who is going to pay us more for that? It is virtually double workload. No methodology. Our situation is disastrous. This is the question... how is the Estonian language teacher in an Estonian operating school supposed to teach Russians? Teach them Estonian as a second language? And teach Armenian children, too.

Measures in the sphere of informal educational and youth activities

Within the framework of youth activities, town and rural municipality governments and municipal education institutions have organised pupil exchange programmes. They have also organised trip to other areas of Estonia and participated in language camps and the project 'My State'.

The effectiveness of language camps is described rather positively. The language environment is very important for language learning, and that of Kohtla-Järve is not, for example, considered exactly beneficial for learning Estonian. Still, the town officials acknowledge the suitability of the measure and state financing:

And this is really a very good option of learning Estonian for our children because here is again this problem that, naturally, integration processes might be that slow because there is no suitable environment here.

The representatives of extracurricular education institution from Jõhvi hold the same opinion:

At the same time, our children go there in the summer – there are summer schools of playing brass-wind instruments and string instruments in Põltsamaa. All teachers are Estonian there. Russian children go there and they can all cope. Children at this age pick up languages quickly.

The effectiveness of language camp is also considered high in Narva, but it is felt that this measure implementation is not available there anymore:

... such things as language camps have disappeared. These camps were once meant for Narva and Ida-Viru County. Many children who went to such camps in Rääpina, Värskä, Mikitamägi, and other places in Estonia came back home inspired for language learning. They had very warm relationships with certain Estonian families. They had acquired acquaintances in schools. We had very good relationships with Viljandi, when children from Viljandi came here and ours went there. Now it's all gone.

Heads of Russian operating schools have also had positive experience of pupils going on excursions to other parts of Estonia. These are considered to foster the pupil's patriotism mainstreaming:

The result was very positive and now these children are about to leave school and have travelled a lot. Especially in Estonia... before, there were all those usual excursions that were offered, to St Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev. And then there was a period when we set a goal to learn and see Estonia, not just the pupils, but also together with teachers. I think we have been

all over Estonia with the staff. The feedback was that, ooohhh, there are so many beautiful places in Estonia. In the beginning there were some questions, like where in the world are you going, why are you going there?

The experience of co-operation between Estonian and Russian operating schools is more controversial. Despite the initial feedback, there have been setbacks caused by cultural differences:

Then we have encouraged pupil exchange programmes when upper secondary school pupils spend a week in and Estonian operating school and a week in the Russian one. So that they would somehow better integrate into schools and better understand the cultural background and mentality. Feedback has been positive, and it wasn't only in Jõhvi schools but also between the schools of Jõhvi and Kohtla-Järve. ... the pupils were active and very well accepted by the school administration, teachers and other pupils. Then it started somehow gradually fading away. It is difficult to say whether pupils suddenly felt that it was complicated for them. A week is quite a long time, nobody would give special lessons for them, they had to blend in usual lessons. For example, there could be problems because they didn't understand things, or probably pupils felt alien to the culture and they were not ready to be a part of the culture of that school for a week, live in it. Unfortunately, these mentalities and cultures are very different, and the essence of and communication in these schools are also very different.

Russian operating school representatives from the central part of Ida-Viru County also think that the problem lies in teachers' readiness:

We have been to Estonian speaking schools several times. But this hasn't started working properly yet. Maybe the reason is the teachers' age group. The older the teachers, the more difficulty she has understanding why this child has to come here to this Estonian school. And then such negative attitudes emerge on both sides.

The expedience of the state supported project 'My State' was met with scepticism both in Tallinn and in Ida-Viru County. One disadvantage of the project is said to be lack of support for integration among young people.

Measures in the sphere of culture

National minority culture associations cooperate in the culture sphere by joining different umbrella organisations, round tables and 'creation pots'. The cooperation of the associations is to a great extent limited by the political and ideological disagreements between the heads of the associations. Several reasons of the disagreements are mentioned. On the one hand, the following has been said to have caused the current situation:

... painful for us that we were one association once and one person's actions separated several communities. Tatar, Ukrainian, Mordvins. There are problems in every community, but when someone starts to blow the coals... now there are the Association and the Lyre. We don't attend their events, they don't attend ours. As [one of the other organisation' leaders] has said that nobody thinks good of me when I come here. ... Earlier we were one association, before they started giving out money. Then the law. And the influence of Russia. It's not a secret it has given money to own one Russian association.

On the other hand, co-operation is linked to associations' aptness:

... we co-operate with those that clearly have a potential. We send them invitations to take part,

The problem is said to lie in the fact that some associations

... are too pretentious, hate everyone else.

The attitude towards the so called *ethno-business* or *offshore* national associations is rather critical. They are seen to aim at attracting governmental financing, and their activities are usually described in the following terms allegedly used by such associations:

Who do Estonians think they are, giving so little money? How m I going to live...

How do you beat the money out of there?

The problems that are mentioned to exist in Tallinn do not only lie in rather common lack of financing (which in Tallinn is felt acutely as the financing has been cut down multiply). Another issue is the lack of office space. The lack of opportunities for national minorities to obtain education in their mother tongue is also considered to be a common problem. The currently existing opportunity to have native language lessons in general schools if there are more than 10 pupils of a nationality in the school 'in not considered acceptable by many'. The issue concerns the place of such lessons in the schedule and instead of lessons in which subjects they would be held. The development of Sunday schools is considered a better alternative that would ensure a family-centred approach. A national minority culture association representative believes that there is too much confusion and red tape that hinders the development of Sunday schools:

... the ministry of education has very rigidly put down the rules, all these curricula and things. Officials want to measure everything. They want lesson schedules, they want attestation. A tractor driver who speaks the Mari language perfectly cannot teach it because he needs higher education for that. I'm afraid all these Sunday schools have diet out.

It is commonly mentioned that both in Tallinn and Ida-Viru County a group of active associations communicate with one another, but the results of attracting people are poorer because 'that is the reality'.

The Estonian and Russian communities are separate. ... once again I must say, that on the level of individuals these communities do not co-operate.

In Ida-Viru County, Estonians' passive and rejecting position is mentioned as one of the important reasons:

How much do Estonians know about culture associations? How much do Estonians know, for instance, about the Jewish school? Classical example. Estonians' image isn't perfect either. Some say, why should I be interested, I live in my own country. But this is what culture is ...

An official from Tartu thinks that the minority culture associations' own passive position is the main problem:

I'd say that there is such a small proportions of those that come forward. Probably they are treated more gently, indeed. Our aim is that what is happening in Tartu would be culturally diverse. That we wouldn't prefer certain spheres, certain mentality, that the overall picture would be as diverse as possible.

Measures in the social sphere

On the local government level, struggle with drug abuse and AIDS is considered problematic. The problems do not enable to implement the corresponding programmes to foster (social) integration. The main issues are the project management of the necessary activities and the lack of balance:

Now this national drug abuse prevention strategy is gaining momentum. There are so many words being said, but practically nothing is being done. Look at what is happening in Estonia. we have all kinds of programmes that work within projects and are meant to prevent the

spread of drug abuse. There are, as I call them, information offices. What they do is just give information. After receiving information they label a person as, I don't know, belonging to a risk group. ... we just give information and we know perfectly well that a special programme to integrate these risk group members back into society is needed. What do we need for that? They have to be cured ... and rehabilitated. After treatment they are to go through a rehabilitation period and to return back to normal life. But in Estonia, there seem to be very few medical facilities for such treatment. Because there are no specialists in Estonia.

The development of communication between the elderly of the different nationalities that a project initiated by Jõhvi town government aimed at has not had the expected result either:

The idea of these day centres was that the Estonian speaking and Russian speaking elderly would go there. Unfortunately the issue has somehow cooled down. If the communities keep apart then I believe if they haven't perceived integration since they were children and haven't ever wanted to take part in it, it is somewhat difficult to accept this integration issue at an certain age. And I think that time it wasn't a good idea to make these two communities somehow coexist. Yes, they have got used to coming to the centre, they do come there, but still separately, the Estonian and the Russian elderly.

3.3.3 The feedback from the local government system participants on local and national institutions in the context of integration activities

Ministry of Education and Research

Local government officials and school heads are generally not satisfied with the activities of the Ministry of Education and Research in introducing partial subject teaching in Estonian. The organisation of and methodological preparation for the transition are criticised, for example, by an education official in Tallinn:

Communication with the state on these integration issues has ... been very complicated. Rather nonexistent. ... I'd say that the ideas from the government have usually arrived way later than we developed ours. It has somehow happened so. We would expect the state to solve numerous issues. To have a broader picture, but the state never did it. ... I think that these strategies and goals should be better structured and reconsidered... The ministry's message has been extremely chaotic. Nobody understood what it was that it wanted. It's not clear enough. I'll repeat, it's not clear enough.

The heads of Kohtla-Järve Russian operating school state that

The state hasn't done anything for years. Just wrote, year 2007. And we started waiting. But schools were working: curricula were introduced, textbooks written, a lot of other learning materials prepared. There wasn't a single Russian school that didn't do it. And then other people came and said that everything done before was bad. And it begins all over again. ... And in 2007, the Education Ministry asks us what events we have organised in co-operation with Estonian schools. It appeared the state didn't have a single register for that. The government doesn't know what's going on in the country.

The state's limited ability to monitor teaching, especially of the language and history, was criticised in Tallinn, Tartu and Ida-Viru County. It was said to hinder the schools' ability to fulfil integration related tasks as well as it could have been done:

But I think that one thing that could have been more effective earlier is the language teaching. It would have been the case if the teachers had been people who, first of all, had perfect language skills themselves, and also were aware of the culture and its nuances. I think that teaching History should have been an important part of it. Some monitoring of what the

starting points of History teaching were, what textbooks were used and what exactly was taught in recent Estonian history and Estonian history as a whole should have taken place.

...

Actually, the results can be monitored. It means, for example a national school leaving examination in History and for the Civic Studies, the one at the end of Grade 9. We don't monitor at all. We don't have the right to. It is the state's job to monitor whether the national curriculum is followed.

It is not only the problems concerning the transition of subject teaching partially to Estonian in Russian operating schools that the Ministry of Education and Research is supposed to solve. It is also expected to 'show directions for educating so called new immigrants and repatriates':

Nowadays there are our compatriots whose children don't speak Estonian. We can't exactly call them new immigrants. We can't implement any support programmes. We don't have the money to teach them Estonian. It's all very nice to blame whatever on local governments. Let the state sort out its own housekeeping first. Of course we have already started these adaptation programmes. It especially concerns foreigners who don't speak Estonian. Yes, it's very expensive. It's very expensive in all countries. The Integration Foundation helped us understand the topic. We have schools where there are more foreigners than one. There are whole communities, we have to teach Italian and so on. But we don't even have a curriculum for teaching Italian. The state doesn't do a thing and wants local governments to do everything. We are weak because there isn't a single document to tell us on which basis we can do it. And the state failed to fulfil its task. What are we to do then? We can do whatever on the local government level, but the state has to make it clear for itself before giving us such a task.

Ida-Viru County Estonian operating schools also express disappointment with the realisation of the activities of the Ministry of Education and Research:

I would say that the attitude to the Estonian language is exactly the same. Estonian language teachers had to do the same here in Russian schools. And there was no help at all. Well, the only benefit it brought was the 15% pay rise for teachers. Apart from that, there was no help at all.

Despite all of the above, moderate optimism about the quality of co-operation of the Ministry of Education and Research and the town government is expressed at least in Tallinn:

Our people are involved in the ministry work groups, maybe things will start developing faster now. Still, the recent years were somehow relatively depressing... only yesterday we had a meeting in Tallinn education department with the head of the national minority department who is also connected to the structural changes within the ministry. The person wants to co-operate with us, appreciates our experience a lot and we have presented our problems to the ministry.

Integration foundation

When the Integration Foundation was founded, it was generally met with enthusiasm. However, the attitude of the local government officials, heads of municipal institutions and representatives of citizen associations has since evolved into dissatisfaction caused by the experience of co-operating with the foundation. Still, the most substantial financial support in Estonia and matter-of-fact personal communication provided by the foundation are acknowledged. An education official states the following while comparing the foundation to the Ministry of Education and Research:

We have had very good relationships with the Integration Foundation representing the state and expected to put this plan of action into practice. The foundation just initiates such programmes and projects in which our institutions can take part, and can get financing. We have had very good experience with the foundation because there is this language immersion centre. There are programmes for Russian schools, citizen programmes and new immigrant programmes. These are nice.

The officials express criticism about the official communication with the foundation. The national minority culture associations representatives feel the most how complicated and formalist the process is. Its nature is said to have a negative effect on the sustainability of state identity and loyalty.

Projects have to be written in clichés, it's become absurd. If they gave 10,000 euro, it would be worth it, but for 5,000 EEK ... it's not worth the effort. And if we get the money in October we must show as if we have been developing the project since the beginning of the year. And that has lasted for two years. But what for do I have to write a 15-20-page report and lie in it?

Things have been made overcomplicated and too formalist. About a hundred organisations really loyal to the state were left without money. The Excel spreadsheet went wrong and money wasn't given! Why does the state behave like that? In the hard years 1988-91 these associations supported the state, and now the state...

From the observers' point of view, local government officials who have been receiving signals from citizen association or municipal institutions share a similar attitude:

At some point a regarded it positively that the Integration Foundation was founded in the town. Unfortunately, it has now become extremely bureaucratic. I know several national associations that are in trouble with this foundation. To get financing, one has to write loads of paperwork. The most horrible thing is that it is extremely difficult to report to this foundation, much more complicated than to any other institution.

Of course, the activities have to be project based, and schools have to write projects and these are relatively closely linked to the EU financing, not only the state financing. That's relatively bureaucratic, complicated, and not every school might grind through the red tape. This has been a problem indeed. But schools receive enough support, help, and information, and we have always made a point of delivering the information to schools...

There is also the question raised that if all other committees of that kind of foundations are public in Estonia, it is usually the case with all other foundations.

...why it is not the case for Integration Foundation? They are obliged to be open to public.

Town and rural municipality governments

The town and rural municipality governments' contribution to integration process is highly appreciated, although it is financially much smaller than that of the state. One of the reasons of the attitude might be the fact that integration is considered to be the state's responsibility and little is expected from local governments. For example, this is how school heads describe the contribution of the state and the town government to the national language immersion project:

Learning in the language immersion environment is a good project. The local government helped us piece people together for such teaching. The town government does everything possible. Helps us financially. But it can't help us to put together the school personnel either.

Tallinn minority culture associations are generally satisfied with the town's effort despite the fact that financing was drastically cut down several years ago:

We are happier with the town in comparison to the Integration Foundation. Tallinn changed its financing, we started getting less money. Significantly. Before it gave about as much as the state, and now it's less. The reduction in the town's financing was a shock, it decreased ... multiply. Apparently less money was allocated for culture. There were 10 million, and it was cut down to 3 million. But the town could try to solve our office space problems. That's really horrible. But there's not much the town can do. ... The only thing we struggle with the town about is the space problem. But we are happy with financing and co-operation.

3.3.4 Intermediate conclusion: practical interpretations and conclusions

The studied local governments have so far based their integration related activities on current needs and requirements. The issues of integration and inter-cultural communication have been indeed mentioned in development programmes. Still, the wholesome local development policy has yet not been devised for this sphere. Depending on local governments and activity spheres, the initiative level of local government organs in directing integration activity varies. The most problems are perceived in education. Thus, local governments are, as a rule, the most active in this sphere. As to supporting culture associations, the officials seem to have developed certain citizen association support principles that are not established formally. An important part of town and rural municipality governments' activities constitutes issuing support letters and co-financing for projects initiated by municipal institutions and citizen associations within national programmes.

As to education measures, the results of the language immersion programme are the most satisfactory. The aspects of the transition of subject teaching partially to Estonian in Russian operating schools are considered to be the most problematic. The problem is said to lie in the lack of pedagogical personnel and its poor quality in the context of the needs of Estonian system of education. The exclusion of Estonian operating schools from this process is mentioned separately. The effort made by municipal institutions as well as town and rural municipality governments in order to introduce partial subject teaching in Estonian in Russian operating schools is highly appreciated within the local government system. What could be of assistance is the support and acknowledgement from the state. As to informal education, language camps are characterised the most positively. However, there are the most doubts in the efficiency of the 'My State' programme.

National minority culture associations cooperate with and are to a greater or lesser extent supported by culture related structures of local government organs. There have been no serious co-operation problems so far. Culture officials in Tallinn and Tartu describe the minority culture association support policy as positive discrimination. That is, the criteria for financing minority culture associations are said to be lower than for financing the associations that do not have this status. The officials are considering whether and when to abandon the use of different standards. Thus, the effects of stopping the use of this policy should be reasoned over. Both the officials and other associations in Tallinn realise that in numerous cases the purpose of the associations is to insure income for its director. That is, support for national minorities and integration policy are used in personal economic interests. However, the fact that some highly educated people whose qualifications are not likely to be otherwise needed in Estonia have found their niche in national culture association is gently overlooked by the officials.

The studied governments usually consider nation-based approach in the social sphere unnecessary. The local government system participants perceive the need for integration

measures here largely on the basis of their previous experience of solving problems. The state's perception is based on better fulfilment of its responsibilities.

The state's activity in solving integration issues in education and, to a lesser extent, in culture is generally criticised. On the other hand, the broader development picture of the last 10 years is generally considered to be satisfactory. The general opinion is that the development was successful despite the state's ignorance. Municipal institutions and citizen associations are more positive about the town and local governments' activity. Still, their role is usually described as merely co-financing projects and providing emotional support.

Several aspects of the national integration policy so far are said to be in need of improvement. First, the activity of the Integration Foundation is expected to become more people-friendly; local government officials' work is positively outstanding against the background of the former. Second, the amount of bureaucratic requirements should be decreased. Finally, the assessment of projects should rather be based on their content value than meeting all the formal criteria.

3.4 Integration policy needs and challenges in Estonian local government system

3.4.1 Recognised integration policy target groups

Of all the age groups, children and young people are naturally considered to be the most important target group. The need to pay attention to the youngest by gradually involving more kindergartens is emphasised:

It's the easiest when integration starts at the age of three. As soon as children have started talking Russian, they have to be thrown into the Estonian environment. It is much more difficult to learn Estonian at an older age. All kindergartens have to operate in Estonian.

The family's great influence on children and young people striving for integration, assimilation or separation is considered to be the source of controversy and tension. That is why it is generally believed that older generations cannot be left out of integration target groups either. Alongside the measures meant for the young, the measures to unite the older generations should be developed and implemented.

The parents of the children of the other national backgrounds who send their children to Estonian operating schools are considered to be a particularly significant target group:

... another problem is that more attention should be paid to adults. Everyone knows that the school must do this and that and the other. Those children's parents are left out. What has been done about it? Virtually nothing. When children learned Estonian, their parents were left out of this information space. ... information blackout.

In relation to the above mentioned need, a government official in Tartu suggests how to involve the parents in practice:

I believe that the parents whose children start going to Estonian schools would certainly need help because all Tartu schools have support structures and employ social pedagogues and psychologists. The schools are able to support these children who have come from a different environment. I know that usually an assistance teacher is found, at least a university pupil... But schools surely have no resources to counsel and deal with these children's parents. Maybe the town of Tartu could found a counselling centre where the parents could get help, where they could get explanations as to what the Estonian education system is. If a child has special needs, how to help and support this child... I think there is no such opportunity in Estonia. I don't know how it works in Tallinn, whether there is a counselling centre for new immigrant parents and who deals with them.

Children and young people with learning disabilities are defined as a separate target group. Their integration also means the solution of social problems. A special approach to this target group is considered to be especially timely in Ida-Viru County where there is doubt in the efficiency of possible policies:

And of course there's this provisory issue. What is the education level of people here in this region. And if we look at how many those difficult children are coming year after year who are not able to learn, with upbringing problems. There are numerous such things one has to deal with every day, in every lesson ... Yes, their parents are also different, there are many such broken families and alcohol abusing families, and when you talk to them you think 'where does that come from?' but can you imagine, we have had problems with parents who came to us and said, three-four instances a week, that parents said 'do something, take these children away, or we'll throw them out into the street'. A parent says, mother father, a mother says, I don't want this child home anymore. Well, this is so, such... and we know we have some children who nobody needs. We can surely deal with this integration programme and all...

It is usually believed that the most integration related attention should be paid to Tallinn and Ida-Viru County. However, it has been stated that fostering integration is needed all over Estonia:

... integration is to be directed at the whole Estonia, not only Narva, Tallinn and Tartu. The whole Estonia needs to instil a good attitude to the intertwining of cultures ...

(also see the integration space in part 1. of the subchapter on the nature of education)

The main issue of the discussion over national group is whether to involve Estonians and how exactly. This topic is the most burning in Ida-Viru County where Estonian operating education facilities feel excluded. On the other hand, it is mentioned that Estonians choose not to be involved in the Russian operating integration among the other former Soviet Union nationalities. More effective involvement of Ida-Viru County Estonians as a regional minority in society integration so that it would foster reaching both the global society targets and local goals is a genuine challenge for the national integration policy.

3.4.2 Possible role of local governments in integration policy planning and implementation

Division of responsibilities between the state and local governments; delegating state responsibilities

Local government system participants generally consider integration issues the state's responsibility. It is explained by the essential necessity to ensure Estonian society integration on the basis of uniform principles all over Estonia because

... it's unthinkable that every local government would start understanding integration in its own way.

and

... the town government cannot solve these problems on its own and any way it likes.

The towns' and rural municipalities' responsibility overload is also mentioned:

Just looking at the amount of responsibilities and the financing. We do not have the money to deal with it. ... I don't believe that local governments would be enthusiastic about the idea of dealing with these issues.

At the same time, numerous officials state that local governments could play a role in the national integration policy. Delegating legal solutions and motivating town and rural municipality governments are considered to be the main aspects of the state and local government system co-operation.

The addition of the integration sphere to §6 of the LGOA that describes the domain of the local government is generally (with one exception) not supported:

If it's just added to §6 as something utopian ... it will be no good. I mean, it will cause a great deal of argument among the country's local governments. This is changing the responsibility base of local governments. I'm afraid the state will want to do it as usual. Just add another responsibility. That's the state's dream, to get somebody do its tasks without paying anything. That's what actually usually happens. If it was only done by adding reference into the Local Government Organisation Act, it would cause tension among the country's local governments. I'm afraid it won't at all improve the state of integration. It would rather become worse because the state will stop feeling responsible for dealing with it at all.

Some officials' link the relevance of the integration related addition to the Local Government Organisation Act with the perception of regional and national integration target groups. An official from Tallinn explains the negative attitude, among other things, by the following:

I can imagine how much laugh the South of Estonia rural municipalities will have over this when they start looking for a single Russian in the village.

An official from Narva who sees integration as 'meant for the whole Estonia' has basically nothing against the idea: 'why not'.

It has also been stated that if the responsibility were to be delegated to the local level by the addition to the Local Government Organisation Act, national integration related structures, the Integration Foundation in the first place, would not be necessary anymore.

The idea of solving the issue of integration related responsibility division by passing a separate legal act (or acts) is met with more optimism.

Actually, it all doesn't have to be in the Local Government Organisation Act. It can be in some separate act which would clearly define what the state's responsibilities are and what the local government's responsibilities are.

As to delegating, the main questions concern the conditions of giving over the responsibilities and how towns and rural municipalities would be motivated. Particularly, it is expected that the responsibility division would be legally regulated and the law should guarantee that the expenses are fairly compensated (i.e. in the way that local and rural municipality governments consider fair):

Financing [should be] agreed upon in very clear terms. All these questions. Lately, when the local government took over some state responsibility, whether paying social benefits to people with special needs or whatever else, money came with it. Though there was much less money than the state itself had spent on that. It is important to receive a clear description of the task and the money. I meant, for things to change their nature, clearly formulated tasks are needed. An of course, money is needed, for extra financing.

An (administrative) agreement is considered to be the best form of handing over responsibilities to every local government:

... as a result, it would be stated clearly that we are expected to perform these and those activities and the state would support us with these and those resources or some other activities in its turn.

Legal acts are necessary to ensure the co-operation of all the local governments involved. Still, basically there remains a possibility that a local government would be able

... to sign agreements with the state on the voluntary basis. I mean the state would not be able to force an administrative agreement for fulfilling administrative tasks on us. In order for the state to be able to sign such administrative agreements a separate act should state that it can sign agreements to give over this sphere.

Apart from expense compensation, town and rural municipality governments believe that the state should carefully develop the means for responsibility division and monitoring its fulfilment.

The financing issue could be worded in a more existential way as it has been concerning Narva:

If the state wants a Russian town Narva to become an Estonian town, it should provide some resources...

Local government officials dream of the dialogue between the state and local governments to foster integration:

First of all, there should be dialogue between the sides which would decide on some particular activities... The dialogue is the basis for everything else, it is the beginning of everything else, we should understand very clearly what the state expects us to do and we should be able to tell the state what we can do and what not. If one local government could do miracles, such miracles would have happened long ago.

However, the possibility of the constructive dialogue between the state and local governments is regarded with pessimism and scepticism:

It's rather like this usual attitude. Take this same project you are working on. I consider myself quite a well informed person but I know nothing about it. And they I have a question, to what extent are local government representatives involved in it? If one of the targets is an opportunity for giving over a function, and the local governments are not informed about ore involved in delegating this function, this is one more example of the state's behaviour. I don't exactly believe it's good. I don't consider the state a trustworthy partner in the current situation. It might sound a bit mean, but it is true. Anything that has something to do with responsibilities and financial relationship with the state. We were talking about this signing of contracts in the beginning, that the town has already overtaken some spheres ... Theoretically, we could get rid of numerous state institutions and make that the local governments' thing. But that would mean significant legislation changes on all levels. Our experience shows that if the state initially agrees to give us money for fulfilling the function it gives over to us, then with time less money comes in and we are supposed to cope on our own. That is why I do not believe the state behaves correctly.

Some officials believe that the increase in the amount of local governments' responsibilities, including the measures described in strategy, means additional officials are needed. That would also increase the town's or rural municipality's expenses, and the state is expected to provide compensation. It is the most important in the social sphere, but some governments also feel the lack of officials for education.

Local organisation of integration related activities

Taking part in implementing the national integration policy does not eliminate putting into practice the local integration policy and its measures. The interest expressed by the Integration Foundation officials brought about the research into local government system participants' attitude to de-politicising of local integration policy, i.e. founding a separate consulting board. The idea did not enjoy much support. It was rather unanimously found that policy de-politicising was not very sensible:

We have had all kinds of boards before. Things still go as they have always had in the local government. ... But I also know that the Integration Foundation is headed by a political board that includes the minister and other comrades. That is not apolitical, if you ask me. Why is it then thought that local governments must be apolitical?

If it is a policy, the in it is absurd to separate a policy from politics. Consequently, it is not political when politicians make decisions. This should be very clearly supported by the state. Both by understanding and financing. In order for this activity to be approved of, there undoubtedly must be politicians in the game. Of course we can try to de-politicise it a bit. ... That there can be an official of ours who watches over all that. On the town level, I don't see the necessity for it if it is sufficiently regulated by some legal act or document. Of course, if the town states to plan some activities for this, it's sensible to involve someone. But some permanent consulting board is not necessary.

A slightly different argument shows the current status of local government officials:

The officials are generally de-politicised in their work or then not as politicised as the whole administrative system of the state stipulates it. Officials do not use any political directions in their everyday work.

In addition to some logical flaws in fulfilling the responsibilities, the organised de-politicisation was said to pose a threat of responsibility dissipation:

It's all very well to discuss things, but you can't do it forever. Something must also be done. I'm afraid that this foundation [as a possible de-politicising organisation form]... a lot depends on the person who will lead it. And what action framework is given. But if the state thinks that integration policy is about founding this foundation... We have done all that we could. I'm afraid there will be one additional person responsible and nobody will do anything.

Such a structural unit within a local or rural municipality government is also considered unnecessary because

Then we'll start doubling one another because, inevitably, it's not possible that the taxpayers will pay double for some official body to deal with it and the local government officials as well. If local government officials didn't occupy themselves with integration at all, that would also be very strange. It's actually one of the local government's roles to cope with that, especially in crisis areas like ours here.

In Tallinn, the negative experience of founding and then closing down a separate integration institution was also mentioned.

Measuring integration at the local level

There is no readiness for measuring integration at the local level. It is only logical because not a single studied local government had not developed a separate integration policy, strategy, plan of action or set the targets, achieving which would be measured and assessed. At least, none of that had been done by the time the field work for the research at hand was in progress. The discussions showed that the state could measure the efficiency of its own policies better and base new measure planning and implementation on feedback, especially in language and History teaching:

For example, although the interpretation of history is now a big issue in Estonia, still we have not developed any criteria for it to be measured by the state. When they teach, they teach the history of Estonia and use Estonian published textbooks, but when there were discussions about the April events then there was some bellowing from our Tallinn History school teachers. It's clear they don't get it which country they are living in. Actually, the results can be monitored. It means, for example a national school leaving examination in History and for the Civic Studies, the one at the end of Grade 9. We don't monitor at all. We don't have the right to. It is the state's job to monitor whether the national curriculum is followed. It's not the local government's responsibility.

The usability of quantitative data in integration measurement is also considered to be problematic:

I don't believe that we should somehow measure the result by certain criteria here at all. Whether there is a result at some conference or training sessions, but the results should be visible. It is one thing if people can speak and are fluent in this language, if they interpret our recent history correctly or understand our cultural background, but not at all whether they can sing some Estonian folk song or dance some Estonian folk dance...

3.4.3 Social-economic integration measures

Measure 1.2 increasing labour force mobility

Planned activity directions:

- ❑ The development and implementation of packages enabling labour force mobility – improving information availability about vacancies in other regions; developing a relocation support programme; allocating municipal apartment to the relocated; implementing programmes for the relocated family members; adaptation at the new location support etc.
- ❑ Broader use of integration related work trips – involving private sector employees in addition to state and local government officials.

The measure and its directions elicited varied responses from different parts of the local government system. The development of labour force mobility encouraging packages is not considered to be practical. Labour force usually moves to places where there are vacancies (Tallinn, Harju County) and the integration effect of such mobility has not been noticed. Narva has used municipal apartment allocation to Estonian language teachers and has been somewhat successful. A Tartu town government official emphasises the relative amount of the resources, which the town government is not ready to allocate, necessary for the measure to be feasible:

Well, clearly allocating municipal apartments [is] the main point right away. All local governments or at least town governments have trouble creating municipal housing stock for the existing population, let alone these integration measures.

...

It clearly demands, on the one hand, the infrastructure like I call municipal apartments and so on. But it's also necessary to create the corresponding official bodies in the areas where the labour force is supposed to relocate, isn't it? There are none now as there has been no need or measures, so there are no human resources that would deal with this scope of problems. ... Money is surely one argument or one measure, isn't it? Nobody will employ people if there are no resources to pay them; nobody will build apartment blocks if there is no money for that. And surely these people who are to start dealing with this integration will need training, counselling and so on. Because if it is expected that everything will just appear from nowhere, that just a social sphere worker will become awfully committed to integration programmes one day then I think that requires a bit of extra knowledge. It's not like we can just rename a person's job and give him/her different tasks and responsibilities.

There are no municipal apartments in Jõhvi rural municipality, and that is reflected by the officials' opinion about the measure:

This first one is of course very funny... Actually, there are no municipal apartments at all, the local government doesn't buy or build them. For instance, there are no municipal apartments in Jõhvi. We will never be able to allocate these, we won't even be able to attract, for instance, teachers in that way. We have started building here, in our rural municipality with a 12,000 population, but it's unthinkable, we have to build such things as a school and a kindergarten first. This part about municipal apartments is especially sick. It also concerns the idea of us paying some relocation benefits.

Work trip experiences and the opinions of their usefulness vary, depending on sending and receiving organisations. Sending organisations usually state their experiences have been positive and consider this measure necessary in the future:

We have used the second measure, broader use of work trips. There were integration projects for which our employees spent a month working at the same position in some other local government. These relationships have remade so far. 5 years have passed and when I meet town or rural municipality secretaries, then the other secretary will ask 'How, s Lena, she was so good working with us?' so these relationships have remained and they have been useful in different ways. They are useful because probably one hapless Russian will be sent to the environment where there are none. And the others will try and learn some Russian, but that person will have to listen to and speak Estonian every day. That's where learning takes place.

However, the receiving organisations' experience shows that there are enough problems to solve in order to raise the officials' work trips efficiency:

We have the experience. We did at some point, but that experience wasn't very positive. There were people from Narva, some years ago. They weren't fluent enough in the official language to have been able to actively participate even within the framework of this officials exchange project. This reminds me of how you mentioned that you once participated in such projects. As to projects of all kinds, officials exchange and such, we are theoretically always ready. ... but everything depends on particular things and particular people in certain spheres. ... All of this officials exchange, supervision, whatever, means extra workload.

There are two main opinions on the part of receiving organisations. First,

[visiting officials] should be able to speak the official language at least at some elementary level. This is basically the only prerequisite, all this introduction and supervision cannot permanently be in Russian. When we speak of receiving Russian speaking officials. I think this is the only condition. They must be able to communicate with us ...

Of course, that means, that would mean if we call this some kind of practice or language learning or whatever else, the receiving end should inevitably ensure that there is someone who is deeply engaged in working with this person beside their own work responsibilities. So this is this point again when so caller reimbursement comes into play.

The sending organisations are also aware of certain problems, but believe they are solvable and the usefulness of the measure impact on the official's further work quality outweighs the expense and effort:

Of course, it creates some [difficulties] for us. But it generally is, as far as I know about the town chancellery, generally it happens that our positions are all reserved. It means that for every position there should be another person to fulfil the tasks when the usual one is not there. Because you can't just close the town chancellery down during summer vacations or at any other time. Officials' vacations are, as you know, a month long, we always have to be ready that someone is off today, or someone falls ill and is on sick leave for a week. That's why there have been no problems. And another thing, when one returns, their level is much higher than before. They don't need translating any more, they can take part in other training, they have learnt what the Estonians' work style is like – that's also a bit different. It has been useful.

The disparities mainly concern the optimum timeframe of work exchange programmes. It varies from less than a month to almost a year depending on the targets of the work trip. On the one hand, a month long exchange is considered to be on the borderline as a longer one would influence the official's personal life negatively:

A month is a bit long when small children are at home and one has to go to Narva for the weekend. Estonia isn't exactly so big, true, that it couldn't be done. But a month is optimum because in this period something really is mastered. And another good thing about it, it's in another town government, so people see the other town government's work style, and how people write documents.

On the other hand, it is said that three months might not be enough from the point of view of mutual usefulness:

We placed them in the same departments where they worked in Ida-Viru County and they could observe things in the same sphere. They also probably communicated among themselves. I'm afraid that the people who were actively involved with them have already quit. But we don't expect any huge professional contribution from them. because though local governments do the same work, work methods and habits are so different, we here emphasise electronic office management, paper-free management. We have all kinds of databases, as many as you get. To introduce all these things to them, we would need more time than three months. That's learning. I'm afraid this officials exchange format will not handle a longer period. Thus, it will remain the period of learning. Is that a useful experience?

Some officials believe a year is a long enough adaptation period:

... and it's namely because of the seasons, people behave differently in different seasons. That's why I'd say that it doesn't matter if it's with integration or further work aim in mind, I believe it could be a year. But for that year, who is going to do that work for them or supervise them all the time?

Regionally, there might be one certain obstacle to broader work exchange implementation. Namely, there is great enthusiasm in Ida-Viru County about receiving officials from other towns, but in Tartu and Tallinn officials' work exchange within Estonia is considered unnecessary.

It can generally be concluded that work trips could be of use to officials with more general responsibilities. The adaptation at workplaces directly connected to the town or rural municipality current issues takes too much time and the work in one's own town or rural municipality government also needs doing.

The education officials' and municipal institution heads' attitude toward the exchange of pedagogical personnel is reviewed further in the section on education and culture measures. Local governments do not consider the support for work trips or exchange to private sector practical.

Despite the difficulties in measure feasibility mentioned by some officials, the measure should certainly be retained. It should be broadened to include both local government officials and municipal institution employees (at least in case of shorter work trips) and supplemented with the necessary training and mentoring programmes.

Measure 3.1. Better direction of social services and the development of the environment supporting the non-Estonians' health. Developing the attitudes and group norms to decrease risk behaviour

Planned activity directions:

- ❑ Development of case management networks; involving local government social workers, labour market officials, medical personnel and education facility representatives in the process
- ❑ Implementation of the Joint Inclusion Memorandum (JIM) on the local government level depending on the key spheres and priorities determined by a local government
- ❑ Implementation of other national policies and strategies (national AIDS/HIV prevention strategy, national drug abuse prevention strategy, national health development plan) on the local government level depending on the key spheres and priorities determined by a local government.

Case management is considered to be successful on the level of co-operation among town and rural municipality governments, municipal institutions, non-profit associations and government institutions. No need for improvement in targeting it is expressed by the officials. The only aspect that would justify a separate non-Estonian target group is the need for language skill improvement. It is believed in Tartu that the language aspect is losing its importance, which is why

... here in Tartu there is no need for any special measures in the current situation for targeting some social services to non-Estonians or Estonians. The fact that case management should be applied and networks should be created and labour market officials, medical and education personnel should be involved, that's like general. It is valid regardless of whether it is an Armenian or a Georgian

The need for human resources is perceived regardless of the necessity to distinguish target groups on the national basis, even if such distinguishing were organised 'by the book'. Quick information exchange and the materials supporting it are also considered important, and the more support from the state is expected in this sphere.

The interviewed officials were not aware of the Joint Inclusion Memorandum. As far as they knew, there was no such priority set in their local governments, and they could not comment on the need for or feasibility of the measure. They were, however, ready to talk about social inclusion in a broader sense. For instance, an official believes that everything is all right with the social inclusion of national minorities and majorities in Jõhvi:

All these family festivals that we have organised and where we try to include people in all kinds of activities are, like, bilingual. I mean, also the hosts of the evening performances speak Russian and Estonian or the majority indeed switches over to Russian. It rather seems to me that this Estonian side is, like, more excluded. I don't know why I have such an impression. I don't see any problems with this social inclusion. It's this non-Estonian aspect that shows no problems. Because all the information is available in Russian. You can't, like, say that they are not informed or that they are somehow deprived of information. And that is why they are not involved. Speaking of socialising, I don't know, I, like, don't see any problems.

In Tartu the nationality is not considered to be an important dimension of developing social inclusion, at least in the social sphere:

This social inclusion is meant for, like, all these, in quotation marks, endangered target groups and we have to watch in our everyday activities that these weaker groups could express their opinions and their interests, need and so on were taken into consideration in providing services, it concerns the elderly, it concerns children, it concerns people with special needs, the unemployed and so on. I'm again repeating myself, we haven't had the necessity to do it or pay special attention to it in terms of integration. We are building the whole service provision system in a problem-centred way, namely whether they are unemployed or disabled. We haven't had the necessity here to make this another separate subdivision, like, if it is a disabled Estonian, how to treat one.

Town and rural municipality governments are active within the framework of HIV and drug abuse prevention strategies and consider it important. The main aspect in need of development is the substantial improvement of treatment capacity, which should be done in form of an institution financed by the state or the local government, not on project basis.

The common opinion is that the development of health-supporting environment can yield the same result within a local government for both Estonians and the other nationality representatives. Thus, the measure definition should be reworded. The basic idea of the measure gives a possibility to reword it to target the areas and local governments with a

large proportion of the other nationality representatives. It would thus be defined as ‘the development of health-supporting environment as well as developing the attitudes and group norms to decrease risk behaviour of the population of local governments with a large proportion of the other nationality representatives.’ The measure itself and its directions 1 and 3, in the first place, are considered necessary. Still, their efficient implementation requires more contribution from the state to develop the ‘weak links’ (drug addiction treatment) and more targeted support for town and rural municipality governments in order to develop case management in the target areas.

3.4.4 Legal and political integration measures

Measure 1.1. Development of the system on the state and local government levels helping to prepare for applying for citizenship and participating in public affairs

Planned activity directions:

- ❑ Support for citizenship applicants (for instance, preparation courses and so called adaptation programmes for new immigrants on the local government level),
- ❑ Support for local government or non-profit association services that facilitate people’s legalisation (for instance, in applying for, processing and obtaining ID documents),
- ❑ A programme for informing the population about the conditions for citizenship application and locality counselling,
- ❑ Training courses on how to communicate with non-Estonian clientele for officials of organisations, government institutions and local governments.

Local government officials have so far had few contacts with new immigrants apart from children in the sphere of education (incl. children from Estonian families who are not fluent in Estonian). The state-provided directions to town and local governments are considered to be the main measure supporting circumstances. The other aspects include training courses for officials and the compensation of the expenses brought about by implementing the measure. Anyway, it is believed that the issue should first be solved on the state level. When everything is clearly determined there, delegating of uniform responsibilities on uniform clear terms could be discussed:

As to having some more reasons again to make up a load of projects and all kinds of special programmes, then of course it all should be done and apparently will have to be done if they start coming here in relatively large numbers. But in such case we’ll be back again to the issue of where to get resources to deal with it. I think that this is a relatively universal activity , I mean, if the so called distribution of those new immigrants within Estonia is at least somehow regulated or if they, vice versa, come to certain points depending only on the market situation, then I would probably say it will not be a very smart idea to somehow make it local governments’ responsibility. Because then this mechanism working in social welfare will be repeated that every local government does it in its own way, according to particular local skills for it, has its own regulations, in some places in one way and in others in another way. I think it still should be very much uniformly regulated by the state. Because, for example, maybe some rural municipality where there happen to be 3 Bulgarians will not do anything about them, and a town where there are 50 Romanians will make a huge integration programme. But I think that their needs are actually relatively universal, what they need for adaptation.

Tallinn and Tartu agree to handle the issue on the above stated terms. However, Jõhvi initially characterises readiness as follows:

At the moment we are not ready because the responsibilities of the local government itself, sent from the Parliament, sprout like mushrooms after the summer rains. At the moment, we are surely not ready...

The social sphere town and rural municipality officials have been assisting and intend to help people belonging to social risk groups in legalisation and applying for citizenship:

.. in legalising people, helping them obtain ID documents. I mean, we have all of that and it's working. We help people in applying and processing... of course we pay more attention to our risk groups. Who are released from prison or... But we have also helped elderly people when some document had, for instance, expired or something like that. We are partly doing that already...

The local government has always helped people applying for citizenship so far. Both legally, by law consultations and also has helped these people who belong to the so called 'socially problematic contingent' with obtaining ID cards and processing papers. I can't say we don't have that. If the state gives some resources for that, financial resources as I see it, then I think it will be indeed good. Generally all this paper management is very complicated and these people could be helped because sometimes some don't apply for ID documents just because they don't know how. As to those preparation courses for citizenship applicants – as far as I understand, they are for preparation for the Civic Studies test. This exam could be made more sensible here, there are sometimes some very daft questions. It could be more about real life.

The state support in order to facilitate the legalisation of individuals would be of especial importance if the state considered broadening the scope of the local governments' responsibilities or the existing target group.

There certainly is a need for local government officials' training for communication with non-Estonian clientele within the programme period. This especially concerns the issues of new immigrant status and the officials of the social sphere. In other spheres, need for training was not considered significant as the service in Russian is an everyday phenomenon and is managed well (also see measure 2.1 below).

Measure 1.2. Supporting citizen association activity by fostering integration, including the involvement of the other native language speakers in the associations and the inclusion of non-Estonian associations in pan-Estonian associations' work.

Planned activity directions:

- ❑ Targeted competitions for new agents (local government level, non-profit associations, extracurricular schools) in order to support integration related activity and to have them generate and put to practice integration supporting activities.
- ❑ Stimulating and activating the associations uniting Estonians with non-Estonians in co-operation with local governments.

Local government officials consider the Estonians' and non-Estonians' separation on the level of institutions and associations a huge problem. Solving that is basically considered to be an effective measure for promoting integration. On the other hand, the institutions and associations themselves have not displayed much willingness and readiness. An extracurricular education institution official from Jõhvi believes that it is 'relatively difficult to find' the uniting non-profit associations, institutions or activities. It is also difficult to imagine the new agents:

For instance, come to think of it, we have this Ida-Viru County handicraft association. From Kiviõli to Narva, there are both Estonians and Russians. But we don't meet every day. This is something that's more visual, isn't it? There are certainly some such activities.

Still,

... there have to be more of one part than the other. When it is half and half, things tend to get messed up.

It is also believed that

This is something artificial. Emerges when it's said money will be given, let's put a project together. But I can imagine the efficiency factor. Very much artificial. The Russian part might think otherwise, I believe.

The opinion about the sensibility of such targeting is expressed with even more resoluteness as far as Kohtla-Järvel culture associations' activity is concerned:

We only need financing to organise the events. We now very well what to do. The less managing and fewer bosses, the better. Bosses will start forcing their own things, own rules upon us.

On the one hand, the communication of the people of the different nationalities is limited. On the other hand, it is basically valued by many local government system participants. Taking both points into consideration, the measure seems useful although not much supported within national culture associations. That is why the state as well as town and rural municipality governments are supposed to participate actively in deciding upon the content of joint activities and in founding joint organisations.

Measure 2.1. Improvement of the officials' preparedness in order to support the integration process

Planned activity directions:

- Developing the curriculum and training materials for trainings on multiculturalism for local government officials; conducting the trainings
- Developing the curriculum for the Estonian language courses for local governments and conducting the courses
- Encouraging language learning of state and local government officials (depending on the needs and on the composition of the given area population) (a possible new measure)

The officials' opinions about the necessity of training in multiculturalism vary. Providing services to the population of the other nationality is a routine activity for the local government officials studied by current research and does not differ much from providing services to people of the same nationality. At the same time, the work of the local government system in Tallinn and Ida-Viru County is more or less bilingual. Some officials perceive such a wording negatively as the implication that they are in need of multiculturalism training:

If you ask me if I need it, then I don't. I believe every educated person understands these things.

The wording is also seen to imply the characteristics of the local government as an institution:

If that means that our officials do not understand the citizens, don't understand their problems as these problems might be brought about by nationality... to claim that all the officials are

like that is absolutely wrong. Of course, there are people who might need it, but, god forbid, I cannot be held responsible for all the officials, but I haven't heard of anyone treating people differently because of their nationality... anyone who tries to claim that all of our officials are that arrogant, is generalising and generalising in a wrong way.

There also are some officials who think that multiculturalism training would be beneficial for their fellow officials and council members. What are needed are the competent training instructors:

But in this sphere, there could be good presenters and the people who could give these good tips and ideas, then those local government officials will improve themselves and reconsider things.

It has also been suggested that the term 'integration' could be studied first because

We know the word 'integration', but we don't know what's behind it. We understand everything on the surface, but we would need more information.

Encouraging officials' and employees' language learning is generally supported as a measure concerning both Estonian and foreign languages. Russian speakers raise some methodological issues concerning the need for practice, especially in Narva and Ida-Viru County, because 'the officials have been to so many language courses that their efficiency is becoming doubtful':

As to the Estonian language, practice is needed. If a Narva person passes a test for the highest level of Estonian language skills and doesn't use it every day, just works with papers, doesn't use it for communication, then help is needed. There were good programmes before, in which teachers, pupils, officials were exchanged. They went and worked in other places in Estonia.

Officials of the Estonian descent also doubt the efficiency of the Estonian language courses. They explain the low efficiency with the lack of motivation and need for the language for working in the public sector in Ida-Viru County:

There is one official among us who has been to courses, Estonian courses as well. But it is of no use. Apparently there's no need. It's that when you don't need to speak Estonian because everybody around you speaks Russian. ... It's not such officials who are in the public service who are obliged by the law to work in the official language. They are just employees. It's just important that when they come to visit those elderly people at home, they should be able to talk. To understand what they are told in Estonian. Then, well, they haven't had that much progress. We haven't had any conflicts on that level either.

The training or course fee is an important issue for individuals. The state or the local government is expected to provide support and security because

... many fear that if they pay for this course and fail the examination, they will lose money. What if they are some 1-2 points short of passing? Maybe that's why they don't go to the courses.

In fact, officials are now also being offered free language course opportunities. That, however, depends on the institution's opportunities and on how approachable its head is. The head of a Jõhvi culture institution speaks about the experience of great efficiency:

Our officials went when this integration project started. A half was refunded if they passed the exam. I decided to support them on part of the library. They didn't pay their own money. If they passed the exam, they got the other half back as a bonus. They were interested, and one lady would pass a high level exam any day. Although they are not required to have the highest level.

Russian language skills are problematic for young officials. However, the leading officials have not yet found any need for organising Russian courses because 'the financing for

training and education is rather limited'. The needs for communication in Russian are satisfied by managing the human resources of town and rural municipality governments, setting language skill requirements for employing officials and, in Ida-Viru County, hoping the environment will have an effect.

What is considered to be more necessary is training in other foreign languages. The need is described as a general one, as a measure of improving the officials' administrating capabilities:

... what could be done for officials is language training. When officials come to supervise a certain sphere we usually expect them to be experts in their sphere and to be able to cope with things there, but I think there could be some projects for the officials to be able to improve language skills. For instance, state employed officials have an opportunity to attend language courses and pay 50% of the fee. I think that the more language people speak, the better they are... I believe that as officials we could be more skilled in these different languages and in would be of much more use in all types of activities and communication. This language part, namely...

The need for language learning is also said to emerge from the general developments in the national composition of the population:

It depends on how many people will come here from abroad. Speaking of integration, we do not only mean Estonians and Russians. If the Chinese or someone else comes here. I think it would certainly be good if an official could communicate with these people. For instance, the Spanish study in this school here. And when that Spanish parent comes here it is very difficult to talk to him, he doesn't speak English or German.

For some interviewees, the issue of personal occupational development is important:

I am personally in trouble because of English as I studied German in school. And now Estonia is switching over to English, there's so much English everywhere... I am not that young to learn quickly anymore either. I have already researched the opportunities of going to courses in England, where I wouldn't here Estonian or Russian. Because while those two are here all the time, there's not much learning. I do have all those audiovisual programmes for the language, but they don't help much. If the language is also learnt in another environment and you can only communicate in this language, and none other, then it will work.

The language skills of officials, especially the ones of lower occupational status or belonging to the older age group, need improvement. The most problematic aspects of learning Estonian seem to be poor methodology and the lack of system which have a negative effect on efficiency of learning. The combination of language learning with some other type of training, activity, practical integration within or beyond the organisation and communication is preferred. Thus the measure is necessary. It is important for the improvement of local government officials' readiness to support the integration process. The main issues concern methodology, the quality of training, and restoring trust on the part of these who have once been disappointed.

Measure 2.2. improving public service availability

Planned activity directions:

- The development and implementation of the measures for supporting local governments in designing and developing multilingual homepages, information leaflets and local newspapers (rural municipality papers etc) (possible new measure)
- Raising the officials' awareness and, consequently, counselling abilities by law related professional training courses including the courses on legal terminology in their mother tongue, dictionaries etc.

The local media of the studied local governments of Ida-Viru County and Tallinn is bilingual. Town papers are the main sources of the information on local legal facts in both languages. The support is considered relevant for the development of homepages and information leaflets. These materials have been translated into Russian by town and rural municipality governments with great effort, but the prices for the services set their limits:

That would be very timely. All this translation is in fact still relatively expensive. All translations are expensive. Especially multilingual homepages and information leaflets. We have been doing it out of our resources as much as we could but in every tenth instance we need that help. This is the thing that the local government could do itself, could find resources. Because, first of all, the Public Information Act obliges us to maintain so many things in Estonian on the homepage. In comparison to a smaller local government it's like that there that there isn't anyone who would update things within the institution. It's the same problem here. If you order some service, you need money. Moreover, you need time. It's difficult to employ someone from outside the institution to develop the home page and update it because they might not understand how important this is. We still have to send them the information and we might as well update it ourselves in such case.

On the other hand, there are doubts about the aims of publishing bilingual or multilingual homepages or information publications as Estonian is the main language of communication in society and the official language of the country:

I don't support this. Then all kind of advisors who say bilingualism and stuff will keep sitting in or heads. Estonian is the official language of the Republic of Estonia.

In Narva, the problem is said to be narrower and to concern officials and public institution employees:

As to homepages and information leaflets, I don't have anything positive to say about them. If we start publishing them in Russian, we will again remove this motivation. If they are meant for officials, officials have to speak Estonian. They have to speak, and if they don't, they have to organise their learning. As to the town population, I agree. There's no point in making effort without it, especially in Narva.

The officials' law related training, especially concerning legal terminology, is considered necessary for the officials of Estonian and Russian descent:

... because even if a person speaks the language, it might be difficult to learn in it. I would say that it would probably be more difficult for me to learn in Russian because legal acts are in Estonian. While you are there you will get translation into Russian, but they you come back here and have to manage in Estonian anyway. I would find it easier to learn in Estonian, but for someone who doesn't speak it and reads legal acts in Russian it might be useful.

In Narva, the correlation between the officials' Estonian skills and their training activeness is mentioned:

Legal language, terminology. This is something we here are in trouble with. When we want to send someone to take part in some seminar, then the seminar is usually in Tallinn and our official is afraid to go. It will be in Estonian, I won't understand. We say, they'll give you handouts, go there and listen and then we'll go through what you haven't understood. But she won't understand, she's afraid. There's this fear. Maybe training in legal language and terminology would ease it a bit. Now my opinion of it is positive.

The translation of legal acts into Russian is considered especially important by Russian speaking officials:

As to translation of legal acts, it's very useful. The citizen's handbook published with the assistance of the U.S.A. embassy is a very useful book. There's nothing bad about people reading legal acts in Russian. It's even a problem to buy the Constitution text. And it's good

when it is in two languages. Legal, specific language requires quite another level of language skills.

In Narva it has been noticed that the officials become aware of law amendments, with some delay which could be caused by their insufficient language command:

If some law amendment is now passed and it's not translated right away, it takes us a year to understand it has been done. Because it just doesn't reach the officials earlier.

In fact the problem also lies in the fact that when an official is proficient in Estonian and legal vocabulary, it is also necessary to communicate with media in Russian:

...that would really be necessary. Just because, for example, sometimes some journalists come here and start asking me to explain them things in Russian. And often I start thinking what the Russian for that is, all those new terms, legal terms, you can't just translate them as you like. They have to be accurate and sometimes I start doubting if they can be translated into Russian at all... I cannot translate them, for example. So I have difficulties there.

Similarly to the doubts about the long-term effects of multilingual local media on Estonian as the official and primary communication language, there are some doubts concerning the translation of legal acts. There is only one opinion of local partners from Kohtla-Järve, which still shows that that the line between translating and two official languages in the country is very thin. The response to the question on whether the translation of legal acts was necessary was 'the council documents should be in two languages'. This is reputedly already basically the case in Narva. There are also comments on the great lack of resources for translating legal acts which are of the same importance to the town and rural municipality population as the state legal acts:

If such a decision that it's necessary is made, then, of course, we'll do it. Now we don't have resources for that because it isn't that simple. I'm afraid that the person who has suggested this measure has no idea about the amount of work to be done... there are so many local government acts that one could be aware of... we have considered doing that, too. But it's again the money issue.

There also emerges an issue of the quality of translations and their legal status:

It's not just any usual translation. Basically, a sworn translator should edit it. Because these act determine someone's rights and obligations. Take, for example, the conduct regulations or construction regulations. These are very exact regulations. If we publish them translated in a wrong way, it could cause some disputes because basically we have given people wrong information.

3.4.5 Measures of education and culture integration

General education development measures

In the opinion of the local government system representatives, the need for general education development measures stems, first of all, from the current problems to be solved (see part 3.3.). First of all, the state and local governments should co-operate to provide Russian operating schools with teachers of Estonian and of other subjects in Estonian. The best solution of that problem is considered to be the preparation of young teachers in universities of Estonia and motivation for their further work in schools (salary, municipal housing in certain areas). School heads place great hopes on that:

If those teachers who are bilingual, who can do it, now come to work here from universities. And they if they come to work to school, this generation will be changed out in the school, and

it will be changed out. A large part of our teaching staff is about to retire. And the pupils' language command will improve after that.... The new employees will arrive and then it is bound to change. Then there will be someone responsible for it.

The retraining of the current pedagogical staff that would enable at last some teachers of Russian operating schools to start teaching their subjects in Estonian is a great challenge:

... so that there would be such a programme for teachers where they could learn Estonian. And that just at the level that they could really give lessons in it. It is probably actual training in Estonian that they need.

Long-term teachers' exchange programmes in form of the continuous state funded process and not short-term separate projects were considered to be the most effective measures:

Even one month is not enough. It should happen all year round. A person must go somewhere to the Estonian speaking environment, not that she's back in the Russian speaking environment at home. To Hiiumaa island. Full stop, and a year there. They will come back and speaking Estonian will be piece of cake.

In some cases good Estonian language skills are to become a prerequisite for participating in exchange programmes with Estonian operating schools:

If their Estonian skills are at the highest level, they can practice teaching their subjects. Maybe then, yes. But only with the highest level of language skills and only for the teachers who are going to teach these subjects in Estonian. Yes, it could be done. We haven't done it so far.

In any case, support from the state is to be ensured as the school needs to find a substitute for a teacher in the exchange programme. In the broader perspective, the retraining of Russian speaking teacher is not regarded as something providing substantial additional resources. The reason is that the most apt and strong-willed teachers have already come along with the demands of the time. What needs solving is the problem of providing the necessary workload for other Russian operating school teachers up to the time they retire.

The representatives of Estonian operating schools and Estonian education officials from Ida-Viru County believe that Estonian operating schools should be financially and methodologically supported within the framework of education and/or integration policy. Their workload has significantly increased due to the increasing number of pupils from Russian speaking families. It is also believed that teaching Estonian as the native language in Estonian operating schools of Ida-Viru County needs support. It is also necessary to prepare teacher in Estonian operating schools and kindergartens for working with children whose native language is neither Estonian nor Russian. The heads of schools have noticed the common practice of directing such children to Russian operating schools. The avoidance of such practice should certainly become one of the principles:

Estonians' schools are national and they don't accept the others. It was a case that a school refused to accept an Armenian. And told the parents to go to a Russian school. But why a Russian school? Estonian system of education should be ready. In the nearest future, not only Estonians will go to Estonian schools, but children of other nationalities as well.

Broader use of assistance teachers and the development of schools' opportunities for that are believed to be an additional opportunity for strengthening the pedagogical staff in the context of multiculturalism:

And then there's now a lot of talking about assistance teachers. And if we view it from such a point that the subjects are being taught in Estonian and pupils can't cope. The assistance teacher could probably also help pupils work in class. Well, we haven't tried that yet.

School, their heads, and also teachers are said to be in need of motivation:

If we look at all those integration issues, then it's obvious that organisations need some motivation resources. Teachers' salaries are low as they are. So low that they don't dare to say the number. And if you make those Russian schools, as they put it, we do much more than Estonian schools. We have to learn such a lot, and we cannot learn more of Maths because we must learn Estonian. Then such motivation would need financing, but I'm not sure. I'm not sure financing will yield the expected results. I think it's the issue of generations ... That's why money could be a motivator here, and the state could develop broader and more extensive programmes for this motivation to take effect. The motivation should be like a candy, something extra to make the teachers learn Estonian and teach in it. I think that teachers' work in state schools is still missionary. But we are running out of such people to do this work.

The stock of learning materials in written Estonian in Russian operating schools needs improving. The state of the things is now considered to be rather depressing in Tallinn, Tartu and Ida-Viru County:

We have been talking about it; for example, we can't buy textbooks double. We have textbooks in Russian. We cannot make it something like buying at least one textbook in Estonian for two pupils at a desk. Identical. But it would probably be necessary. So it is the issue of financing ... And another thing, if we are really wanted to teach these subjects, learning materials should be developed with great care. Also the additional materials for teachers. and also the textbooks, even if we use textbooks in Estonian, a Russian school should be able to buy textbooks in both Russian and Estonian. Of course, adapted textbooks for Russian school pupils would be perfect. There could be a glossary or dictionary, or some extremely important parts could be translated. Now there are no such materials.

What is needed the most is at least some financials support, at least in form of the opportunities to buy books in Estonian, which are very few in Russian schools of Tartu. For instance, Annelinn School has asked Estonian schools for textbooks. But what the Estonian schools donate is the junk they don't need anymore. And all kinds of support and help are needed. There are additional training courses for teachers now. I know that there are teachers from both schools who participate in these programmes.

Informal education

As to informal education, language camps are in great demand. It is considered important to combine the activities integrating people of the other nationalities into the state and society of Estonia with the activities supporting local integration. Introducing different parts of Estonia during excursions is considered to be the most effective for the cultural integration of the older generation (also see problems of informal education in part 3.3.).

Education and culture of national minorities

National minority culture associations need the state to establish a more definite legal basis for their activities the most. There are fears that although their activity is being supported at the moment, no one knows what is going to happen in the future.

Both the associations and the officials prioritise the development of the minorities' culture and especially the language as even the activists of minority culture associations are often unilingual (Russian speaking). At least the officials consider multiculturalism and the integration between the cultures secondary. Moreover, the activities of some associations aimed at that goal are believed to be fictional and at least unnecessary at the moment and meant to distract attention. Despite such attitudes, opportunities to develop the measures for encouraging communication between the people of different cultures and nationalities should be found. The measures should take into consideration the participants' occupation and interests and would also contribute to achieving the targets set in the Estonian

integration programme, for example, the promotion of Estonian as the primary communication language in society. In addition, a stable activity environment for national culture associations should be guaranteed by the cooperation of the state and local governments. Both the officials and the association representative consider one scheme the most sensible. According to that, strong organisations would be given base financing by the state and local governments and would have the power of decision over project contests because the associations are believed to know better what to do. Financing the national minorities' communication with their native country with the preference for projects that involve Estonians could be another measure of support.

The associations expect the state to make the formal requirements milder. It is believed that the Integration Foundation could be more sensible and content oriented in its approach to project applications and reporting, and the Ministry of Education and research could employ the same principles in relation to the administrative side of education in Sunday schools.

3.4.6 Intermediate conclusion: practical interpretations and conclusions

The local government system participants commonly see integration as the state's responsibility. Some local governments and executive officials currently consider the state to be a partner that is not trustworthy in any respect, let alone integration. Thus in order for the national integration development by means of using local governments or relying on their assistance to be really evenly successful, it is necessary to rebuild a trustworthy system. Consequently, the addition to §6 of the Local Government Organisation Act concerning the more active involvement of local governments in the integration policy is not considered to be a sensible solution. What is seen as an alternative is a more exact definition of the responsibilities in separate acts and the regulations based on the latter.

The state could sign administrative agreements on fulfilling the state's responsibilities with the local governments it considers necessary on the basis of the acts. That would ensure better depoliticising of integration related activities locally and the trust of target groups towards the integration policy, which could otherwise be easily lost in case the local integration policy is overwhelming. The critical issues include sufficient government financing for fulfilling the responsibilities and clear directions on what is expected from town and rural municipality governments. The creation of separate professional and consultation boards on the local level is not considered sensible.

The co-operation of local governments and the state is main prerequisite for the feasibility of the measures stated in the integration programme working version (OMPEA, 2007) and the national measures put into practice on the local level. The need for the measures depends, as stated above, on particular local governments and the solutions of problems perceived at the institutional level in particular spheres (see part 3.3.). In addition, the local government system participants of Ida-Viru County state that estonianhood should be treated separately in the integration policy and protected by its measures in this area.

4. CONCLUSION

The integration of Estonian society is characterised by substantial regional variations in both the level of integration and the existing problems. It can be justifiably claimed that that large towns of Ida-Viru and Harju counties are the most challenging for the integration of society. That, however, does not mean that there are no integration related problems in the other parts of Estonia or that they should not be involved in the process. On the contrary, these regions should be regarded as society's resources. They could offer people of the other nationalities and native languages additional opportunities for improving their language skills, strengthening their state identity, developing multiculturalism and becoming acquainted with their home country. It is also apparent that the national composition of the population, social-economic situation, and cultural community development of Ida-Viru and Harju County towns vary both within the counties and between the counties. Thus to implement the national integration policy, the measures should be regionalised and in certain places be determined locally depending on the town.

There is another aspect to be taken into consideration in the development and implementation of integration policy in addition to regional variability. Namely, integration incorporates different territorial levels of the organisation of community life. The obligations, motivation and opportunities of the government institutions to participate in the integration process are not equal. The role of county government institutions and local government organs in implementing the national integration policy in present-day Estonia is occasional and not exactly important. The instances of systematic policy combining and spreading beyond the responsibilities and spheres of activity of local governments are rare. The fact is caused by the poor awareness about the existing problems and suitable measures. At the same time, in Europe local governments are considered to be the community institutions closest to the individual. Its importance in the development of integration in society and involving the population in the process is widely recognised. Thus there is obvious need for better regulation of the co-operation between the state and local governments in the sphere of integration.

There are three main aspects of the influence of the local government on integration in Estonian society. (1.) The routine work of local government organs (councils, town and rural municipality governments) and municipal institutions in the areas with a large proportion of population of the other nationalities. It fosters effective communication and procedures between the Estonian state and the population including people of the different nationalities belonging to different cultures. This sphere functions in the conditions of practical bilingualism. The official procedures are in Estonian as regulated by the law; for personal communication, Estonian or Russian is chosen, depending on habit and clarity; clients are provided with the services in the language of their preference. The ability of most officials in such local governments to communicate with the population and provide services in both Estonian and Russian ensures the effectiveness of the local government as a society integrator. The results of the research show that for local government system participants and the population generally the functioning of local governments is non-problematic in this respect. Still, the influence of practical bilingualism in some town and rural municipality governments on the feasibility of the targets set in the integration programme can be viewed critically. Namely, the issue lies in how to increase the proportion of Estonian use as a communication language in some local governments. The

measures should not have a negative effect on the features of the local governments system that foster other aspects of Estonian society integration.

(2.) Local integration policy planned and implemented by local government organs. Its targets, forethought, system characteristics and the resources used vary among local governments depending on the composition of population, existing opportunities and problems, and political field lines. The strategic characteristics and the connection of local integration policies to the general local development activity are described in a separate part of the current public procurement which is to counsel the development of the integration programme. The initial results of the qualitative research show that the biggest contribution to integration has been made in education. It can generally still be claimed that the integration activity of local governments has so far been fragmentary and complimentary. The institutions' and local partners' integration related projects (including those for the development of minority cultures) are supported depending on the needs and demand, usually in form of co-financing in addition to state funding.

Direct beneficiaries (municipal institutions, citizen associations) are in general satisfied with local governments' contribution. Neither these nor the local government officials see any need for drastic changes in local integration related co-operation. Municipal institutions and local government partners do not have any great expectation for town and rural municipality governments in relation to integration policy either. Integration is generally considered to be the state's responsibility. The local government officials believe that the integration on the national and local levels may be of different nature and require different measures. The measures that combine national and local integration needs are considered to be the best. However, the officials recognise that difficulties might emerge in the process of bringing the (national and local) integration policies in accordance with each other.

(3.) The role of local government organs within the framework of the national integration policy can be that of implementing institution on the local level. The experience of other countries shows that the potential of using local administrative structures is great. However, the national integration policy has so far little involved local governments. There have been problems in cooperation of the state and local governments in other spheres. As a result, local government officials consider the state to lack trustworthiness as a partner and to display scepticism and noncommittal attitude towards integration related co-operation. A functioning co-operation mechanism should be created. That would significantly increase the efficiency of the measures and activities developed in the new integration programme put into practice by the state in co-operation with local governments. This is also one of the main prerequisites for the feasibility of the measures and activities.

The executive officials of local governments commonly believe that the integration related co-operation of the state and local governments should be regulated by a separate legal act. The act should include the state's targets, the division of responsibilities between the state and local governments, and the basis for compensating the expenses of local governments fulfilling the state's responsibilities. The act would make it possible to sign administrative agreements with the local governments where the need to implement the national integration policy exists. Such approach is consistent with the legal acts currently regulating the organisation of the local government system. Possible active involvement of local governments in the implementation of the national integration policy needs political willingness and successful dialogue between the state and the nationwide local government associations.

Local government officials are not generally highly aware of and competent in the integration process and policies. Thus, one of the important prerequisites for the feasibility and efficiency of such co-operation would be raising the officials' awareness and competence by means of training courses and other activities. Achieving consistency between the local and national integration policies is another challenge of agreement-based co-operation.

It is the local government system participants' opinion that plays the biggest role in assessing the need for integration related measures as well. The measures with adjustments in the context of the measure implementation experience so far are presented in parts 3.3. and 3.4. The local government system participants have relatively unanimous opinions about several key issues in need of the cooperation of the state and local governments. These include maintenance and further development of language immersion and language camps and solving the issue of subject teachers to start teaching in Estonian. They also cover the development of flexible and, at the same time, security ensuring action frameworks for national culture associations. The local government system also displays some difference of opinions about the need for certain measures and the interpretation of certain problems. This is logical as the local government system is heterogeneous in its regional, organisational, and national aspects as well spheres of activity. The most important and critical point for the national integration policy is, what kind of conclusions and decisions will be made on the basis of the problems mentioned by the local government participants and their proposed solutions. It would be natural for the conclusions to stem from the need to achieve the targets set in the state integration programme and take into consideration the principles of economy and democracy.

There are more factors critical for the efficiency of the cooperation between the state and local governments. One of these, undoubtedly, is the local governments' administrative capability and willingness. The other one concerns the consistency of the local government participants' interpretations of the nature and targets of integration described in the integration programme. The results of the study show that the interpretations of the nature and targets of integration vary. There are also less significant differences of opinion concerning the appropriateness and necessity of certain targets displayed by the actors of the local government system (for example, general education organisations). Thus it can be claimed that discussing integration as such blurs communication. That is why it is sensible to focus the practical co-operation between the state and local government organs as well as the delegation of some of the state's responsibilities to the local level on separate targets and measures described by the strategy. The problem of local governments' administrative willingness could be solved by implementing the co-operation mechanisms described above. However, it is likely that problems in administrative capabilities will in the first place emerge in small rural municipalities and towns, judging by the current state of the local government system. It is obvious that the quality of organising and implementing integration activities cannot be (much) better than the general administrative capability of a local government and the quality of other services it provides.

4.1 Suggested indicators to determine the extent and efficiency of a local governments' integration related activities

a) Indicators for which the input is to be available

- ❑ The annual number of days of participation in the training sessions organised by the State Chancellery per official of a local government
- ❑ The number of Language Act regulation violations fixed by the Language Inspectorate per capita
- ❑ The number of injunctions/fines issued to local government officials by the Language Inspectorate for the absence of the language proficiency certificate or/and the actual Estonian language proficiency lower than stated in the certificate in relation to the total number of officials.
- ❑ The number of injunctions/fines issued to local municipal institution employees by the Language Inspectorate for the absence of the language proficiency certificate or/and the actual Estonian language proficiency lower than stated in the certificate in relation to the total number of employees.
- ❑ The amount of state integration programme resources in the consolidated budget of a town or rural municipality per capita (or the proportion in the budget)
- ❑ The number of general education, extracurricular education, youth work, leisure and social sphere institutions that have presented state integration programme projects in relation to the total number of institutions (sensible for the units with the population of non-Estonians constituting at least 10-20%)
- ❑ The number of Estonian operating education institutions as partners in state integration programme projects in relation to the total number of such institutions
- ❑ The number of people involved in state integration programme projects in relation to the total population of a rural municipality or town
- ❑ The proportion of the subjects taught in Estonian in Russian operating schools
- ❑ The proportion of language immersion groups in Russian operating kindergartens
- ❑ The proportion of language immersion classes in relation to all Russian operating classes
- ❑ The proportion of non-Estonian children educated in language immersion groups in Russian operating kindergartens
- ❑ The proportion of non-Estonian children educated in language immersion classes in Russian operating schools
- ❑ The proportion of non-Estonians in Estonian operating kindergarten
- ❑ The proportion of non-Estonians in Estonian operating school classes
- ❑ The proportion of non-Estonians in Estonian operating extracurricular schools
- ❑ The median value of the Grade 9 Estonian language examination of all general education schools (more complicated indices that count dispersion can also be used)
- ❑ The median value of the school leaving Estonian language examination of all general education schools (more complicated indices that count dispersion can also be used)
- ❑ The balance of further education choices of graduates of Estonian and Russian operating schools (Estonian operating universities, Estonian operating vocational schools, all universities, all vocational schools)

- The number of Sunday schools active in the town or rural municipality in relation to the number national minority culture associations active (registered?) in the town or rural municipality

- b) Indicators for which the input is to be gathered at the location or for which the data has to be measured separately
 - The proportion of the officials of the other nationalities in town or rural municipality governments (as institutions) in relation to the proportion of people of the other nationalities in the population
 - The annual number of training session days per local government official
 - The amount of financial support of integration activities in the local budget per capita
 - The number of people having successfully completed the rehabilitation programme in relation to the number of people initially involved in this programme
 - The comparison of Estonians' and non-Estonians' satisfaction with the service provided by the local government officials
 - The comparison of Estonians' and non-Estonians' satisfaction with the availability of information about the activity of the town or rural municipality government or council and the validated regulations.
 - The comparison of Estonians' and non-Estonians' satisfaction with the public services provided by the local government (may be grouped by services: school education, kindergarten education, extracurricular education, social services, also transport, property maintenance, traffic management, municipal services)

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