

Estonian Integration Monitoring 2011

Summary

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OBJECTIVE, METHODOLOGY AND CONTENT OF THE SURVEY

The present Integration Monitoring 2011 studies the thought and behavioural patterns prevailing in the Estonian society and the coping of people in the society through the prism of integration. The objective of this survey was to map relevant areas and target groups of integration and provide input for the new National Integration Programme (2014–2020).

The survey was conducted in two parts: an Estonian-wide opinion poll (1,400 respondents between the age of 15–74, comprising of 607 ethnic Estonians and 802 people of other ethnicity) and a qualitative study in the form of focus groups. The focus group conversations were held in five different target groups relevant to integration: new immigrants, civil society representatives, staff and labour market project managers of the Unemployment Insurance Fund, employer representatives, social studies teachers from schools where Russian is the language of instruction.

Several earlier studies have highlighted that immigrants and their descendants cannot be considered as a homogenous subject of integration. This survey describes six relevant target and interest groups based on their current state and likely development trajectories considering both positive and negative scenarios. The earlier immigrants are grouped according to their level of integration in regard to different factors (legal-political, linguistic and participation in community life). The analysis of the groups provides a good overview of the outcomes of the integration processes so far and helps to prepare strategies for the future. The adaptation strategies of people who have come to Estonia after 1991 are considered separately. The most important regional specificities of the integration processes are highlighted.

In addition to the analysis based on target and interest groups, sectoral analysis has been carried out. The sectoral analysis has been divided according to the following three aspects of the integration process: human resources, participation and identity, and the information and contacts' space considering both the behaviours and attitudes.

In regard to **human resources**, i.e. the aspects of education, labour market, linguistic practices and mobility readiness, the important measure is the application of people's skills and knowledge in creating their subjective standard of living and contributing to the sustainability of the society.

Concerning **participation and identity**, analyses and proposals have been made in the fields of citizenship, political behaviour, civil society, ethno-cultural sense of belonging and practices. Here, active participation in community life, a stronger feeling of social solidarity and acceptance of common values have been prioritised.

Regarding **information and contacts' space**, different practices of media consumption were observed, including trust, immediate interethnic contacts and the willingness to allow "others" into a private and common/public space both in the direct (i.e. a multiethnic class collective) and indirect sense. The desired goal in this area is the rise of a communicative environment that would allow the society to function, and facilitate the access to the communicative environment and resources.

MOST SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS BASED ON THE INTEGRATION STUDIES OF 2011 AND 2008

- According to the integration index - an aggregated characteristic that measures linguistic, legal and political levels of integration - the proportion of moderately, strongly or fully integrated people among Estonian residents of other ethnicities has been stable between 2008 and 2011 – approximately 61%. Hence, **the integration process has not increased in recent years. However, it has polarised – deepened in both positive and negative directions.** The proportion of strongly integrated residents has increased from 27.5% in 2008 to 32% in 2012. During the same period, the proportion of people who haven't integrated at all has also augmented from 7.5% to 13%.
- Ethnic **differences in employment widened** during the period of economic recession. The difference in unemployment between ethnic Estonians and people of other ethnicities is larger than before the crisis; the gap has also increased for the proportion of permanently employed (in 2007 and 2010, 96% and 90% of ethnic Estonians and 95% and 84% of other ethnicities, respectively).
- The **Russian speakers' expectations in regard to education** have crystallised to a certain degree – **orientation towards both vocational and higher education has increased.** Today, 26% of respondents whose mother tongue is Russian would like themselves or their children to have at least vocational education (compared to 12% in 2008); in 2008, 39% of Russian-speaking respondents desired higher education, now the number is up to 50%. The proportion of respondents oriented towards professional higher education has dropped.
- The preference towards Estonian language based higher education has increased among Russian speakers.** While in 2008, 19% of respondents with Russian or other mother tongue indicated Estonian as their preferred language of higher education, by 2011 that proportion had gone up to 26%. The percentage of respondents who find that, for acquiring higher education, the language of instruction is not important at all, has decreased. The proportion of those respondents who prefer higher education in Russian or other foreign language has not changed.
- There is a growing “social demand” for Estonian language based pre-school education.** While in 2008, 59% of people with Russian or other mother tongue preferred the option where children of different ethnicities learn together in common Estonian language based kindergartens, where there are assistant teachers for children of other ethnicities who speak their native tongues, in 2011 the proportion of such responses was 65%. Kindergartens separated according to language where preferred by 32% of respondents with Russian or other mother tongue in 2008, now the number is 28%.
- The wish to acquire Estonian citizenship has become more frequent among Estonian residents with undetermined citizenship.** While in 2008, 51% of the respondents with undetermined citizenship indicated their wish to have Estonian citizenship this number has gone up to 64% by 2012. It is not yet comparable to the level of 2005, when 74% of residents with undetermined citizenship wished to have Estonian citizenship, but the trend is nevertheless positive. Compared to 2008, the number of those wishing no citizenship at all has dropped from 16% to 6%.
- Among the Estonian residents with undetermined citizenship, the feeling of belonging to the Estonian nation** in a constitutional sense has strengthened. The question “The constitution provides that in Estonia, the power of state is vested in the people. Do you consider yourself as belonging to the Estonian nation in the meaning of the constitution?” was answered positively by 34% of Estonian residents with undefined citizenship in 2008 and by 52% in 2011. Among the respondents of other ethnicities who have Estonian citizenship, the attitudes have basically not changed (in 2008, 67% felt as members of the *demos*, now 65%).
- The sense of homeland, regarding Estonia as one's only homeland, has grown.** While in 2008, 66% of respondents from other ethnicities indicated Estonia as their homeland, by 2011 that proportion increased to 76%. Among Estonian residents with undefined citizenship, the respective numbers were 48% (2008) and 68% (2011) and among the citizens of the Russian Federation 20% (2008) and 38% (2011).

- **Ethnic Estonians' attitudes regarding the inclusion of Russian speaking population have become slightly more positive.** While in 2008, 64% of ethnic Estonians (rather) agreed with the argument that "Including non-Estonians in managing the Estonian economy and the state is beneficial for Estonia", in 2011, 70% agreed with that statement. In 2008, 59% of ethnic Estonians (rather) agreed with the argument that "The opinions of the Russian speaking population should be better known and taken into consideration more than they have been so far", in 2011, 66% thought so.
- **Compared to the 2008 survey, the sense of inequality has considerably fallen among other ethnicities.** It was measured with the question "In the last couple of years, have you experienced a situation where a person has been preferred for employment, certain positions, or benefits because of his or her ethnicity or mother tongue?" In 2011, 20% of the non-Estonian respondents had experienced unequal treatment, half of them more than once, according to their own words. In 2008, the respective numbers were 49% (had experienced) and 24% (had experienced more than once).
- **Self-assessed Estonian language skills** (understanding, speaking, reading, and writing) **of people with Russian or other mother tongue have slightly improved compared to 2005.**
- **Contacts between different ethnicities have increased disproportionately** – among people of other ethnicities, the number of people having contacts with ethnic Estonians has increased, while the proportion of ethnic Estonians having contacts with other ethnic groups remains unchanged. Based on this survey, 45% of ethnic Estonians have basically no contact with members of other ethnic groups during a period of one month and 27% claim that there are no other ethnicities at all represented among their closer circle of acquaintances. Among members of other ethnic groups, 20% have not communicated with ethnic Estonians for a period of one month and 12% have no ethnic Estonians among their closer circle of acquaintances. The number of people who have had no such contacts for a month has more likely grown among ethnic Estonians compared to 2008 (the change, however, remains close to the statistical error – 4%). Among other ethnic groups, contacts with ethnic Estonians have rather broadened (in 2008, 33% had had no contact for a month, while in 2011, only 20%) and become more frequent (in 2008, 30% had frequent contacts, in 2011 the respective number was 43%).
- **The self-assessed level of being informed about what's going on in their surrounding community, in Estonia and in the European Union has somewhat increased among the Russian speaking population.** 79% regard themselves as well informed of Estonian events (in 2008 it was 70%); as for the European Union news, 58% regard themselves to be well informed compared to 45% in 2008.

THE PROGRESS AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE INTEGRATION PROCESS ACROSS TARGET GROUPS

For the 2008 integration monitoring, a model of a "well integrated non- Estonian" was constructed – a naturalized citizen who is proficient in Estonian language, considers oneself as part of the Estonian nation, communicates closely with ethnic Estonians and is oriented towards Estonia's success.

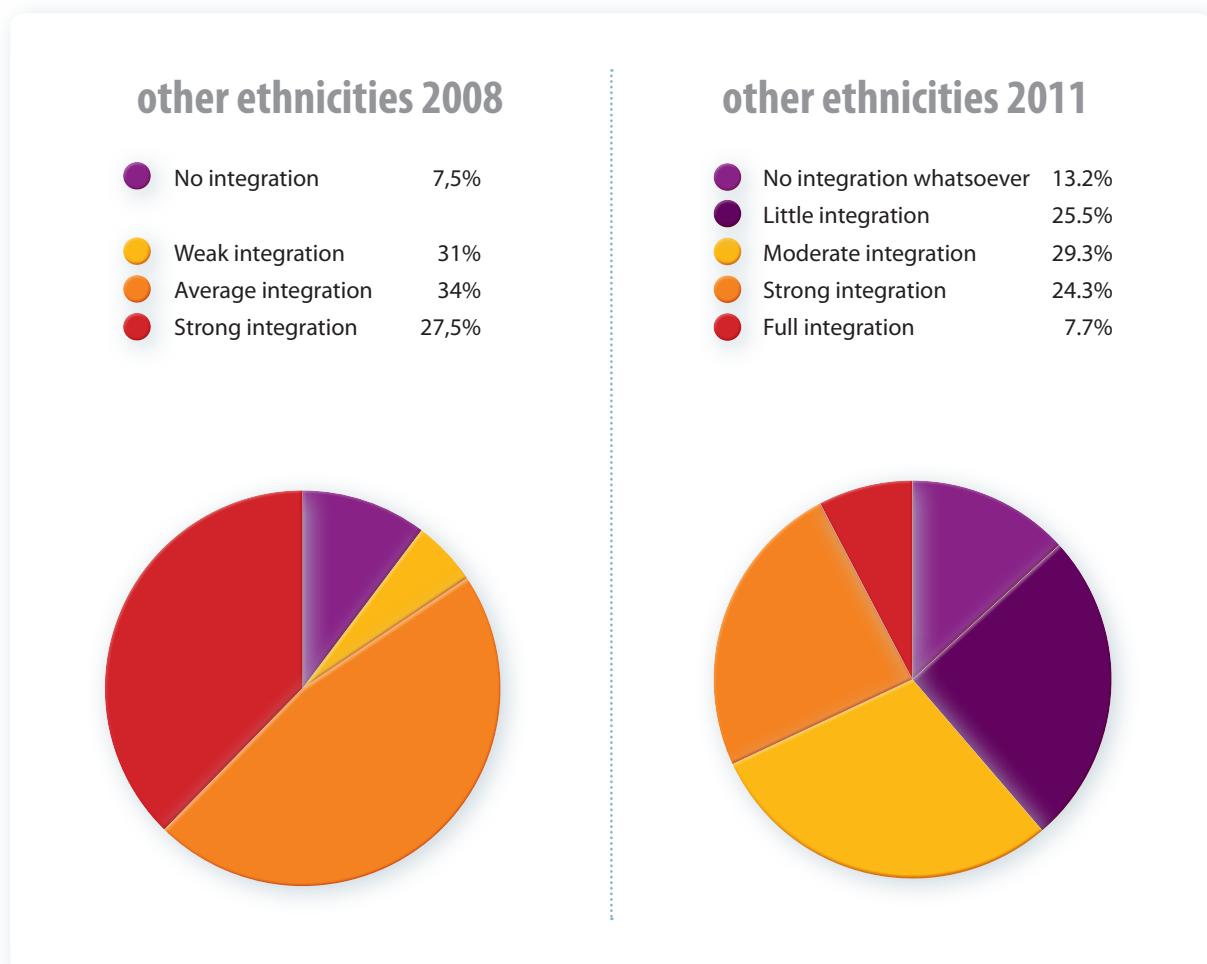
In order to explain the various integration levels, the authors have composed a **general index of the level of** linguistic, legal and political **integration**. For the index's composition, the positive values of the following characteristics were added together:

- having a citizenship of the Republic of Estonia;
- considering Estonia as one's only homeland;
- considering oneself as a member of the constitutional ethnic Estonian people;
- being proficient in Estonian language.

Comparing the 2008 and 2011 survey results based on this index, regarding the breakdown of people of other ethnicities based on the integration level (Figure 1), shows that the general proportions of integrated and non-integrated groups have not changed during the given time period. The strongly or averagely integrated groups constitute 61% and those integrated weakly or not at all 38%. The proportions of the extreme sides of the scale have, however, increased: the part with no integration has almost doubled (from 7.5% to 13.2%). The proportion of the strongly integrated group has also grown from 27.5 in 2008 to a total of 32% of strongly integrated (of which almost 8%, in turn, may be considered as fully integrated) by now.

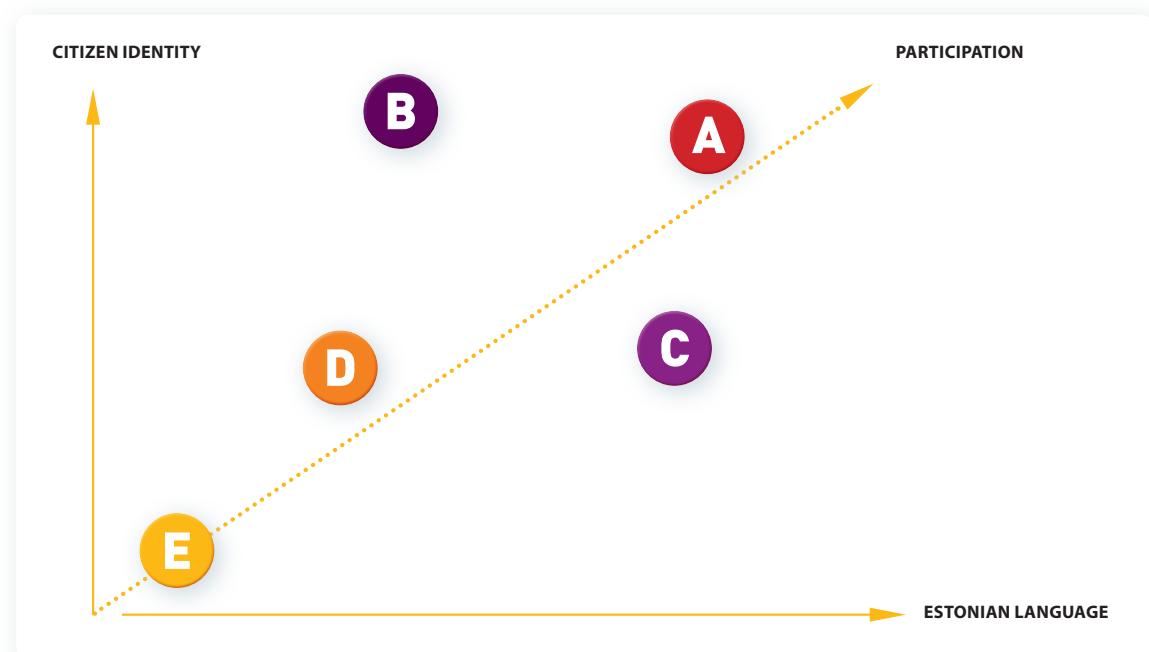
Figure 1.

Breakdown of respondents of other ethnicities according to the level of integration index in 2008 and 2011



In the Integration Monitoring 2011, an even deeper approach was taken in measuring integration, developing indexes to measure three dimensions of integration (linguistic, political, and social, see Annex 1), based on which a cluster analysis could be conducted. From the combinations of those three indexes, so-called integration clusters were formed, describing five different integration patterns. The resulting clusters describe both different levels and dimensions of integration. The positions of the clusters in relation to each other and in the three dimensions of integration are illustrated in Figure 2. Cluster A, "successfully integrated", describes an evenly strong integration in each dimension and includes 21% of the respondents. Cluster B is centred on strong civic relations, i.e. expresses strong integration in the legal-political dimension in combination with weaker linguistic integration. 16% of the respondents fell under this cluster and the analysis calls them a "Russian speaking Estonian patriot". Cluster C represents the group with good language skills but weak citizen identity and includes 13% of the respondents. Since the members of this group are characterised by a critical stance towards both Estonian and Russian politics and a stronger-than-average alternative political participation (public meetings, rallies, hearings, online petitions, etc.), the analysis has named this group as "Critically minded Estonian speakers". The cluster D, "little integration", mainly describes respondents with undetermined citizenship and weak language skills who participate actively only on a local scale. This included 28% of the respondents. Cluster E, "no integration", largely includes older people with Russian citizenship (22% of the respondents).

Figure 2. The positions of integration clusters on the three-dimensional integration field



Below, we present the main policy recommendations across sectors and according to main target and interest groups (clusters) resulting from the analysis.

THE EDUCATIONAL SECTOR

The present monitoring as well as earlier studies demonstrate a certain level of passiveness, resentment, and in some cases deliberate opposition to changes in education among some groups of teachers from schools where Russian is the language of instruction. This is particularly so regarding their little **involvement in the secondary education reform**. Engaging schools and teachers should not be limited to the current school-based negotiations of curricula and the volume of subjects to be taught in Estonian and should include first-hand explanation of the goals of the reform. Defining the idea of transition to Estonian language in the context of integrated educational changes would be important for the more critical schools where Russian is the language of instruction and groups of teachers who have so far been left in the background. It is important that the corresponding explanation activities were conducted in an open and co-operative atmosphere instead of top-down communication that has created opposition among some of the Russian-speaking teachers.

There is a significant fear related to the transition to Estonian language of instruction, especially in terms of acquiring knowledge of different subjects in another language. Based on earlier studies that mapped the teachers' views, the one-sidedness of **educational methodology** can be highlighted as one possible reason for the fear. The perceived limited skills for **managing a multi-lingual and multi-cultural class collective** also cause distress. Earlier studies have **also** shown that while existing training opportunities cover relatively well the didactics related to teaching a specific subject or Estonian language, the "cultural translation", i.e. the skill to explain cultural specifics to the pupils is missing. On the other hand, **integrated subject and language education** requires significantly more **interactive educational methods**. In addition to trainings, implementing ICT resources would help making class activities more interactive and support integrated subject and language learning as well as the functioning of the teachers' own communication network.

A slight difference in educational opportunities for different linguistic groups of the society occurred as an important problem area in this study, resulting in the need to **diversify educational choices**. On the one hand, the needs are related to higher education and secondary education as its preparatory step. For Estonians, the diversity of educational opportunities is ensured, *inter alia*, through private sector and institutional support (e.g. basic schools and grammar schools offering private education, but also kindergartens),

but for Russian-speaking population, there often are no alternatives to the uniform solutions offered by the state. Potential solutions may be found at local government level and in cooperation between schools.

On the other hand, this survey shows that there are **expectations** regarding the diversity of educational opportunities **related to pre-school education**. For one, the needs relate to the fact that **instruction in Estonian language is expected to take place significantly earlier than the government-planned secondary level**. The state measures and individual expectations and needs may therefore be claimed to have an inverse relationship and it is time to turn make the educational choices regarding language and cultural education available at earlier levels of education. This, however, requires consideration to linguistic and cultural specificities in addition to the structural needs (e.g. opening Estonian or bilingual groups in a Russian-based kindergarten as a result of lower birth rate).

Some of the findings and recommendations are presented in the report across integration clusters, i.e. **for different target and interest groups** of integration policy.

Successfully integrated (cluster A). Compared to others, this group is slightly more open regarding the language of instruction at schools, i.e. there is willingness to acquire basic and higher education in Estonian language. On the other hand, "successfully integrated" people are also a little more likely to consider partially or fully English language based secondary school as a possible option. Hence, for this group, high quality of education is more important than the working language. A regional school with in-depth instruction in Russian and various other languages (e.g. in Tallinn or Tartu), providing good chances and motivation to continue education in Estonia, may be a good support for this group.

Russian speaking Estonian patriot (cluster B). As this cluster with strong citizen identity doesn't mainly include young people but rather their parents and grandparents, it would be important to engage the latter in school life – including civic education – both through boards of trustees and various cooperation opportunities.

Critically minded Estonian speaker (cluster C). As for educational preferences, this group is relatively similar to the aforementioned clusters, preferring to acquire education (both secondary and higher) in Estonian. The strongest support for Estonian language based secondary schools compared to others may have to do with their relatively good linguistic preparedness. There are, however, dangerous signs of weak citizen identity and relatively widespread wish to leave Estonia. Social education taught in Estonian and focusing mainly on memorising terms and themes in Estonian might become perfunctory and give rise to protest and distrust among pupils. **Instead of the formal so-called state education, the main emphasis regarding teaching aids, teacher training and methodology, should be put on citizen education** that provides more opportunities for dialogue and self-expression. Serious consideration should be given to developing a youth policy that would focus on developing in young people the skills of active citizenship.

Little integrated (cluster D). Compared to the aforementioned clusters, this group is characterised by somewhat lesser opportunities for educational choices. This is expressed, for example, by a slightly more frequent assumption among the respondents that they might not be able to acquire secondary education. Education provided in one's mother tongue is preferred (particularly in the form of basic and higher education). Such results speak, on the one hand, of the need to provide, in basic schools, stronger Estonian language learning and better presentation of the educational opportunities offered for the Estonian youth, but also of the need to diversify opportunities for bilingual or Russian-based vocational and continuing education. In the context of life-long learning, the widening of the training opportunities of this group's middle-aged and older segments should not be limited to labour market training, but consideration should also be given to presenting Estonian language, culture, history and nature, keeping in mind that the target group is the generation of the parents and grandparents of today's school children, who may, due to their limited contacts with ethnic Estonians, lack of trust, narrow educational attitudes and Russian-oriented media preferences, be constructing negative sentiments at home as opposed to the school's citizenship and value-based education.

Not integrated (cluster E). This group has also more limited educational choices, as the members of the group believe that they might not even reach secondary education. In line with the general thinking, they express a wish to acquire higher education, but similarly to the "little integrated" cluster – mostly in their mother tongue. Such results again show the need for Russian-based or bilingual opportunities for acquiring vocational education.

New immigrants are willing to send their children to Estonian language based kindergartens and schools. Hence, it is definitely necessary to start training pre-school teachers and assistant teachers for working in multicultural groups, as has already been referred to

before. More support and training as regards cultural differences, values, and communicational peculiarities should also be provided in basic schools, secondary schools and institutions of higher education. New immigrants are satisfied with the adaptation programmes financed by the Integration and Migration Foundation, and this activity should certainly be extended. The courses should focus on the study of cultural differences, values, and communicational specifics, training on various information searches, on communicating with institutions and officials, etc.

THE LABOUR MARKET SECTOR

Non-Estonians as a labour market target group are not a homogenous risk group for whom same solutions would apply. It is a varied target group with **different needs and problems regarding labour market**. Therefore, there can be no universally applicable solutions for all, but instead combinations of services and measures should be found that would be most suitable for the target group.

There are two main problem areas connected to the labour market. The first is the weaker chances of **young and well-educated** people whose mother tongue is Russian to reach managing and top specialist positions compared to their Estonian counterparts. The other area concerns **the long-term unemployed**, most of whom are blue-collar workers from the industrial sector, and their labour market problems (lack of jobs in the Ida-Virumaa County, access to employment). During the economic crisis, non-Estonians were the group who were hit by the changes on the labour market disproportionately hard compared to ethnic Estonians (including for instance shorter working hours, forced vacations etc.).

One problem common to all target groups is the issue of language skills, occurring across various levels (basic language skill, acquiring high-level language skill). Combining this and other labour market problems, the need arises to combine services and measures – language learning alone is usually not enough to solve labour market problems. In connection with weak language skills, another common problem is the lack of information about opportunities on the labour market (including labour market services, labour rights, as well as information about what kind of labour is needed on the market and information about acquiring education).

FOR LABOUR MARKET POLICIES, THE FOLLOWING TARGET GROUPS NEED MOST ATTENTION:

a) young people aged 15–29 (22% of all people whose mother tongue is other than Estonian). For the young, the opportunities of using knowledge and skills on the labour market are important, therefore, high-quality and accessible career counselling (in Russian, too) is necessary. Another important issue is learning Estonian already in school or in parallel with acquiring higher education, in order for the acquired education not to be left unused because of the lack of language skills. The desire to leave the country is more common among young people and especially among those whose mother tongue is not Estonian – among those, 9% would like to permanently leave Estonia (for Estonian speaking youth that number is only 4%). The optimism in regard to finding a job abroad is higher than in other age groups. The wish to leave is mostly linked to better opportunities in another country, but also has to do with the wish to broaden one's horizons and gain new experiences. **In addition, the availability of training opportunities is worse for non-Estonian speaking young people than for those with Estonian as the mother tongue, possibly adding to their desire to leave;**

b) men with mother tongue other than Estonian. This group was most affected by the economic crisis – at the peak of the recession, the unemployment reached 35%. However, this rate has also decreased rather quickly. With this trend continuing, there is a risk of disproportionately high unemployment among women with mother tongue different than Estonian, whose unemployment rate has changed more slowly without considerable developments. Various labour market measures need to be combined, including career counselling. For this target group, the openness for alternative labour market opportunities and deeply rooted stereotypes concerning career choices are serious problem areas;

c) the unemployed aged 40+ (51% of the unemployed with mother tongue other than Estonian). They frequently have problems **accessing continuing training or retraining, combined with difficulties developing language skills**. Both career counselling and psychological counselling (overcoming barriers related to learning or choosing new professions), readily available information about the needs of the labour market and learning opportunities are necessary. **Reliable consultants are needed who know the specificities of the target group** and their problems – continuing training for consultants on specific integration groups, plus basic knowledge of psychology.

d) adult school dropouts (16% of people with mother tongue other than Estonian have basic or lower education). The problem is a combination of limited education and language skills. It is important to find **flexible opportunities for acquiring education while working, combined with language learning opportunities**.

The social and economic integration sector of the integration programme was prepared during the period of economic growth when many labour market problems were not yet visible. Hence, the integration programme itself needs updating and an ethnically and regionally differentiated approach.

For the time being, the programme is centred on the question of language skills and to a lesser extent on continuing education. It is, however, important to combine various measures, take into consideration the target groups' needs and the success of implementing such combinations. The aspect of integration should also be taken into account when planning new measures (e.g. in connection with the new period of structural funds), such as career counselling, labour market measures, familiarity with the information society (this does not mean planning separate measures for those whose mother tongue is not Estonian, but taking the integration aspect into consideration when planning and implementing the measures).

Successfully integrated (cluster A). This group is actively employed and has a higher status. Some of the members of the A cluster might need various opportunities for higher level Estonian language learning in order to compete for the highest positions on the labour market. Other than that, their situation on the labour market (unemployment, participation in training) doesn't differ from Estonian speaking people.

Russian speaking Estonian patriot (cluster B). Due to limited language skills, access to training is important. In this group, emphasis is not so much on basic language training as on practical language learning in connection with the labour market. The group is characterised by older middle age and retirement age, on account of which it is important to keep in mind the problem of knowledge and skill devaluation – i.e. the opportunities for applying the acquired knowledge and skills on today's labour market. Access to continuing training and retraining is also necessary, being now lower than for Estonian speaking respondents, but still higher than the average for those with other mother tongues. The rate of unemployment is rather similar to the general group with other mother tongues and higher than among ethnic Estonians.

Critically minded Estonian speaker (cluster C). This group has higher unemployment than native Estonian speakers and for that reason the provision of labour market services plays an important role. At the same time, the proportion of those wishing to leave Estonia permanently is also the highest in this group, both for better opportunities (including wages) abroad and for furthering one's experiences. Participation in professional continuing education is equivalent to the successfully integrated group, i.e. comparable to the respondents whose mother tongue is Estonian. Self-realisation opportunities and access to labour market are important (active labour market measures, taking into consideration the target group's problems). Here, the main issue is not the language problem but other circumstances (including labour market opportunities for blue-collar workers, retraining needs).

Little integrated (cluster D). The unemployment rate of this group is higher than that of other groups. The cluster is composed largely of skilled workers from Ida-Virumaa County, which is why it has suffered greatly as a result of the redundancies occurring in the recent years in large industrial companies. A systematic approach is needed, taking into account both the problems of the unemployed and regional specifics – Ida-Virumaa development strategy (collective solutions, involving employers and trade unions). Compared to other groups, access to training is worse, making it necessary to pay attention to opportunities of continuing training and retraining. In Ida-Virumaa County's labour market, competition is coming from Russia (positions for construction workers etc), therefore, the more active job seekers may move to Russia, leaving the area with less venturesome workers, those whose participation on the labour market is passive, and the long-term unemployed.

Not integrated (cluster E). The younger segment of this cluster has problems and solutions similar to cluster D. This group has the highest unemployment rate and the least access to training (partly linked to the high proportion of the retired).

New immigrants. Problems with finding jobs are closely connected to their lack of language skills and, in turn, the lack of a supporting circle of acquaintances and friends. Having a job is not valued purely for material reasons, but also for the feeling of playing an active role in the society. Simpler jobs that might not even correspond to people's previous education but could help to become a part of the society and learn the language, improving thereby one's self-esteem in the new environment, would already have a positive impact. The lack of Estonian language skills will affect job seeking from the beginning – it is not possible to obtain, receive and understand information in the official language. It also has an impact on participating in training or retraining, since many courses are solely provided in Estonian. Therefore, the solutions are similar to cluster D as described above, attention needs to be paid on continuing training and retraining opportunities integrated with language skills development.

When seeking a job, limited information and lack of information also cause problems. Lack of information is related to poor availability of information from the state, local municipalities' or various project-related sources – no information in other languages (Russian, English) or the limited nature of such information. Abbreviated versions of the institutions' Internet pages should be in English and information brochures are also necessary (with appropriate contact information and references). As regards personal communication, empathy and respect on the part of officials who deal with people of different ethnic origin is also important.

Although Internet is the preferred channel of information, electronic services are very little known. New immigrants expect more information about employment and business opportunities, application conditions, and training opportunities from electronic channels. The opportunities may exist but they won't be available to the non-Estonian speaking population (i.e. there are no user manuals and translations provided in English).

THE SECTOR OF LANGUAGE LEARNING, DEVELOPMENT OF LINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT AND LINGUISTIC PARTICIPATION

The chances for socialising in Estonian are strongly related to structural factors (labour market, educational sphere, geographical segregation), contacts in the public sphere are superficial and do not contribute to developing language skill. There is a need for new and more flexible **learning methods and materials, adapted to various target groups**. In order to achieve opportunities for landing managerial or top specialist positions comparable to ethnic Estonians, high-level language skills are necessary. Today, the labour force analyses show that the representation of young people with Russian or other mother tongue in the highest positions of the labour market (managers, top specialists) is smaller than that of ethnic Estonians' even with the existence of citizenship and language skills. This gap lessens only in case of very good oral and written language skills.

Therefore, those striving for the highest positions in the labour market need better opportunities for developing high-level language skills (e.g. a mentor system). To that end, teachers must be prepared and support has to be given for developing appropriate informal education systems (such as language clubs, mentor systems at workplaces, etc.). Both the teacher training and emergence of the support systems can be initiated by the government and supported with the firm orientation towards having the market offer what is needed.

The reform of secondary education has changed the needs of teachers' training as well. **Development of teachers' language skills could be integrated with developing communicational skills and skills for managing groups and processes, which would help teachers to better organise class work with pupils who have different language skills.** Teacher training is included in the integration programme but the part should be made more specific. Although the Estonian language skills are better among younger age groups, a shift in generations will not automatically lead to better Estonian language skills. The inertia of the educational system is relatively strong and structural factors (educational, labour market and geographical separation) do not ensure the pressure necessary for practice. Therefore, young people remain a target group of linguistic integration. In their case, there is the opportunity of using the formal education system to enhance integration.

The following part of the Monitoring describes findings and recommendations across target and interest groups.

Successfully integrated (cluster A). This group could primarily function as an interest group that can not only serve as a positive example but also act as teachers and mentors for others, especially for cluster B. In language instruction and language image building, mediated experience (the so-called success stories) has been the main method so far, while practical counselling, e.g. for language learning techniques has been used less. This target group may need a high-level language correction (see above).

Russian speaking Estonian patriot (cluster B). Active language skills need to be developed, i.e. opportunities to practice the language through continuing education, hobby education, activities taking place via non-governmental organisations. As a significant part of this target group lives in Ida-Virumaa County, ICT resources to promote language learning and cross-regional projects might be helpful.

Critically minded Estonian speaker (cluster C). This group is linguistically well adapted but what might be lacking is the motivation to speak Estonian and socialise with Estonian-speakers from the same age group in English, for example.

Little integrated (cluster D). For this group's integration, the lack of Estonian language skills is a significant barrier. The language learning system that has been in place for over 20 years has not given noticeable results regarding members of this cluster and, in a way, the situation has stabilised by now, i.e. **social practices are amplifying and reproducing themselves**. In order to "break the vicious circle", greater formal change is needed. This group needs more customised language training. Keeping in mind that a significant part of the cluster is unemployed or employed in the manufacturing sector (where there is not much communication or where mainly Russian is spoken), the **language skills are not improving at the workplace**. A majority of the cluster is no longer covered by the formal education system. Moreover, a large part of the target group is likely to have great difficulties adapting to a test based control system. **To achieve a basic level of linguistic integration of this group, it would be optimal to develop a specific method for teaching Estonian and an appropriate support system for people with limited learning and practicing opportunities, where improving social and communicational skills as well as psychological support and encouragement would also play a big role. Positive results could also be achieved through bilingual learning, for example, when preparing for the citizenship exam, so that people would understand the content of the material instead of just mechanically memorising phrases and words.**

For the youth falling under this target group, **the most effective way of improving their linguistic performance is to spend extended periods in an Estonian language environment**, e.g. through student exchange, summer apprenticeship or a language camp. Since the group has very limited economic means, such opportunities may turn out to be unavailable for the families and this means that it is necessary to continue and extend the existing financing measures to support the language training for this group. Enlargement of the group could be supported (i.e. linguistic barriers lowered) by raising the quality of pre-school, basic and vocational training in Ida-Virumaa County and Tallinn.

Not integrated (cluster E). From this group, the young people should be emphasized, using the same methods and activities as for cluster D.

For **new immigrants**, the main problems related to language learning are the following:

- Lack of adequate information on language courses and learning opportunities. In this context, it would be important to ensure the availability of such information through various institutions that deal with new immigrants (direct communication, information brochures, Internet). On the Internet, information must be up-to-date and customised for its target group instead of the commonly used English translations of excerpts from an Estonian full version;
- Estonian can most frequently be learned on the basis of Russian, while there are few state-financed Estonian language courses based on English. There is a real need for various levels of Estonian language education based on English. Improving one's language skill and further study currently requires financing on the part of new immigrants, which is a significant obstacle if the person is unemployed. Credit schemes should be available for this end. Language learning for top specialists is also important, since otherwise many Estonian organisations might switch to English as their working language, even in cases where a team is composed of four ethnic Estonians and one new immigrant.

From a **geographical point of view**, Ida-Virumaa County and Tallinn are the priority areas, but both have different needs. Particularly in Tallinn there is a need to develop a system for providing high-level language correction/mentoring and to train teachers/mentors. For Ida-Virumaa, teaching Estonian to people with limited learning and practicing opportunities needs to be developed. For both Tallinn and Ida-Virumaa, appropriate informal education systems must be initiated and supported (e.g. language clubs, contacts between ethnicities at the level of hobby education and civil society).

PARTICIPATION AND IDENTITY ASPECT OF INTEGRATION

For years, the assessments of Estonian integration policy and the country's general democratic development have highlighted the number of people with undetermined citizenship as the main problem. By now, the relative share of people with undetermined citizenship has decreased to 7% of the total population. According to the population register, the breakdown of the country's population according to citizenship is as follows: 84% are Estonian citizens (among other ethnicities, it is 53%), 7% are Russian citizens (among other ethnicities 20%), 2–3% have citizenship of another country (among other ethnicities 7%) and 7% have undefined citizenship or the so-called grey passport (among other ethnicities 20%). The achieved result may be more modest than expected, but compared to the situation 20 years ago, there has been a significant increase in the number of people who have acquired **Estonian citizenship**.

The process of naturalisation has slowed down in recent years and the number of naturalized citizens mainly increases through the youth graduating from school. The fact that about a fifth (19%) of the young people (aged 15–19) of other ethnicities who have been born, grown up and received education in the Republic of Estonia, have not chosen Estonian citizenship, whereas 12% have preferred Russian citizenship, may be deemed to be the most alarming issue in regard to citizenship. More often than older age groups, the young people mention their unwillingness to choose Estonian citizenship because of the country's bad reputation or out of protest against its policies. Such a situation requires qualitative study of the socialising process, including civic education in Russian language based basic and secondary schools, and shifting its focus from language to values. The first challenge is to define a clear goal for the civic and value education offered in basic and secondary schools: the education system of the Republic of Estonia must ensure that all young people of Estonia, regardless of their ethnicity or place of birth, have, by the time of completing basic education, an aspiration and opportunity to start a life or continue studies having Estonian citizenship, and the state should clearly express that message and support that goal in the development of learning environment, teaching aids and teachers training.

Beside the issue of citizenship choices made by the younger generation, there still exist the problems of those middle-aged or older people whose citizenship is undetermined or who have applied for Russian citizenship because of the difficulty of passing the Estonian citizenship exam. The question of whether this barrier is primarily caused by prejudices and psychological hurdles or by unsuitable methodology for people with weaker learning abilities needs further clarification. More detailed solutions to the problems of the so called "traditional citizenship policy target group" have been proposed among the recommendations for the sector of language and education. Regarding the breakdown by age and education, the ethnic Estonian citizens and Estonian citizens of other ethnicities are relatively similar. What catches one's eye is the different age and educational composition of Russian citizens compared to Estonian citizens of other ethnicities as well as to people with undetermined citizenship. Namely, there are significantly more older people among Russian citizens. Both the groups of Russian citizens and people with undetermined citizenship had also fewer respondents with higher education and more with vocational education than Estonian citizens.

Of the citizens of the Republic of Estonia belonging to the monitoring sample, 80% were ethnic Estonians, 17% Russians, 1% Ukrainians and 2% from other ethnic groups. Considering the significantly growing multiculturalism of Estonian citizenry, the integration policy should put much stronger emphasis on it, since in Estonia, similarly to older democracies, people of other ethnic groups or with different mother tongues are guaranteed equal rights to participate in social life. Earlier studies have suggested the existence of the glass ceiling effect that is evident in the smaller representation of citizens of other ethnicities among leaders and top specialists compared to ethnic Estonians. A possible way to alleviate this situation would be to encourage them to apply for positions in the public sector, providing, when necessary, high level language correction support in the form of an appropriate service or simply collegial support (positive results have been achieved in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for example).

Political activity and interest in interior politics among Russians and other ethnicities does not differ significantly from that of ethnic Estonians. The most immediate opportunity to participate in politics is to engage in the activities or become active supporters of parties. The amount of people, who have not defined their allegiance to a political party, is over a third among both ethnic Estonians and non-Estonians (36% and 40%, respectively). At the same time, the patterns of preferred parties are very different: while ethnic Estonian voters make their choices across the entire political spectrum, the Russian speakers' voting practices have so far been black and white: either not to participate or to vote for the Centre Party – the support for all other parties, including Russian parties, has not exceeded a couple of per cent. **In recent years, this pattern has started to blur**, as citizens of Russian and other ethnicities have started to find new alternatives from the political field in order to express their views.

The monitoring shows that especially younger, better integrated and economically more successful citizens with Russian or other cultural background are becoming interested in other parties, which so far have mostly been oriented towards the Estonian speaking voters. In order to break out of the monotonousness and achieve **democratic views and pluralism of choices among Russian speaking citizenry**, all parties should engage in a lively communication with the Russian speaking population, which would, in turn, bring about more attention by the so-called Estonian parties to their role in the integration policy and **openness, on their part, to listen to the Russian speakers' problems and opinions**. Naturally, this requires stronger citizen identity on the part of the Russian speaking voters as well as their willingness to participate constructively in the development of the state and the society as a whole. To this end, parties could consider **directing resources to promoting citizen education and democratic values** in Ida-Virumaa County, Lasnamäe district (Tallinn) and Maardu, having in mind the youth as an especially important target group.

For solving these problems, the main challenge is to include the active clusters A, B and C as actors and not objects of the integration policy.

As already mentioned, the **successfully integrated** group (cluster A) and the group of **Russian speaking Estonian patriots** (cluster B) have strong citizen identity and are oriented towards active participation. In their case, the issue is about creating opportunities to be partners and leaders in realizing the younger people's values and citizen education and motivating older people to keep up their efforts to acquire Estonian citizenship. As active voters, both these clusters are very attractive for all political parties, with cluster A being especially interested in ambitious challenges.

The **mostly younger and protest-minded cluster C** with its good Estonian skills is an important interest group of leaders among the Russian youth. Half of that same cluster's members are not Estonian citizens, and that makes them an **important target group of citizen education and youth work**. The slightly larger popularity of green ideology among that cluster deserves attention. As this cluster includes a larger than average proportion of people with multiple cultural or national identities, it is important to **refrain from political labelling or normative black and white approach** when addressing them. In order to bring the youth of cluster C and their less active and less successful contemporaries of clusters D and E out of the closed circle, no effort should be deemed too hard, since broadening and strengthening of patriotic feelings cannot likely be expected in younger age groups either.

Active participation of the pupils of Russian schools together with ethnic Estonians in youth organisations and leisure centres is very important. The protest identity, easily arising in case of normative pressure, must also be kept in mind. Learning cultural translation and dialogue – **relating Estonian, Russian and Western cultures to each other**, seeing them in a new historic and territorial perspective instead of the strictly Estonian viewpoint, will bring results.

Most of the **little integrated (cluster D)** group have undetermined citizenship but show average level of activity in local elections. It would be important that the members of this target group would wish to acquire Estonian citizenship, but 90% of them see the Estonian language exam as an insurmountable hurdle. The people in this group would need specific encouragement and preparation to overcome this (see above).

People in the “**not integrated**” group (**cluster E**) are mostly Russian citizens, but there are also Estonian citizens (17%) and young people (20%) that should be “pulled out” from the group, primarily through the above-described measures in the sectors of education and labour market.

DEVELOPING CIVIL SOCIETY

Civil society organisations are one of the target groups of the integration policy measures.

The organised civil initiative by Estonia's Russian speaking population may serve various goals as mentioned both in the Estonian Civil Society Development Concept and Estonian Integration Programme 2008–2013. On the one hand, they may aim to strengthen positive group identity, to improve awareness of and find better solutions to specific problems of various groups. On the other hand, the growth in non-Estonian speaking population's civil initiative and its better organisation is also a channel of cooperation with the Estonian speaking community. The overall goal should be for the civil society to develop and blend on the basis of interests and sectors.

The results of the survey suggest that the difference in the rate of membership in non-governmental organisations between citizenship groups is smaller than before and rather insignificant. More than half of the people with Russian or other mother tongue are participating in organisations whose work language is either Estonian or both Estonian and Russian. According to the estimations of the representatives of Estonian umbrella organisations, this does not necessarily mean that such participation offers opportunities to communicate in Estonian. More likely, it means that, in their relations with financers and public sector institutions, the organisations have to operate in an Estonian language environment. Regarding social activity in a larger sense, ethnic Estonians and other ethnicities have shown different levels of engagement in voluntary work. In this, having Estonian citizenship does not create similarities. For younger age groups, too, the level of participation in voluntary work is where the differences are more apparent.

In order to increase civic activity and participation in associations among Russians and other nonethnicities, Estonian umbrella organisations should be considered to a greater extent as a target group of the integration policy. Through their sectoral activities and with their methods, they contribute to the improvement of the citizen awareness and civic activity of the non-Estonian population. The implementers of the Estonian integration programme could also engage in beneficial cooperation with the **National Foundation of Civil Society**, Network of Estonian Non-profit Organisations, Etnoweb and other associations, who have experiences in developing NGO-friendly sup-

port measures that raise their operational capacity, and in encouraging cooperation between organisations. Estonian language based **umbrella organisations, representative organisation and interest protection organisations** that have experiences with participation of people with Russian and other mother tongues should **be involved** in the development of integration policy measures.

Larger **umbrella organisations should be offered operational support for consistent distribution of information in Russian and English** languages in their sectors and to their target groups and for including them in their association's work and policy making processes.

Supporting the development of Russian language based organisations **needs coordination**, for example, one state supported sustainable umbrella organisation or a body may have the responsibility of collecting information necessary to activate new and existing associations and **strategic planning of the activities of the integration process that is taking place with their mediation**. For example, international best practices could be gathered and practical operational advice and training provided for citizens' associations involving ethnic minorities and for active citizens. Estonian umbrella organisations have had no contact with the so-called organisational development of Russian speaking organisations, i.e. given advice on the best ways to recruit members, on managing the organisation, preparing agendas and strategies and planning, writing and implementing projects. On the other hand, the focus group discussions organised by the Civil Society Research and Development Centre (KUAK) showed that there is a need for those kinds of **training and advice**.

Several financers, too, have admitted that the content and quality of project applications submitted by Russian language based associations need improvement through strong additional assistance. These are issues of basic capacity of the associations, support for the promotion, which should be organised in a centralised way, for example, in cooperation between the Integration and Migration Fund and National Foundation of Civil Society.

Through support mechanisms, cooperation and networking between associations can be encouraged. The development of Estonian citizens' associations has shown that **cooperation does not come naturally, but needs a little push**, so that associations would understand its benefits and get used to sharing ideas in order to achieve more impact. Evidently, the Russian based citizens' associations need to go through the same learning process.

It is very important to pass to the Russian speaking organisations information about Estonian associations operating in various sectors and areas as **potential cooperation partners or mentors**.

In order to alleviate the lack of information among non-Estonian population, initiatives by Estonian associations (primarily the representative, custodial and umbrella organisations) should be supported, such as creating a Russian language webpage or translating and distributing informational materials in Russian. Faster integration of new immigrants could also be facilitated by availability of information in English. The experience so far has shown that such support has been justified and received positive feedback from the Russian speaking population and media.

Support should be given to developing the human resources and membership of Estonian associations (primarily the representative, custodial and umbrella organisations) towards having **more people from different ethnicities with good language skills among the main team**. Instead of buying professional translation services, support should be directed towards **finding people for the organisation who would work on disseminating the activities in Russian**, be it students in apprenticeship, voluntary workers or people employed by the organisation. This, however, requires **operational support rather than one-time project support**. Experience shows that compared to cooperating with the Russian language based organisations the existence of active people of other ethnicities in an organisation gives encouragement for the Russian-speaking target group. However, finding, maintaining and developing such people is time-consuming. Therefore, it is important to support wider dissemination of best practices and consistency, e.g. the Network of Estonian Non-profit Organisations' Leadership School and the more general citizen education training and discussion groups in Russian organised by the Tallinn City's Board of Disabled People. To this end, both financing such activities and cooperation with organisations implementing those practices would be suitable.

Regarding the integration of **new immigrants**, it is important to support ethnic associations active in Estonia (Tatar, Islamic, Ukrainian, Jewish etc) as an important form of civil society in their activities that encourage members of their ethnic group to socialise rapidly in Estonian society and avoid isolation.

Regionally, it is necessary to support Estonian associations' spread to Ida-Virumaa County, finding permanent partners and belonging to networks.

CONSIDERING THE INFLUENCE OF ETHNO-CULTURAL IDENTITY IN INTEGRATION PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES

The priorities of the integration activities are to "develop common understanding of the State among permanent residents of Estonia, ... at the same time accepting cultural differences", and to "avoid ethnic or cultural isolation due to regional peculiarities or social withdrawal both among the existing population and new immigrants" (Integration programme, page 3). Achieving these goals requires **in communications with the target groups, the ability to find the right tone that is sensitive to ethno-cultural specifics and discrete, and to avoid (and sometimes alleviate) the fear of assimilation**. Communicating the wish to respect and preserve ethno-cultural identity is a necessary component of the activities of the integration process, since ethno-cultural self-definition is rather important for all of the target and interest groups of the process. So far, ethno-cultural identity has not developed in line with the citizen identity – each of the ways of collective self-definition has developed relatively independently. While one or the other way of self-definition may be stronger on an individual level or even a certain group level, no dominating relation can be observed in the society as a whole.

The goal of ensuring the preservation of ethno-cultural identity cannot be covered simply by supporting societies of national culture, as their activities have rather limited impact. Other measures should be developed to achieve that goal and to communicate those activities to a wider audience. **Integration activities aimed at preserving ethno-cultural identity may send a positive signal to less integrated target groups.** As language is very important in defining one's ethno-cultural identity, the measures that support learning and practicing Estonian should also place emphasis on the aspect of ethno-cultural identity ("cultural translation", already highlighted in the section covering the education sector).

When dealing with societies of national culture, it should be kept in mind that a relatively large part of the smaller ethnic groups in Estonia can have multiple identities. When supporting them, therefore, **translational activities involving interaction between several cultures should be preferred** to so-called conservational activities.

Among the integration clusters, no target groups can be identified as having particularly strong or weak ethno-cultural identity. However, considering the fact that the clusters have different levels of citizen identity, general identity profiles of the integration clusters can be outlined.

Successfully integrated (cluster A) group has strong citizen identity, is mostly oriented towards individual social mobility, and is likely to fear distinctive collective bonds that oppose the majority group. At the same time, for about two thirds of this target group, ethno-cultural identity is very important, although it is not expressed as strongly in public practices (e.g. celebrating holidays) as with some of the other clusters. Communicating with them requires **respect for ethnic peculiarities** so that they would not see Estonization as the only possible choice of acculturation.

As regards citizen identity and ethno-cultural identity, **Russian speaking Estonian patriot (cluster B)** is similar to cluster A. However, members of this cluster are **significantly more active in "practicing" their ethno-cultural identity** – their participation in associations of national culture is more active than average, they celebrate holidays etc. In their case, the ethno-cultural sensitivity of the government-originated communication is probably even more important than with cluster A that is inclined towards Estonization.

Of the target group of the critically minded Estonian speakers (cluster C), approximately half has a generally weak collective identity both in the citizenship and ethno-cultural dimensions. For about half of the members of this group, ethno-cultural identity prevails over citizen identity in their lives. At the same time, this does not show much on the level of practices (holidays, cultural associations etc.) or in general beliefs – a significant number of them is of the opinion that, in the modern world, people do not need to define themselves ethnically. Since the general mindset of the target group is critical, however, they are more accepting towards an approach that is critically reflective and semiotic, mutually "translating" Estonian, Russian and other cultures, as well as considering the Estonian themes from a wider historic and territorial perspective instead of the narrower Estonian viewpoint.

The **little integrated (cluster D)** target group has the most varied identity profile – some have weak collective identity in both dimensions, for some, one of the two is prevailing, and for about a quarter, both identities have developed rather strongly. For this group, active celebration of Russian holidays is important, which could be balanced by involving them more actively in celebrations of Estonian holidays in schools (as parents, inter alia) and events connected with customs characteristic of Estonian culture. Citizen identity could

undoubtedly be strengthened by more realistic opportunities to acquire Estonian citizenship, where modest capacity for language learning is currently the main hurdle.

Not integrated (cluster E) is similar to cluster C as regards identity profile. Approximately half of the target group has a generally weak collective identity and for the others, the ethno-cultural identity is dominating. The members of this cluster are rather active in reaffirming their identity daily through linguistic, media consumption and other practices, including active adherence to the Russian holiday calendar. In dealings with this group, their impact as a hotbed for new isolated generation should primarily be kept in mind, i.e. focusing on how to communicate with the youth whose parents or grandparents belong to this group.

MEDIA CONSUMPTION, OBTAINING INFORMATION

While Russian speaking population as a whole is constantly following Russian television channels, **it does not mean that the informational space of the Russian speaking population is uniform and focused on Russia**. On the contrary, thanks to increasing use of Estonian for following media and to abundant opportunities to view global television channels in Russian language version or with Russian subtitles, the **information space of the Russian speaking population is significantly more diverse than that of the ethnic Estonians**.

A fairly large percentage of the Russian speaking population – between 20% and 30%, according to different studies, is participating regularly in the Estonian language information space, too, which should be taken much more into account in the work of Estonian media channels, especially **Estonian Public Broadcasting**, as well as on the Internet. At the same time, only a small portion of the Estonian speaking audience follows Russian language based media, including views expressed on the Internet. In general, both sides have started to pay more attention towards mutual attitudes and it is the better integrated part of the other ethnicities with better language skills that is expressing concerns regarding the occurrence of ethnic conflicts. From the integration aspect it is especially important to keep in mind that **the prejudiced, offensive and arrogant attitude towards other ethnicities that is occasionally shown in both Estonian and Russian media magnifies the impression of the acuteness of ethnic conflicts in Estonia, while there are not that many conflicts in contacts outside media. Institutions working in the field of journalism ethics and self-regulation** should pay closer attention to this. They should **initiate an independent media monitoring** that would keep an eye on both Estonian and Russian speaking journalism, following the compliance of the content of Internet pages with the principle of preventing incitement to hatred and stereotypes that are derogatory towards other ethnicities.

Compared to the 2008 integration monitoring, the percentage of those who are well informed of events in their surrounding communities, Estonia, and the European Union, has slightly increased among people of other ethnicities. Watching Estonian media channels more actively is apparently one reason for it. Furthermore, Estonian Russian-speaking media, especially **Radio 4** is an important channel of information for a large part of the audience with weaker or non-existent Estonian skills. Taking into account that two thirds of the middle-aged and older Russian speaking population and yet almost a third of the youth is not able to follow Estonian speaking information channels, **it continues being important, from the aspect of the functioning of and the trust towards the Republic of Estonia, to support the activities of the information channels, including Russian Internet portals, that disseminate, in a reliable manner, daily practical information, including legislation and messages regarding people's everyday lives, health and security, cultural events and information on the activities of citizens' associations. It is especially important in the light of the Russia's compatriot policy – which is damaging to Estonian integration processes – being focused on influencing our Russian speaking population.**

Of subject preferences, local news are naturally in the first place. For both Estonians and non-Estonians, programs about the natural environment are missed the most. There really are very few shows on television that present the beautiful sites as well as travel and hiking opportunities in Estonia. This is currently underutilized source that has a lot of potential.

Attitudes towards more frequent appearances by Russian and Estonian opinion leaders in Estonian and Russian media, respectively, are relatively positive. So are the attitudes towards initiating a longer Russian speaking infotainment, film and entertainment programme on ETV2 on the weekends. However, while most Russian speakers support the idea of creating a fully programmed Russian television channel, many eEstonian-speakers (53%) do not. Therefore, putting it to work would require, in addition to more favourable economic conditions, a serious amount of public relations work.

When translating Estonian language based shows for Russian speaking viewers, subtitles are the preferable option – while only a half of the Russian speaking viewers support that choice (others would prefer simultaneous interpretation), Estonians would be bothered by dubbing (but not by subtitles).

In the work of the Public Broadcasting, especially in the case of national television, the Russian speaking population should be regarded as comprising of various target groups. Comparing the media consumption cluster analysis and the target groups described among the integration clusters, three or four larger types of audience can be distinguished. At first, a separate large group should be pointed out (about one third of the Russian speaking population) that follows **Estonian media channels actively**, deems them important and trusts them, among whom half are young residents of Tallinn and one third are managers and specialists (60-70% have good Estonian language skills). Depending on positive or critical attitudes, this audience either belongs to the successfully adapted cluster A or the protest-minded cluster C. Most of them participate in the Estonian media space fairly consistently. Almost half of them (supposedly 10–15% of the total Russian speaking population) have Estonianized to the extent that they prefer Estonian language media for receiving information on Estonia both to the local Russian speaking media and the media of the Russian Federation.

It would be crucial to achieve **more visible participation of this active group – that communicates freely in Estonian – in the Estonian media space** not just as an audience but also as speakers, authors and actors in all socially important subjects. It must be kept in mind that more active involvement of those debaters, whose attitudes towards Estonian events are often more critical than those of Estonians (according to the survey, approximately every fifth has participated in various protests on the Internet and elsewhere) would require better mastery on the anchorman's part as well, when directing exchanges of thoughts between people with different thought patterns and views. **Honest and focused debate, bringing the opinions of the Russian speaking population into the exchange**, would make the shows more dynamic and more compelling for people with Estonian and Russian cultural background. It would help to move significantly closer towards creating a common Estonian-speaking sphere – which is an important goal of the socio-political integration.

Another type of audience, antithetical to the one just described, is composed of the **older people from Ida-Virumaa County and Tallinn who are interested in Estonia** (about a fifth of the total Russian speaking population), most of whom do not have good language skills, on account of which their participation in the Estonian speaking media space is fairly small. A peculiarity of this type is their interest towards various aspects of Estonian development and wish that media would play a larger role in the integration of ethnic Estonians and non-Estonians (integration clusters B and D). The main source of information for this group is Radio 4, and in addition, they follow closely local Russian media. **Taking** this part of the Russian speaking audience – that has **a positive attitude towards Estonia – carefully into account as both listeners-viewers and speakers in the Russian shows of the Public Broadcasting** would be an important factor creating mutual trust and understanding in shaping the attitude of older non-Estonian speaking generation towards the Estonian state, facilitating in this way significantly the improvement of the integration of the Estonian society.

As the third target group, we should take under observation the fifth of the Russian speaking population that mostly includes blue-collar workers from **Ida-Virumaa County**, has limited Estonian language skills and almost no interest towards Estonian life, and is mainly **oriented towards Russia's media channels** (partly integration cluster D, mainly E). The members of this group have the least trust, among the clusters, in Estonian state institutions. However, **Estonian Russian speaking channels are also important and reliable for this group** as well. A look at everyday circumstances and a less politicized view of Russian speakers' problems in the national television's Russian speaking programme would supposedly be interesting both to the previously described and this target group.

New immigrants answer that they are interested and open towards what is going on in the society, but it is not apparent from their real behaviour. They argue that they are interested in Estonian theatre, television and news, but that understanding them would require good language skills. Following Estonian news is a language learning project rather than a constant habit. Daily information is mostly acquired from international information channels or channels speaking their own mother tongue. New immigrants do not visit cultural events frequently – partly because of the unavailability or lack of information and partly, again, because of their limited language skills, as well as due to the lack of courage and initiative. For informing the new immigrants, the best places are those where they most often go to: state and administrative agencies, Integration and Migration Foundation adaptation courses, congregations, and associations. One of the most important skills to be acquired during the adaptation programme is the ability to find, without assistance, information on the Internet and enter information there. Information on the events going on in various sectors of the society and on legislation, skills of dealing with everyday life (shopping, going to a hairdresser, a bank, a job interview, communication in administrative institutions), coping with and finding assistance for job seeking, establishing a private business, buying immovable properties and dealing with social and legal assistance matters, are also important.

CONTACTS BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS, WILLINGNESS FOR CONTACTS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS ACCESS TO POLICIES

Ethnic Estonians' attitudes towards involving Russian-speaking population have become more positive and new sub-policies should support and amplify that development. It is important to depoliticize participation opportunities – successful people with Russian cultural background in the fields of sports and entertainment, science, culture or business as role models. The increasing publication of such success stories in Estonian media certainly deserves recognition.

Another positive development is the **decreased sense of unequal treatment among other ethnicities**. On the other hand, it is important to note that the **sense of inequality is the highest among the people with the highest level of education and best Estonian language skills who follow Estonian media and have higher expectations** as regards the state and personal success (groups A and C)– i.e. the strongly integrated people who have a more focused expectation to be treated as an equal partner.

No clear trend can be seen in the aspect of contacts between ethnicities. Instrumental contacts still prevail (in public sphere, school, at work), while personal communication networks are mostly centred on one's own ethnic group. However, contacts in places of study or work are an important precondition for contacts in the personal sphere (significantly more so than the leisure sphere), which are, unfortunately, not supported by linguistically separated school and labour market. Ethnic Estonians participate in public events significantly more frequently. In case of the organisations and events of the third sector, more emphasis should be placed on information in Russian language (see also recommendations on civil society above). The choice of language in itself sends the message that the event is intended for all members of the society and not only eEstonian-speakers.

Successfully integrated (cluster A) is a group characterised by their more acute wish to be involved as an equal partner. Therefore, the sense of an ethnic conflict is stronger in other groups – they are sensitive towards ethnocentrism in Estonian language communication and media. Ethnic Estonians could be more culturally sensitive (in media, too), consider the existence of the "others" and count them among "us". **This group should not be excluded and offended with "hostile Russian" stereotypes or treating them as object of the integration process.**

Russian speaking Estonian patriot (cluster B). The cluster is characterised by weaker Estonian language skills, but at the same time a more frequent than average communication with ethnic Estonians, great trust in institutions, lower sensitivity for ethnic conflicts. However, they have the most experiences with unequal treatment (based on language skill). **What is important is not to equate loyalty with language skill and to recognise the Russian speaking participation.** Opportunities should be created for their closer involvement in the Estonian-speaking environment **through professional and hobby communication networks.**

Critically minded Estonian speaker (cluster C). The group is characterised by a high degree of experience with ethnic conflict and unequal treatment (not so much personal as mediated). Compared to other clusters, they have the least daily contacts with ethnic Estonians, also in their social networks (20% have no ethnic Estonian acquaintances), while having fairly good Estonian skills. Linguistically integrated and critical young people must not be **cast away with a priori suspicion and distrust. It is important to support activities and associations that create closer contacts with ethnic Estonian contemporaries, find common points through interests and setting common goals and offer self-realisation through teamwork.** In communications with the youth, the opportunities available in Estonia compared to other countries should be presented; problems should be discussed openly and critically through discussion and not by way of normative or marketing-style rhetoric.

Little integrated (cluster D). The members of this target group have the most contacts with ethnic Estonians at **workplace**; hence it would be important to use the workplace as a resource for improving integration and widening contacts.

Not integrated (cluster E). This group has experienced the most ethnic clashes (10%, compared to the 7% average of all clusters), which may be connected to the feeling of separation and exclusion (that arises from unemployment and the sense of having lost perspective on the job market in connection with low education level and weak Estonian language skill). For this group, the first step should be to improve the feeling of security in the society, offer better cohesion with the society, primarily for the young people in the cluster, in order to avoid reproducing estrangement.

Attitudes towards new immigrants are, on the one hand, about accepting the inevitability – the population is getting older and Estonia is an open society where various people may come from different places of the world. On the other hand, it is admitted that Estonia already has enough people of other ethnicities, and there is no particular sense of duty to accept more. Attitudes towards new immigrants are more positive among the youth, which can also be amplified via education – multicultural study in schools, with emphasis on tolerance and openness. The new immigrants themselves do not sense discrimination either on their employers' or fellow citizens' part.

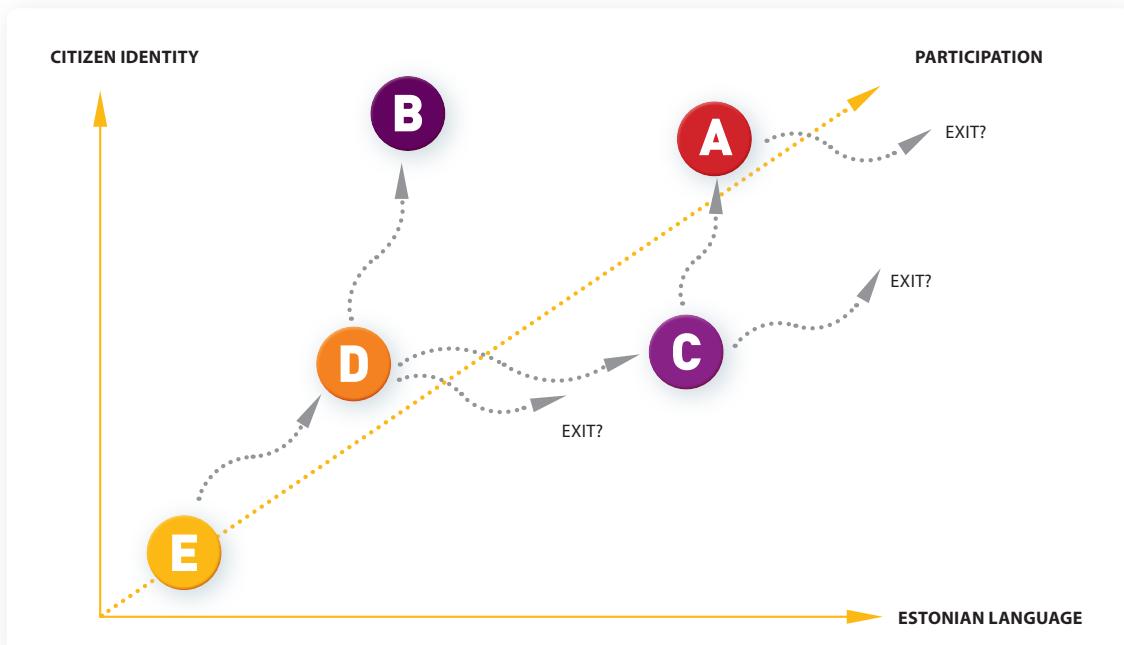
DEVELOPMENT SCENARIOS OF THE INTEGRATION PROCESS

The main conclusion of this integration monitoring is that the integration policy implemented so far, directed at the "Russian speaking population" or "people with undefined citizenship" as socially vague objects of a state policy, should be replaced with an integration process that takes into account each target group's level of integration and goals based on their specific problems. Such a process should be strategically coordinated, but focused on specific areas and goals for each target group and involving other ethnicities. The subjects in this process are, on the one hand, various representatives of other ethnic population groups (characterised by analytical "integration clusters"), on the other hand, state institutions, and as the third party – civil society and other institutions and associations active in public life (incl. political parties, labour market partners, local municipalities etc.).

The accompanying figure illustrates possible changes and transitions that may, as a result of a successful integration policy, occur in the three-dimensional space of integration, first of the axles of which is political and legal self-definition and the development of citizen identity, the second is subjective activity and social capital (communication network, trust and participation) and the third is cultural competencies, language skills, level of education and ethno-cultural identity.

With positive changes occurring, the strengthening of one's citizen identity may lead to a transition from cluster C to A. Greater trust, overcoming the barrier of citizenship and involvement in civil society may bring a passive and distrusting member of cluster D into the active and loyal cluster B, while improvement of language skills and rise of activity may take one from cluster D to C. The isolated younger part of cluster E might, with appropriate media and a supporting communication network, move to cluster D that is more interested in Estonia, and from there on. Naturally, movements in the other direction are also possible in case of disappointment and lack of success: dropping from more active to more passive and to more estranged clusters, or "stepping down" in the form of migration, for example.

Figure 3. Development trajectories of integration clusters



The above figure illustrates the need to define a target group for any integration activity and appropriate goals and roles for that group

in the process. It would be unrealistic to hope that people with weak language skills belonging to clusters E or D could in five years be turned into successful people, who prefer Estonian speaking media, or that an independently minded speaker of good Estonian with little citizen identity belonging to cluster C could be reformed into a loyal and well-meaning member of cluster B, who also has limitless cultural competencies.

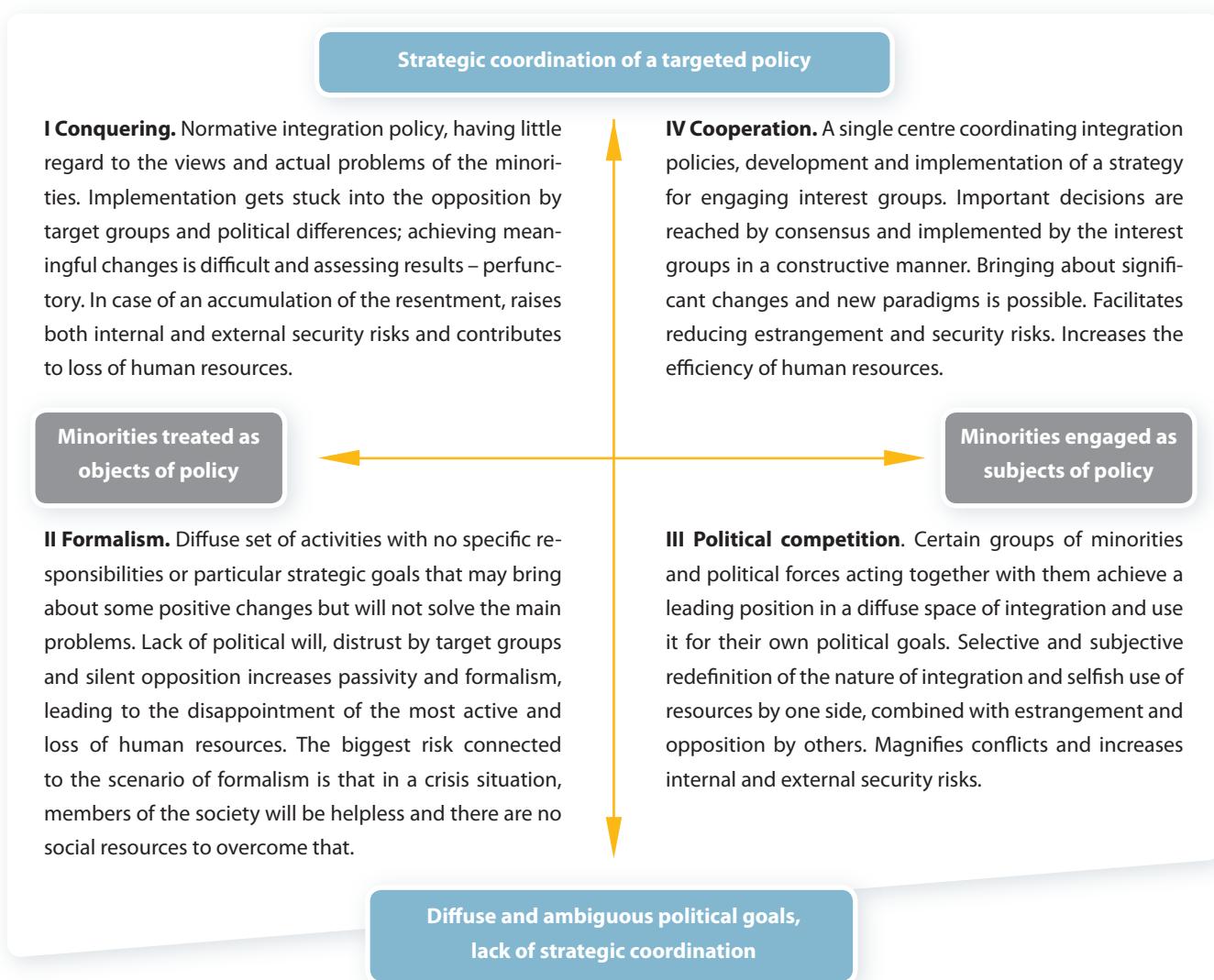
Generalising the developments in integration policy and lessons learnt so far, and trying to predict the best way for continuing the integration process and implementing a more effective integration policy after the end of the current integration programme in 2013, we can theoretically list four scenarios for implementing integration policy. Rather than being empirical descriptions, these scenarios are logical models based on two central choices: first, the choice between an integration policy with a targeted strategic direction or a policy with no such direction and rather a fragmented organisation adapted to external expectations, and second, the choice of defining the minorities' own position in the integration policy: whether they are passive objects or active subjects, who are involved in both the preparation and implementation phases. Those choices are shown as axles that describe four scenarios (see Figure 4).

Reflecting back on the situation of the second half of 1990s that preceded the preparation of the first integration programme (2000–2007), we chose “conquering” as the illustrating keyword (scenario I, see upper left field on Figure 4). For the newly restored Republic of Estonia, the main problem was not the real integration of the Russian speaking population, but regulation of their legal status and social position, which was done by the Citizenship Act, the Aliens Act and the Language Act. Only a small percentage of the Russian speaking population were Estonian citizens at birth. As most of the Russian speaking population were post-war immigrants, defining their citizenship was tied to legal, interior and foreign policy matters as well as to cultural and psychological problems. The social scientists who explained the starting points of the integration process (see Lauristin, Heidmets 2002) highlighted the separation of the two linguistic communities on the labour market, public space and everyday communications, the socio-economic inequality, the high level of mutual distrust and annoyance, the unwillingness of the majority of ethnic Estonians to accept a larger participation of the Russian speakers in deciding the matters of the Estonian society. Hence, the first integration programme focused on the naturalization of non-citizens (“legal-political integration”) and in that context, on the promotion of language skill as the precondition of naturalization (“cultural integration”). On the other hand, the ethnic Estonians’ level of annoyance was brought down, hoping for a more positive and open attitude towards involving minorities. Although the first integration programme did include a chapter of socio-economic integration, its place in the integration policy was very low-key. The subject of the integration policy was the State (represented by the institution of the Minister of population), the integration policy was managed as a project-based activity, and the “Non-Estonian Integration Foundation” established and managed with the State’s partnership became the initiator, assessor and inspector of the projects.

The project based nature was even further deepened by tying the policy before accession to the European Union and after it to sets of measures aimed at complying with formal “euro-standards” that, on the one hand, encouraged work on certain aspects of the integration problems (reducing the number of people with undetermined citizenship, adapting language skill requirements to EU norms), but also made it possible to leave some substantial problems, like increasing social cohesion, promoting citizen education and inter-cultural dialogue etc., on the background. A second scenario formed, characterized by an abundance of formally fixed specific sectoral measures, but lack of substantial strategic coordination. The institution of the Minister of population had neither a strong enough mandate nor enough resources to ensure coordination between the different sectors. The fragmentation of the integration policy was worsened by the conflict between the State and the local policy principles in Tallinn and Ida-Virumaa County. At the same time, no strong civil society had risen among the minority itself that could have been involved as a strong partner, while some groups and institutions came up that amplified the feeling of protest against the integration policy as such. The process of accession to the European Union encouraged a so-called liberal consensus among the society, supporting the spread of competitive relations to every sector.

In the integration policy, a so-called liberal model of integration found support, leaving the responsibility for coping in the society, including linguistic adaptation and political integration, primarily with the individual him- or herself.

Figure 4. Integration policy scenarios



An argument can be made that the lack of political will and, consequently, of consistency, has limited the efficiency of the earlier integration programmes and made their implementation fragmented. The consequence of the liberal and fragmented scenario is the tendency for layering that has been highlighted in this and the earlier monitoring exercises: the segment of the Russian speaking population with better language skills, more wealth and initiative has turned into successful citizens. The segment with less wealth and initiative, however, are becoming an excluded and estranged group with undetermined citizenship, whereas the gap between the groups has widened instead of narrowing. Ambitions of naturalised citizens as well as protests and disappointment of the excluded are easily turned into political capital, which is why, as an addition to the recent years' diffuse and formalised state integration policy, the scenario of "Competition" has gained pace at the local level (scenario III on Figure 4), vivid examples of which can be seen in Tallinn and Ida-Virumaa County.

A well integrated society can better ensure internal stability and, through that, more security to its members. The unsatisfied and protest-minded minority is characterised by greater susceptibility to the ideas of those who practice politics that is hostile towards Estonia. Therefore, it is important to see the security risks arising with the three scenarios.

Since the tendency for conflict solutions is most notably created by feelings of protest arising from disappointment (that an effective integration policy should be able to prevent or mitigate), let us point out two groups whose expectations and ambitions the integration policy has not fulfilled thus far. The first group is the young specialists with Russian based education who started their independent life in the 1980s, before the country restored its sovereignty, and whose career opportunities were greatly hampered by the Alien Act and the language and citizenship policy and who, in the transition process, were pushed off their career paths, in contrast to their

contemporary ethnic Estonians. Their attitude towards the Estonian State and its integration policy is distrustful and critical. Today, this generation is aged 45+ and makes up a large proportion of the parents and teachers of today's schoolchildren.

Another group is forming of the youth who, after having graduated from school in the Republic of Estonia, acquired both language and citizenship, have met with disappointment and hurdles either because of their unrealistically high hopes or experiencing attitudes of exclusion or distrust on the labour market, administrative institutions, political rhetoric and Estonian media. The consequences that manipulation with emotions may lead to on such a self-igniting ground could be seen during the "Bronze Night".

The problems have deepened because of political competition between parties that exploit the subject of integration. The persisting of the competition scenario, especially in Tallinn and Ida-Virumaa, tempers the general public negatively and weakens the State's capacity to implement an inclusive integration policy and to take important steps towards reducing risks and gaining trust.

Scenario IV "Cooperation" is suitable for designing an inclusive policy (see Figure 4). The results of this monitoring exercise show that there are better starting conditions for initiating such a course in the Estonian society now than was acknowledged during the preparation of the first integration programme. Firstly, the support by the Estonian speaking population for involving Russian speaking population more closely in the management of Estonian society and economy has strengthened and rooted. Secondly, more than a third of the Russian speaking population are people who cope well in the Estonian society, are active and have strong citizen identity, and therefore can no longer be considered a target group of the integration policy. However, they still do not feel themselves enough as partners of the State in the preparation and implementation of that policy. Thirdly, we should realise that a fifth of the electorate of Riigikogu (the Parliament) are people of other ethnicities. They deserve to be offered decent opportunities for participation in Estonian politics by political parties. Whatever the specific content of the cooperation scenario may be, a precondition for its realisation is an expression of a harmonious and clear will on the government's part.

ANNEX 1.

DESCRIPTION OF THE AGGREGATED INDEXES USED IN FORMING INTEGRATION CLUSTERS

The index "citizen identity" includes the following individual and aggregated characteristics:

- a) citizenship of the Republic of Estonia;
- b) participation in the most recent elections (local elections in 2009, European Parliament elections in 2009, national parliament elections in 2011);
- c) agreeing with the argument "The course of things in the country depends on the people's choices, including me and others like me";
- d) agreeing with the arguments "Estonian citizenship is acquired in order to participate in the Estonian society and politics" and "Estonian citizenship is acquired in order to express the feeling of solidarity with Estonia";
- e) wishing Estonian citizenship for one's family members;
- f) considering oneself as belonging among the Estonian nation in a constitutional sense.
- g) mentioning Estonia as one's only homeland.

The index "Estonian language" includes the following individual and aggregated characteristics::

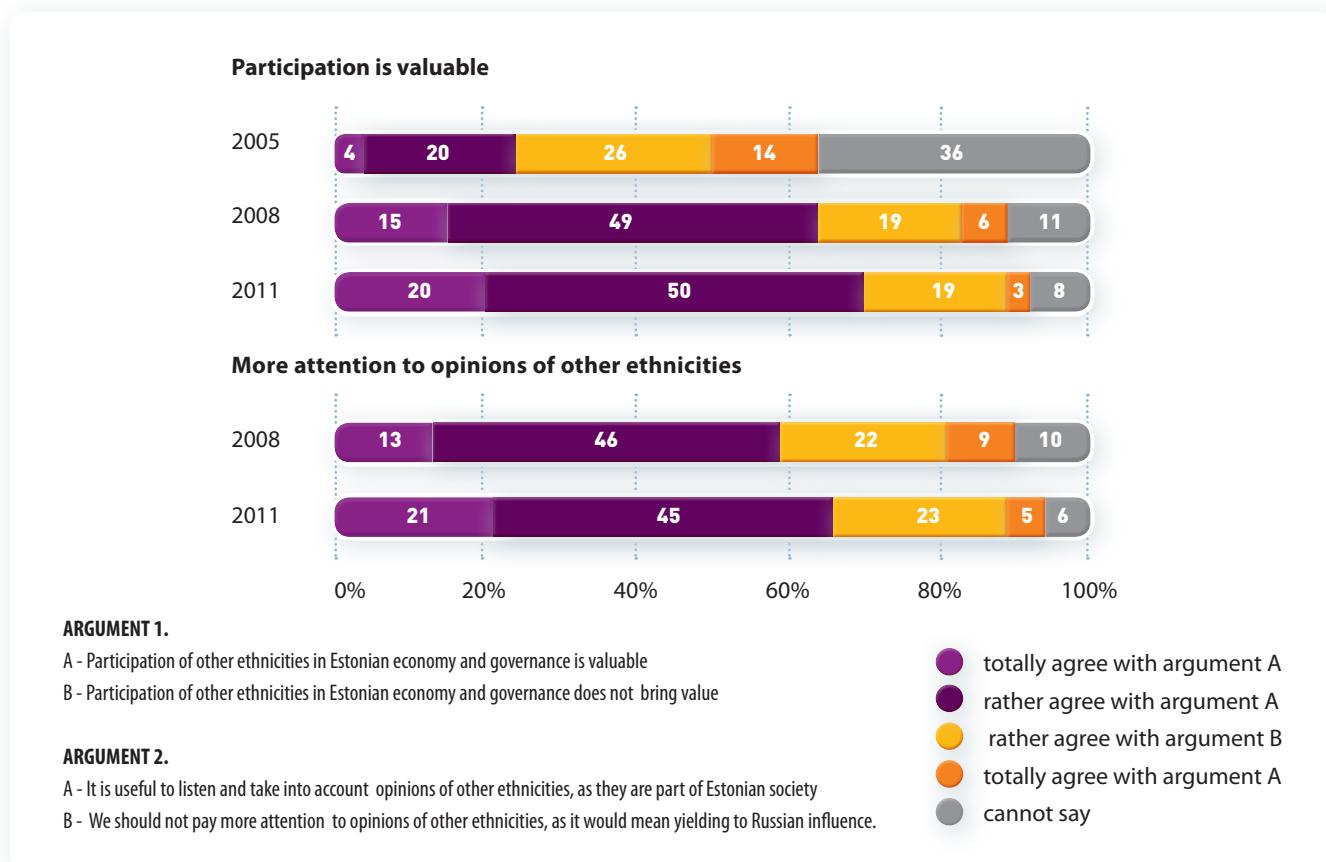
- a) estimation of one's proficiency in Estonian language;
- b) communication with Ethnic Estonians in Estonian language;
- c) preserving Estonian language in one's communication with Ethnic Estonians;
- d) importance of Estonian language media as a source of information.

The index "participation" includes the following individual and aggregated characteristics:

- a) trust towards Estonian governmental institutions;
- b) interest in Estonian interior politics;
- c) political activity outside elections;
- d) considering oneself competent to participate in politics;
- e) participation in citizens' associations;
- f) participation in cultural and sports events.

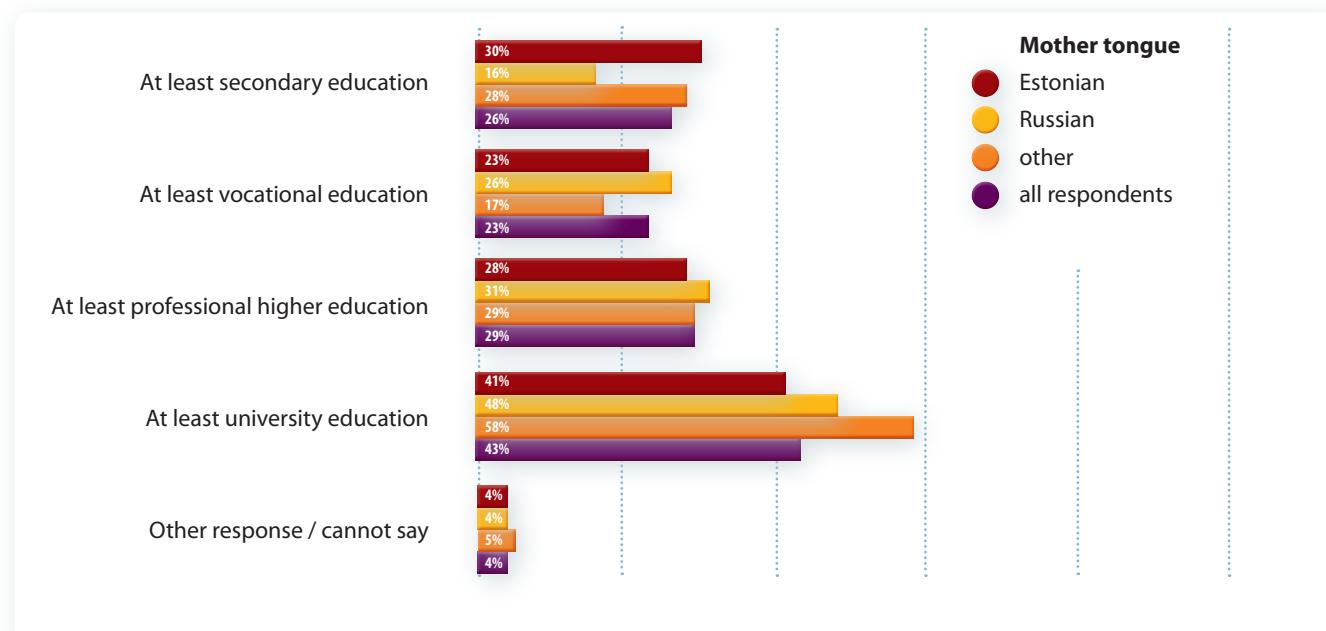
ANNEX 2.

Figure 1. Responses of ethnic Estonians about engaging other ethnicities



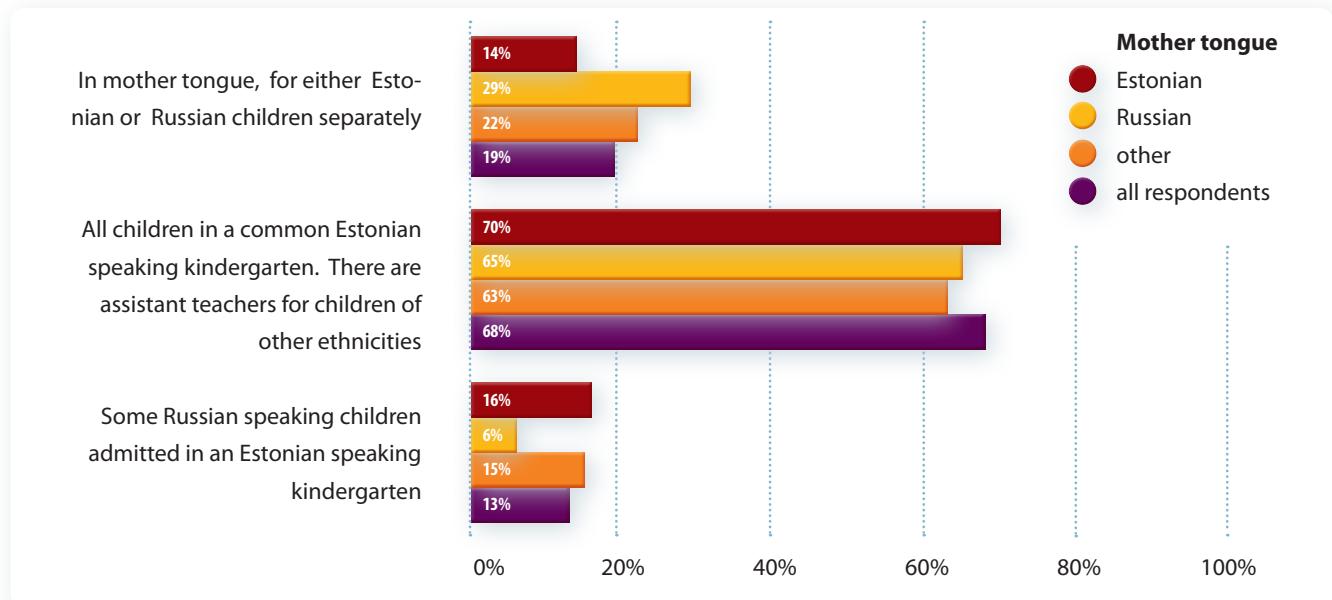
ANNEX 3.

Figure 2. Which kind of education would you wish for yourself / your children / your grandchildren?



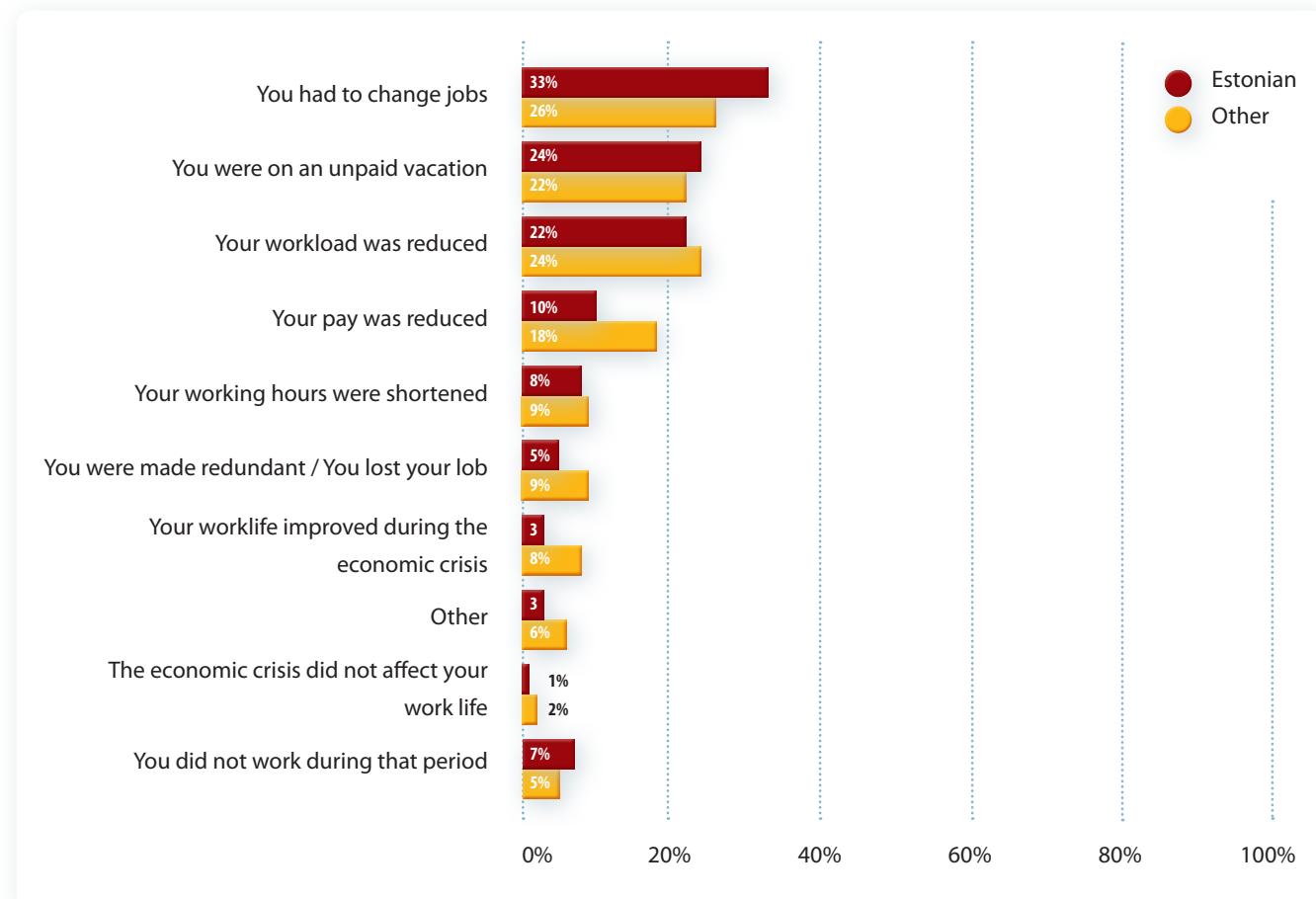
ANNEX 4.

Figure 3. Which kind of kindergarten do you consider best for children in Estonia?



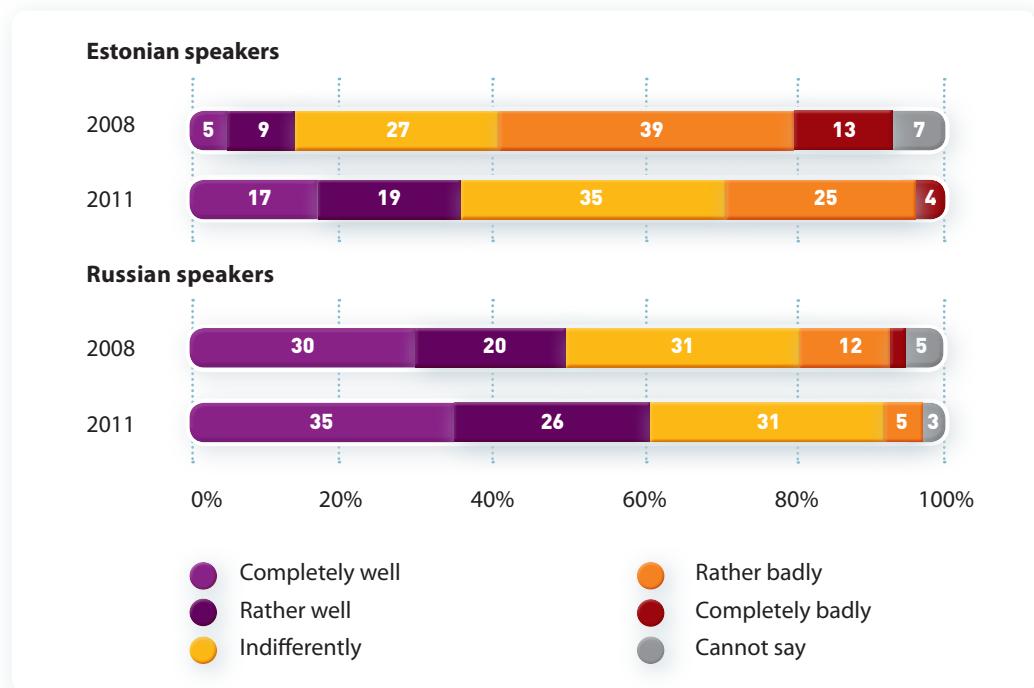
ANNEX 5.

Figure 4. Which of the following changes affected your work life during the economic crisis?



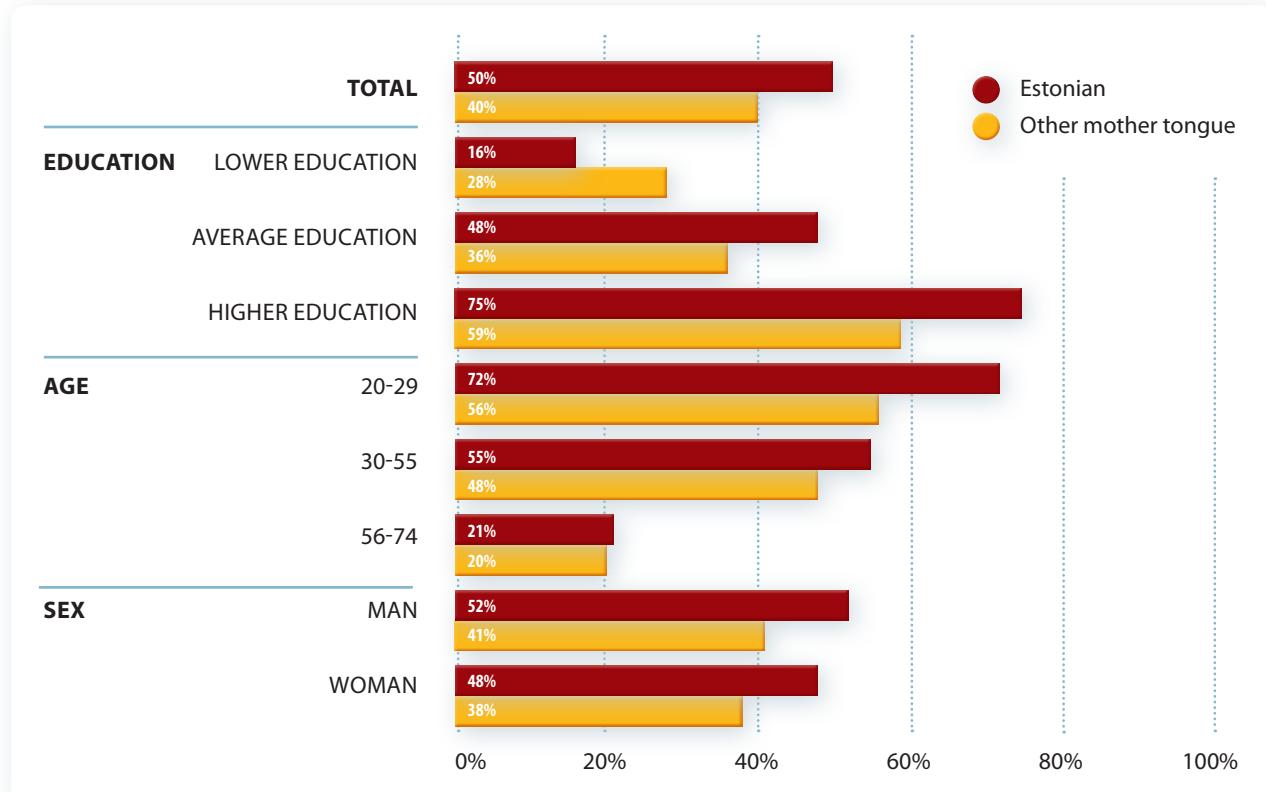
ANNEX 6.

Figure 5. Would you work or study in a collective were most people are Russians / Estonians?



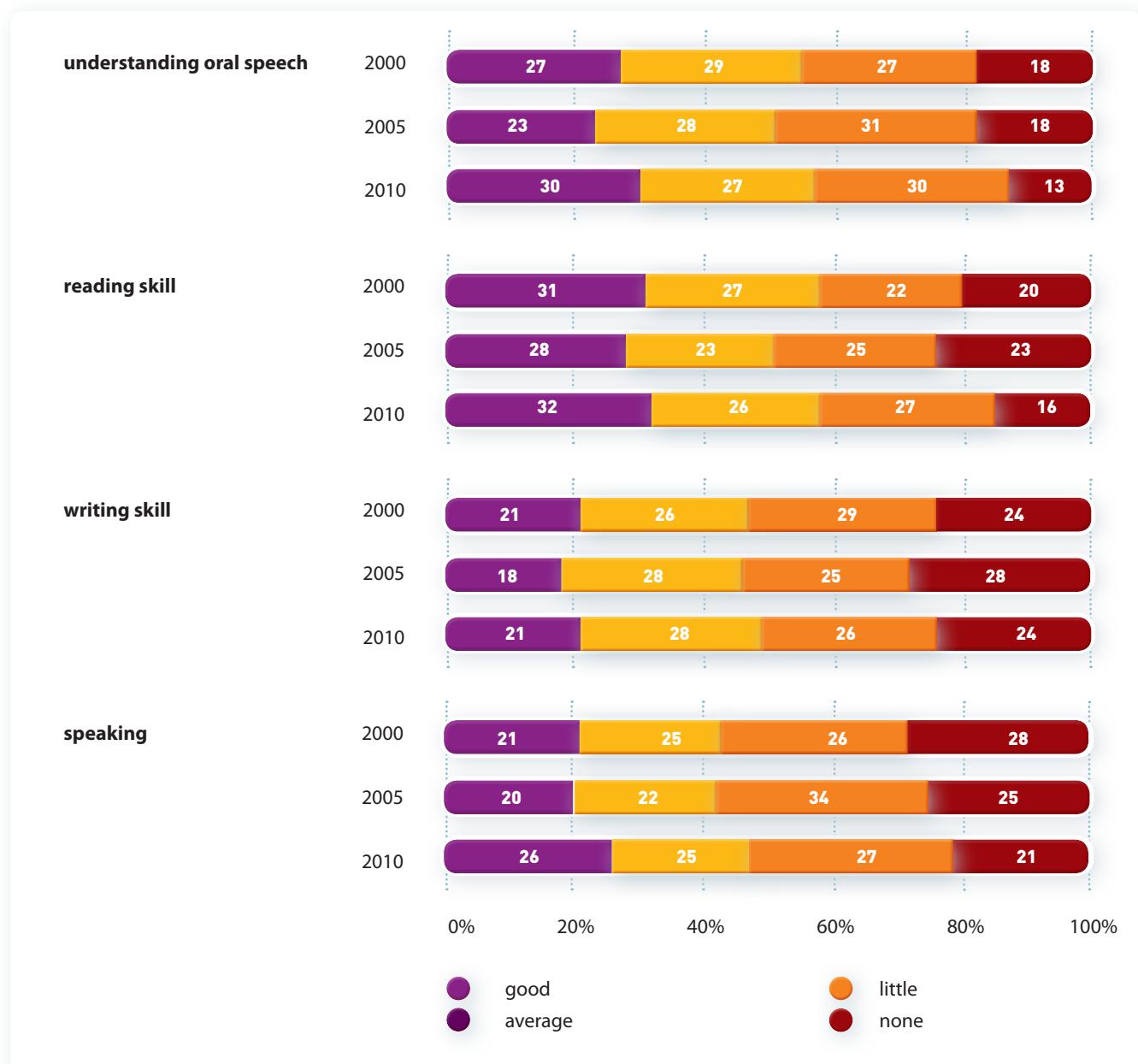
ANNEX 7.

Figure 6. During the last 12 months, have you enhanced your professional / work skills and knowledge? "Yes" respondents



ANNEX 8.

Figure 7. Self-estimation of language skills by speakers of Estonian as Second Language 2000–2010



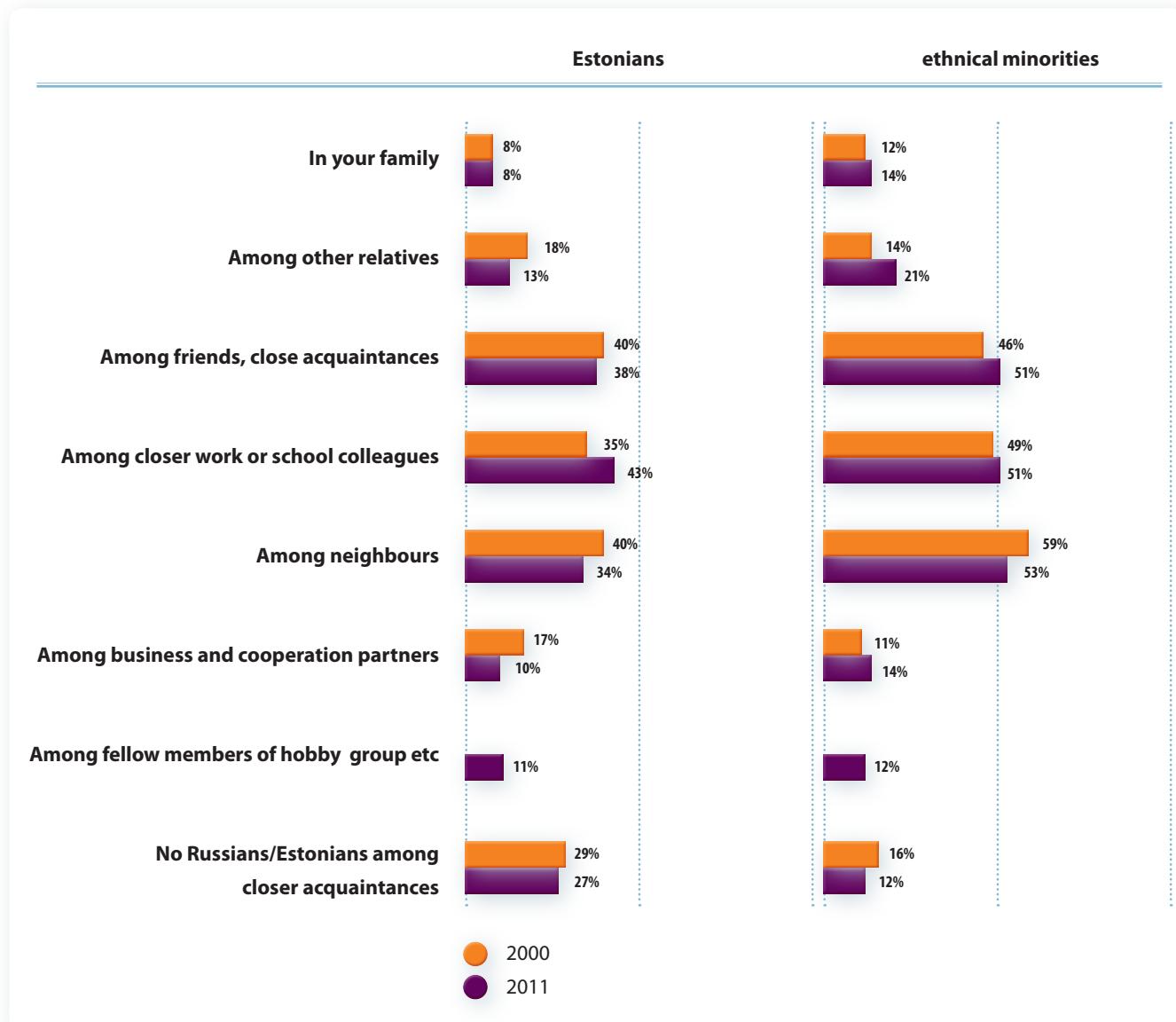
ANNEX 9.

Figure 8. Self-estimate of Estonian, English and Russian language skills in age groups



ANNEX 10.

Figure 9. Other ethnicities in the communication circle of Estonians; Estonians in the communication circle of other ethnicities 2000 ja 2011



ANNEX 11.

Table 1. How well are you informed of... (The % of those who answered "fairly well" – "very well")

	All respondents	Estonians	Other nationalities	Age		
				15-29	30-54	55-74
... what goes on in your home?	79	80	77	79	78	79
... what goes on in Estonia?	85	88	79	86	83	85
... what goes on in Russia?	40	27	63	21	44	40
... what goes on in the European Union?	53	50	58	50	54	53

ANNEX 12.

Table 2. People whose native language is Russian or another language: are you proficient enough in Estonian to read newspapers, listen to radio programmes and watch TV-programmes in Estonian? (%)

	All respondents		Age		Education		
	15–29	30–55	55–74	Below secondary	Secondary	Higher	
I do not understand newspapers or programmes in Estonian	21	10	19	31	32	26	14
I partly understand	28	25	26	34	27	35	28
I understand in general	23	31	23	18	21	26	28
Yes, I understand everything	28	34	31	17	20	13	29

ANNEX 13.

Table 3. People whose native language is Russian or another language: imagine that all media channels are discussing the situation of Russian-language schools and their future development. To what extent do you trust the things said on the topic in the following channels?

(ranking based on the % of answers "I trust in general" – "I trust completely")

	Trust (trust in general + trust completely)	DO not trust (do not trust at all + do not trust very much)	Do not follow these channels
PBK	69	18	10
Russian-language TV-programmes in Estonia	61	20	16
Russian-language newspapers in Estonia	56	20	21
Raadio 4	54	14	29
Other Russian TV-channels (except PBK)	53	30	13
Russian-language news-portals in Estonia	44	17	35
Estonian-language TV-programmes	36	12	49
Russian news portals	32	29	35
Estonian-language newspapers	31	10	55
Estonian-language sites	29	12	56
Russian newspapers	28	25	44
Vikerraadio	19	6	69

ANNEX 14.

Table 4. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? (The % of people who answered "I agree completely")

	All respondents	Estonians	Other nationalities	Age		
				15–29	30–55	55–74
The Estonian state should try to decrease the difference between the information spaces of Estonians and non-Estonians	42	36	53	34	46	45
The Estonian-language media should talk more about the life and problems of non-Estonians	29	22	43	22	29	45
The Russian-language media in Estonia should discuss the things happening in Estonia and the underlying reasons more thoroughly	49	47	51	45	52	54
The non-Estonians living here should be given more floor in the Estonian-language media	27	19	41	22	26	32
The Estonians should be given more floor in the Russian-language media in Estonia	43	42	44	26	33	40

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