

Identificational integration: conceptualisation and operationalisation on the example of second generation Russians in Estonia

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TALLINNA ÜLIKOOL

GERLI NIMMERFELDT

**IDENTIFICATIONAL INTEGRATION:
CONCEPTUALISATION AND
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SECOND GENERATION RUSSIANS IN ESTONIA**

Tallinn 2011

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Gerli Nimmerfeldt

**IDENTIFICATIONAL INTEGRATION: CONCEPTUALISATION AND
OPERATIONALISATION ON THE EXAMPLE OF SECOND GENERATION
RUSSIANS IN ESTONIA**

Institute of Political Science and Governance, Tallinn University, Tallinn, Estonia

The dissertation is accepted for the commencement of the degree of *Doctor Philosophiae* in Government and Politics by the Doctoral Committee of Social Sciences of Tallinn University on March 29, 2011.

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LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

The dissertation consists of four publications as well as an analytical review that introduces the general theoretical framework and the main results of the analysis. This framework includes both a discussion of the publications included in the dissertation, as well as the results of several research projects in which the author has been involved since the year 2006 (look at the list of related publications below). These projects took place during her MA and PhD studies and while she was working as a research assistant and researcher at the Institute of International and Social Studies.

- I. NIMMERFELDT, G., SCHULZE, J., TARU, M. (forthcoming). Relationships between Integration Dimensions among Second Generation Russians in Estonia. – *Studies of Transition States and Societies*, 3, (1).
- II. NIMMERFELDT, G. 2011. Sense of Belonging to Estonia. – R. Vetik, J. Helemäe (eds.). *The Russian Second Generation in Tallinn and Kohtla-Järve*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 201-224.
- III. NIMMERFELDT, G. 2009. Identificational Integration of Second Generation Russians in Estonia. – *Studies of Transition States and Societies*, 1, (1), 25-35.
- IV. VETIK, R., NIMMERFELDT, G., TARU, M. 2006. Reactive Identity versus the EU Integration. – *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44, (5), 1077-1100.

The author of the dissertation has contributed to the two co-authored publications as follows:

- (1) Article I: proposing the research design, formulating the research questions, conceptualising and operationalising the research concepts, interpreting the results of data analysis, writing up and giving the final approval to the manuscript.
- (2) Article IV: participating in formulating the research design, operationalising the conceptual model, interpreting the results of data analysis, writing up and giving the final approval to the manuscript.

OTHER RELATED PUBLICATIONS

NIMMERFELDT, G. 2010. Identiteet (Identity). – *Integratsiooni Monitooring 2010. Aruanne (Integration of Estonian Society, Monitoring 2010. Report)*. Tallinn: Kultuuriministeerium/RASI (Tallinn: Estonian Ministry of Culture/IISS).

SCHULZE, J., NIMMERFELDT, G. 2010. *The Language of belonging. Second generation Russians in Estonia*. Paper presented at the TIES RTN Final Conference, 26-28. May, 2010, Paris, France.

NIMMERFELDT, G. 2008a. Collective identities of Russian and Estonian youth. – *Integration of second generation Russians in Estonia: Country report on TIES survey in Estonia*. Tallinn: TLÜ RASI, 107-132, available at: www.tiesproject.eu.

NIMMERFELDT, G. 2008b. Introduction. – *Integration of second generation Russians in Estonia: Country report on TIES survey in Estonia*. Tallinn: TLÜ RASI, 3-7, available at: www.tiesproject.eu.

NIMMERFELDT, G. 2008c. Kodakondsus (Citizenship). – *Integratsiooni Monitooring 2008. Aruanne (Integration of Estonian Society, Monitoring 2008. Report)*. Tallinn: Riigi-

kantselei/RASI (Tallinn: the State Chancellery/IISS). Available at: www.rahvastikuminister.ee/?id=12051.

VETIK, R., NIMMERFELDT, G. 2008a. *Riigiidentiteet: Eestlaste ja venelaste võrdlus* (State identity: Comparison of Estonians and Russians). Uurimisraport (Research report). Tallinn: Riigikantselei/RASI (Tallinn: the State Chancellery/IISS).

VETIK, R., NIMMERFELDT, G. 2008b. *Lihtsustatud korras kodakondsuse taotlemisest lastele* (Acquiring the Estonian citizenship summarily for minors). Uurimisprojekti "Kodakondsuseta laste vanemad" raport (Report on research project "Parents of children with undetermined citizenship status"). Tallinn: Riigikantselei/RASI (Tallinn: the State Chancellery/IISS).

NIMMERFELDT, G., VETIK, R., VIHMA, P., TARU, M. 2007. *Noored Maardus ja Maardu noorte silmade läbi* (Youth in Maardu and Maardu through the eyes of youth). Uurimisprojekti "Maardu noorte identiteet, sotsiaalne ja poliitiline aktiivsus ning integratsioonilased hoiakud" raport (Research report of project "Identity, social and political activity and integration attitudes among youth in Maardu"). Tallinn/Maardu: Maardu Linnavalitsus/RASI (Tallinn/Maardu: Maardu City Government/IISS). Available at: http://www.maardu.ee/public/files/maardu_noored.pdf.

NIMMERFELDT, G., VETIK, R., VIHMA, P., TARU, M. 2006. *Tallinna noorte vaba aja sisustamise eelistused, sotsiaalne ja poliitiline aktiivsus ning noorte enesemääratlus kui neid mõjutav factor*. Uurimisraport (Research report of project "Leisure time preferences, social and political activity and identity of youth in Tallinn"). Tallinn: Tallinna Linnavalitsus/RASI (Tallinn: Tallinn City Government/IISS).

NIMMERFELDT, G. 2006. *Identiteet ja vähemuste sotsiaalne kohanemine: Teoreetiline raamistik reaktiivse identiteedi käsitluse operatsionaliseerimiseks. Eestis sündinud noorte venelaste identiteedi kvalitatiivne uuring* (Identity and social-psychological adaptation strategies: Theoretical framework for and operationalisation of reactive identity approach. Qualitative analysis of identity formation processes of Russians born in Estonia). Magistritöö. (MA dissertation). Tallinn: Tallinna Ülikool (Tallinn: Tallinn University).

1. INTRODUCTION

The dissertation presents the results of research conducted in the past six years in the field of minority youths' socio-cultural integration into Estonian society. Specifically, the research focuses on identity building and on the role of reactive identity mechanisms in these processes. Integration processes at identity level is referred to as identificational integration in this dissertation. Based on quantitative and qualitative empirical data on second generation Russian youth in Estonia, gathered through "The Integration of the European Second Generation" (TIES) project, the dissertation demonstrates that there is a gap between conceptualisation of identificational integration at the macro and micro level and discusses the shortcomings of its operationalisations commonly used in quantitative studies. Second, the dissertation proposes an alternative approach to identificational integration based on both the results of empirical research and theoretical literature on identity. Third, the dissertation aims to explore the possible factors that impact one of the aspects of identificational integration – the sense of belonging to the resident country and its society. The final aim is to analyse the role of reactive identity mechanisms in the processes of identificational integration.

While the majority of research conducted in the field of integration has focused mainly on aspects of structural integration, the socio-cultural integration of immigrants has taken centre stage in recent integration debates in Europe. One reason for this shift in focus is that the experience of guest-worker migrants has made it clear that the integration of immigrants and their descendants' into European societies is not a foregone conclusion, as it was originally expected by both governments and native populations. More and more people are afraid that newcomers are particularly reluctant to integrate at the socio-cultural level, meaning that they are not willing to adapt to the dominant culture in their residence countries. Therefore, the increasing numbers of immigrants are viewed by native majorities as threatening to their culture and way of life (Ersanilli 2010). The perceived efforts of migrants to maintain their cultural and ethnic identities are often viewed as the cause of internal conflict and multicultural demands are perceived as a rejection of the very notion of integration (Kymlicka 2001:34). What some see as a development that enriches a society's cultural reservoir, others take as a threat to their own culture and conception of themselves (Sackmann 2003:1). The challenges raised by increased cultural diversity are felt in particularly pronounced ways in European countries, which were until recently relatively homogenous and have traditionally had "thick" conceptions of nationhood (Ersanilli and Koopmans 2009:7). Throughout Europe, immigration as the source of cultural, religious and linguistic diversity is seen as threatening to the homogeneity of the nation-state and social cohesion based on shared national identity because immigrants do not feel the same sense of national belonging as natives (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2004:17; see also Castles 2002; Gustafson 2005; Wimmer and Schiller 2002). As a result of a desire to restore homogeneity, states often pursue policies of assimilation as opposed to integration, which often results in ethnic division as opposed to

homogenization and greater social cohesion (Csergo 2007; Kymlicka and Patten 2003).

This dissertation proceeds from an approach to integration that does not assume the opposition of cultural diversity and social cohesion built on a shared sense of belonging. Departing from the proposition that on some level social unity and cohesion are necessary for a multiethnic and multicultural society to operate, this dissertation conceives of integration processes as contributing to the aim of achieving that unity. Consequently, identificational integration at the macro level refers to social cohesion in society. Perceived from the perspective of groups or individuals, the integration processes involve the interaction between individual members of the minority and majority groups, as well as between those groups and the institutions and policies of the state. Within this conceptual framework, identificational integration refers to the creation of a sense of belonging at national level (national identity) that unites ethno-culturally different minority and majority group members. From the perspective of the minority group, identificational integration is first and foremost about the creation of a sense of belonging to one's resident country and its society based on the feelings of being at home and being accepted as a full member of that society. The feeling of belonging at the national level is important as an aspect of social cohesion and unity in society, as well as at a more personal level for the psychological well-being of immigrants and their descendants. In the case of latter, it is too often assumed that the bare fact of being born and growing up in the country and going through the socialisation processes in that society is enough to create such an emotional attachment that is reflected in a sense of belonging to the country and its society. Only major shocks in society caused by riots among immigrants' descendants (Britain in 2001, Paris in 2005, Estonia in 2007 and Copenhagen in 2008) bring the subject of belonging into the spotlight in public discourse and into the minds of politicians. Discussions and policies stressing the need to create a common identity for all residents in order to promote social unity usually follow on the heels of these kinds of riots. Estonia is no exception. The reaction of the Estonian government to the riots in April 2007 after the removal of Bronze Soldier statue, the Soviet World War II memorial from downtown Tallinn was similar to the race riots of 2001 in Britain, where they stressed the need to "foster social unity by rehabilitating the importance of being British" (Home Office 2005, quoted in Uberoi 2007:142). After April 2007, the need for a shared sense of national identity among all residents in Estonia was stated explicitly as one of the main aims of the new integration strategy (EIS 2008:3).

Most scholars working in the migration and integration field agree that developing a sense of belonging to the country and society among immigrants and minorities is important for democratic stability and social cohesion in that society. However, there is not much research conducted focusing on these identifications and there is little consensus over the factors that contribute to and influence this identity component. This dissertation aims to advance understanding of identificational

integration through an analysis of the survey data gathered through the TIES project in 2007-2008, and through an in-depth analysis of identity construction based on a follow-up qualitative study carried out among TIES survey respondents in January 2009.

This dissertation grew out of the research conducted for Master thesis and was inspired by the realization that the way identity is conceptualised and operationalised in integration studies does not reflect the nuanced complexity of identity formation among Russian minority members. The qualitative study carried out for MA dissertation explored how different directional identity construction processes for minority youth are related and the possible identity types resulting from these processes. Analysis of the self-identification processes of Russian youth in Estonia led to a typology of identities characterizing different combinations of identifications with one's ethnic group and with the majority group in society on cultural, social and civic-political bases, as well as the sense of belonging to the country of origin of parents and to their current resident country (Nimmerfeldt 2006).

The theoretical background for the dissertation is comprised of different theories of integration processes of the so-called "new second generation", who are the descendants of post-1960-s immigrants who arrived to Europe as well as other traditional immigrant countries (USA, Canada and Australia). On the other hand, this dissertation relies on different theories of identity and identity building.

In mainstream integration and assimilation theories, identificational integration is generally approached in a two-dimensional way considering it to be related to ethnic and national self-identifications. One strand of scholarship refers to the process as a decline in ethnic identities and loyalties accompanied by a growing identification with the resident country/state, its society, and mainstream culture across generations. Another strand does not view ethnic and national identifications as mutually exclusive, but argues that identities are multiple, therefore allows for the possibility that an individual may have both strong national and strong ethnic identifications. Operationalisation of the identificational integration remains, in most cases, at the level of categorical identity measurement, as measured by self-categorization into different groups in society. Since the focus in empirical studies is mainly on ethnic and national groups, the result is often an evaluation of integration at the identity level through classification of immigrants and their descendants according to whether they identify only with their ethnic group, with the majority group or with both.

The need for an enhanced approach to conceptualisation and operationalisation of integration at the identity level will be demonstrated through the analysis of the strength and formation of ethnic identity and the identification with the majority group among second generation Russians. Based on the analysis of identifications with different identity categories offered in the survey instrument, and an additional qualitative study exploring the meaning of each of these categories in the eyes of the target group, the dissertation points out that measuring identificational

integration by using self-categorization with predetermined identity categories alone is not the most suitable operationalisation. The dissertation posits an enhanced approach, based on an understanding that, in addition to one's self-identification with society's different groups and/or categories, the formation of an emotional attachment to the resident country and a sense of belonging to its society are also indicators of belonging at national level. Therefore, the measurement of identificational integration proposed here puts greater emphasis on belonging to the country of residence and its society, as evident in feelings of being at home and a part of society.

The approach to identity level integration with an emphasis on the sense of belonging to the resident country and its society does not neglect the importance of identification with one's ethnic group as an important aspect of identificational integration. Identification with one's country of origin is a third aspect of identificational integration, measured through the connection with the country of origin, or in the case of the second generation, the country of parental origin and co-ethnics living there. The relevance of these additional aspects of identity from the standpoint of identificational integration depends on the character of their underlying processes: whether they are formed based on reactive identity mechanisms or not. Hence, the proposed conceptualisation of identificational integration makes explicit analytical differentiation between identification with one's ethno-cultural group, with the kin state and with the country of residence and its society, but emphasizes the importance of the latter in the processes of integration.

The dissertation is based on four articles, three of which (Articles I, II, III¹) are based on the TIES survey data. Two of them (Articles II and III) include the results of a qualitative follow-up study. The most recent article included in this dissertation (Article I) tests the enhanced approach to identificational integration, comprising ethnic pride and attachment, sense of belonging to Estonia and diasporic identity by exploring how structural, social and cultural dimensions of integration are related to each of the three aspects of identificational integration. The operationalisation of the third aspect of identity level integration - identification with the country of origin and co-ethnics living there – is introduced. Part of Estonian TIES survey instrument for measuring these three aspects of identificational integration was designed by the author of dissertation.

The results of the analysis conducted in Article I cast doubt upon the applicability of linear assimilation model to the patterns of integration among second generation Russians in Estonia. While cultural and structural integration turn out to be related in a predictable way, there is no significant relationship between structural integration and social or identificational integration. Structural integration does not

¹ The articles included in this dissertation are referred to here and henceforth by the Roman numerals denoting the order they are presented (chronologically) in the list of publications hereinabove.

lead to a greater sense of belonging to Estonia, nor does the strength of ethnic identity vary significantly across structural integration indicators. Only some aspects of diasporic identity are weakly correlated with socio-economic position and citizenship status. The analysis shows that identificational integration may well occur autonomously from the other dimensions of integration.

Article II and III are very closely interconnected; one (II) building on the results of the other (III). In Article III, the two-dimensional approach to identificational integration, examining identifications with one's own ethnic group and with the majority group, is put to test in the case of second generation Russians in Estonia. The article demonstrates the shortcomings of studying identity level integration by looking at these two dimensions, as well as by using nominal self-categorization. The analysis of ethnic identity formation among Russian youth in Estonia shows that the classical assumption of ethnic identity decline over generations is not relevant in the context of Estonian Russians. Second, Article III demonstrates that the aspect of identificational integration that involves the formation of a sense of belonging at the national level cannot be measured by using self-identification with the titular group in society as a predetermined category of national identity. The main reason, revealed through the qualitative study is that the category "Estonian" is mainly understood as a reference to ethnicity and much less to the other aspects of identificational integration at the national level.

Article II departs from the results of Article III and proposes an enhanced approach to identificational integration based on understanding that in addition to one's self-identification with different groups in society, the formation of attachment to the resident country and its society should be examined as indicators of belonging at the national level. These aspects of national identity are operationalised through a set of statements on feelings of being at home in the country of residence, being a part of its society and having a connection to the majority group. The second task of Article II is to examine the impact of several objective and subjective factors, drawn from both literature and previous research, on the sense of belonging at the national level. The results of logistic regression analysis indicate that the major obstacle to feeling a strong sense of belonging to Estonia is the perception of assimilative pressure. Hence, the weak sense of belonging could be explained by the reactive identity mechanisms operating in identity construction, which are caused by the exclusive nature of Estonian national identity and the emphasis on the Estonian language and culture in public discourse and integration policies.

Article IV, which is about different theme – the role of reactive identity in the formation of eurosceptic attitudes in Estonia, uses different empirics² but serves as starting point for this dissertation by elaborating the reactive identity approach.

² The Value System Survey which was conducted in the framework of the European research project „Value Systems of Citizens and Socio-Economic Conditions. Challenges from Democratization for the EU Enlargement“ (the Fifth Framework Programme of the European Union).

Article IV introduces the development of the reactive identity concept by drawing on the semiotic ideas of Jyri Lotman, as well as respective insights from theories of social identity and reactive ethnicity. Identity is understood as subjectivity formed in the process of constructing an “us-them” relationship, i.e. in a dialogue with “other” based on two mechanisms: identification with the “other” and differentiation from the “other”. Reactive identity emerges when there is perceived an imbalance between these two mechanisms.

This analytical overview of the dissertation describes first the sources and methods employed for gathering and analysing the quantitative and qualitative data on second generation Russian youth (section 2). Next, it introduces the theoretical background for the dissertation project by explaining the definitions of the main theoretical concepts (section 3). The fourth section is based on an analysis of literature that aims to explore the role and place of identity in theoretical approaches to integration processes and outlines the widespread operationalisations used in empirical quantitative studies conducted in the field of migration and integration. Both sections 3 and 4 build on the theoretical parts of Articles I, II and III as well as an additional analysis of literature. These sections aim to put the results of the empirical analysis conducted in articles into the broader theoretical framework of the dissertation project. Section 5 of the analytical overview presents the results of the data analysis conducted in Article III that evaluates the suitability of the two-dimensional conceptualisation and widespread operationalisations for identificational integration used in quantitative research in the case of second generation Russians in Estonia. The sixth section is based on Article II and introduces an enhanced approach for measuring identification at national level that takes into account the importance of an emotional attachment to the country and its society and presents the results of the data analysis conducted for testing the impact of hypothetical structural and subjective-level factors on the strength of belonging to Estonia among second generation Russians in Tallinn and Kohtla-Järve. The conclusion critically evaluates the two-dimensional conceptualisation of identificational integration and categorical measurement of identity in integration studies. This section also outlines an enhanced approach to conceptualising integration at the identity level, which is required for social cohesion and unity in society. The final component of this section discusses the role of reactive identity mechanisms in the process of identificational integration.

2. EMPIRICAL DATA AND METHODS

The dissertation is based on both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative data on second generation Russians originates from a survey conducted in Estonia between January 2007 and March 2008 within the framework of the project ‘The Integration of the European Second Generation’ (TIES). Furthermore, an additional qualitative study conducted in January 2009 as follow-up face-to-face interviews with the TIES survey respondents is used for illustrating and interpreting the survey results. The qualitative study addresses the relationship between acculturation and identity building and is comprised of 19 interviews with Russian youth from Tallinn and Kohtla-Järve. During the interviews, participants were asked open ended questions about their identity, their feelings and attitudes toward languages, as well as the frequency and use of different languages in their daily lives.

Additionally, in the articles included in this dissertation, a comparison is provided to previous empirical studies done in Estonia in order to put the results from the second generation youth survey into the context of the Russian-speaking population in Estonia. The main source of previous data is regular nationwide surveys for monitoring the integration processes in Estonian society in different domains (Integration Monitoring 2000, 2002, 2005, 2008 and 2010). Finally, included in this dissertation, is data from several qualitative studies conducted by the ethnology department at IISS, whose data has been used in a number of previous research reports (look at the list of publications related to the dissertation presented above).

2.1. TIES SURVEY

The TIES survey in Estonia relates to the international research project “The Integration of the European Second Generation” (TIES) coordinated by the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES), University of Amsterdam. The TIES project is based on an international standardized survey of second generation immigrants from Turkey, Ex-Yugoslavia, and Morocco in eight European countries (France, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Austria, The Netherlands, Switzerland and Sweden) (see more about the TIES: <http://www.tiesproject.eu/>).

The TIES project started in 2005, and in the beginning of 2006, the Institute of International and Social Studies (IISS) at Tallinn University became an associated member of TIES. IISS participated in developing the common questionnaire for the TIES group in the period January-August 2006 and members of the research team participated in conferences coordinated by the TIES project. The survey design used in Estonia followed to the greatest extent possible, the concepts, definitions, indicators and questionnaire modules of the TIES project. In 2006 (January-

September), a team consisting of six researchers from different departments at IISS³ adapted the TIES survey instrument to the Estonian situation and to the new target group.

The fieldwork began in January 2007 and finished in March 2008 (but it was withheld for a couple of months after the Bronze Soldier Riots in April 2007). The fieldwork was carried out by the survey bureau OÜ Faktum & Ariko in close consultation and cooperation with the research team at IISS.

The method used for survey data collection was face-to-face interviews at the respondents' homes in the respondents' mother tongue. Altogether 43 interviewers, both Estonians and Russians, were specially trained⁴ on the project's aims and methods.

The target groups in the survey consists of second generation Russians (aged 18-35, who were born in Estonia but who have at least one parent that immigrated to Estonia), and a comparison group of ethnic Estonians of the same age. Besides the birth place of respondents and their parents, the sampling criteria included ethnic self-identification (the potential respondents were asked "What is your ethnicity?") and only those who identified themselves ethnically as Russians or Estonians qualified to be interviewed. The sample frame was based on the list of addresses ordered from AS Andmevara. The list was drawn from the Register of Population based on three criteria: age (18-35 yr); place of birth (Estonia) and ethnicity (Estonian and Russian). The gross sample for Estonians was three times larger than the targeted number of respondents; for Russian respondents the gross sample was five times larger due to the lack of information on parent's birthplace in the register. In total, 1000 interviews (488 with Estonian youth and 512 with Russian youth) were conducted in Tallinn and in two cities in Ida-Virumaa: Kohtla-Järve and Jõhvi. The third city (Jõhvi) was included because of the difficulties of finding enough Estonian respondents from the eligible age group in Kohtla-Järve. The final sample of Estonians includes 55 respondents from Jõhvi, 176 from Kohtla-Järve and 257 from Tallinn. The sample of Russian youth encompasses 207 respondents from Tallinn and 305 from Kohtla-Järve.

The data was entered by OÜ Faktum & Ariko in April 2008 with data processing program QPS. The logistic control of data was executed with SPSS. Two data bases in SPSS format, one for the Estonian sample and another for the Russian sample, were handed over to IISS. The data bases were cleaned, synchronized and merged into one data set and the conjoint database was translated into English in May - July 2008. Statistical analysis of the survey data is performed by using SPSS software

³ Rein Vöörmann, Jelena Helemäe and Ellu Saar from the Department of Social Stratification; Leeni Hansson from the Department of Family Sociology; Raivo Vetik and Gerli Nimmerfeldt from the Department of Ethno-Sociology and Politics.

⁴ The training encompassed a interviewer guide prepared by the research team at IISS following the guidelines provided by the coordinators of TIES project and a training session with the interviewers from OÜ Faktum & Ariko.

and comprises both bivariate (contingency tables, analysis of variance (ANOVA), and correlations) and multivariate analysis (factor analysis, cluster analysis, binary logistic regression) techniques.

The survey instrument covers a spectrum of issues central to assessing the prospects for integration based on four analytical dimensions: structural, cultural, social and identificational. The substantive modules of the questionnaire were based on the TIES project outline: education, labour market, income, housing and neighbourhood, social relations, identity, language and transnationalism, partner choice, parents, gender roles and child care. In addition to the 10 modules of questions there was a written part of the questionnaire that the respondent filled in during the interview. This part consisted of sensitive questions on self-evaluation and identity (cf. Nimmerfeldt 2008b).

The present dissertation utilizes the survey questions that measure different aspects of identity contained in the identity module; however the factors that impact identity formation are drawn from different parts of the survey. Several researchers from IISS have analysed other content blocks from the survey (see the contributions in Vetik and Helemäe 2010; and in TIES country report 2008) and their results formed the background for studying identificational integration.

The author of this dissertation has been involved in the TIES project since the very beginning, taking an active part in the development of the survey instrument, the preparation of different aspects of the fieldwork process, and in the cleaning and merging of the final databases. The main responsibility in designing the survey questionnaire involved developing suitable questions for measuring different identity aspects: categorical self-identification with different identity categories, ethnic pride and sense of belonging to ethno-cultural heritage group, identification with, and relations to, the majority group in Estonian society, feelings of belonging to Estonia and connectedness to Russia. In addition, several questions were developed for exploring possible sources of separative and/or assimilative pressure among minority youth, which according to the reactive identity approach might induce reactive boundary building between “us” and “them”. The foundation for these tasks was the qualitative study conducted by the author for her MA thesis aimed at identifying different combinations of self-identifications toward one’s own ethnic group and country of origin, and toward the majority group in society, based on cultural, social and civil-political views. In co-operation with the supervising professor Raivo Vetik, an initial block of questions was drafted and tested in a pilot study. In October-November of 2006 a pilot survey was carried out among 70 Russian students from Tallinn University and Euroülikool, plus 30 Russians from Narva and Kohtla-Järve. The data was inserted into an SPSS database and based on the results of the pilot survey the selection of identity related questions for the survey instrument was made.

Financing for the development of a common questionnaire and its adaptation to Russian youth from January-August 2006 was provided by the Chancellery of the Republic of Estonia. The survey implementation was financed by a grant from Tal-

linn University Research Council. As the field-work turned out to require more time and resources than expected, extra-funding for finishing the survey was supplied by the City Government of Tallinn and the Chancellery of the Republic of Estonia. The cleaning and processing of the database and the analysis carried out for writing up a country report was financed by the Estonian Science Foundation Grant No. 7720 „Integration of Second Generation Russians in Estonia” (grant holder Prof. Raivo Vetik).

2.2. FOLLOW-UP QUALITATIVE STUDY

The qualitative study titled „Language Proficiency and Identity Presentation among TIES Respondents” was prepared and conducted by the author of the dissertation in cooperation with Jennie Schulze and project assistant Anastassia Sokolova⁵. The aim of the study was to probe the meanings behind different identity categories as well as to ascertain whether these meanings vary in relation to Estonian language proficiency. In addition, the qualitative study was designed to evaluate the instrumental and symbolic (integrative) roles of the Estonian language.

This study was conducted with 19 TIES respondents of varying language skills. The sample was drawn from the 18-35 yr old second generation Russian respondents in the TIES survey who agreed to be re-interviewed. Russians who indicated a high level of proficiency in the Estonian language as well as those who indicated a low level of proficiency were selected in order to compare identity trajectories on the basis of language, and to better probe the meanings behind these identifications. Many of the respondents of the TIES survey also indicated proficiency in English. The respondents with proficiency in all three languages were interviewed by a native Estonian, Russian, and English speaker. In total, 12 interviews were conducted (two of them were implemented as pilot interviews but were included into the analysis later) with respondents who evaluated their Estonian language skills as good or better across all four proficiency categories (understanding, communicating, reading and writing) and who also indicated a high level of proficiency in English.

Each of these respondents was interviewed in succession by a native Estonian (Gerli Nimmerfeldt), Russian (Anastassia Sokolova) and English (Jennie Schulze) speaker. In total, the interviewing process lasted about 70-75 minutes. The respondent spent approximately 30 minutes with an Estonian interviewer, then 30 minutes with a Russian interviewer and finally 10-15 minutes with an English interviewer. In the interviews conducted in Tallinn, all three interviews were carried out in different rooms (offices of the researchers at Tallinn University). In Kohtla-Järve the interviews were conducted in a single hotel room; with the three interviewers

⁵ The project was financed by the Institute of International and Social Studies, Tallinn University, and by the targeted financing project No 0402739s06 ‘Consolidation of Democracy in Multicultural Society’ (theme leader Prof. Raivo Vetik).

rotating in. For those respondents with low proficiency in Estonian all questions were asked in Russian. This resulted in 12 (Estonian) 12 (Russian) 12 (English) and 7 (Russian only) interviews. All the interviews were audio taped and transcribed; Estonian and Russian transcriptions were then translated into English. The interpretative analysis of the qualitative follow-up interviews is conducted by using NVivo 8 software.

During the Estonian and Russian interviews, participants were first asked open ended questions about their self-conception. They had to present themselves by answering the question “Who am I?” in writing. Next the respondents were asked to choose which identity categories they associate with, or feel they belong to, among the following categories: Estonian, Russian, Estonian Russian, Estländer, Russian-speaker, Russian-speaking Estonian and Estonian citizen, Russians in Russia, Christians. However, the Estonian and Russian interviews employed two different methods of self-categorization. During the Estonian interview the identity categories were spread out in front of the respondent and the respondent was asked to select the categories to which they feel they belong. During the selection, the interviewer asked the respondent the reason for identifying with a certain category as well as the reasons for not identifying with other categories, as well as the meanings of the categories. Therefore the emphasis during the Estonian interviews was on the meanings of the different identity categories. During the Russian interviews, respondents were asked to mark their level of identification with these identity categories along a scale similar to the one used in the TIES survey (very strongly, strongly, moderately, weakly, very weakly, not at all). These scorings were then discussed with the respondent. By employing two different methods it was possible to probe both the meaning and strength of belonging to different identity categories, while at the same time testing whether different instruments produce different results.

During the interviews, respondents were also asked to sort a series of statements about the Estonian (during interviews held in Estonian) and Russian (during interviews held in Russian) languages into two piles indicating agreement and disagreement. These statements were based on two sources: the philosophy of the state toward language learning as embodied in the state integration program, and the results of the previous Integration Monitorings. The statements were chosen to represent the rational utility of speaking the state language as well as the feeling of closeness and separation from either Estonian society or the Russian community on the basis of language use. Consequently the statements represent both the instrumental value of the Estonian language, as well as the symbolic role of language in the creation of feelings of belonging to the society.

Hence, some of the questions were repeated in both the Estonian and Russian parts of interviews for those who reported good or very good Estonian skills. Other questions were asked differently in each interview. In addition, both parts comprised open-ended questions on different themes. Repeating some questions on identity in both parts aimed to check whether respondents presented themselves or

explained some identity categories differently based on the perceived ethnicity of the interviewer. In addition it allowed for the possibility that Russians will be able to express themselves better in their native language, despite their self-professed Estonian language skills.

The English interview provided an opportunity for respondents to speak to an impartial third party when answering opinion questions about the importance of different languages in their life, and opinions on controversial issues such as state language and citizenship policy, as well as the Bronze Soldier Crisis. In addition, respondents were asked about how they acquired their language skills, whether they enjoyed speaking other languages, as well as their friendships with both ethnic Estonians and ethnic Russians. During the English interview respondents were also asked about any difficulties they may have had during the Estonian or Russian interview as well as whether the ethnicity of the interviewer influenced their answers in any way.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In the classical literature about immigrants and their descendants, integration refers to the processes that occur after settlement in a new country. In this context, integration is defined as the process by which immigrants are incorporated into both the structures and the society of the receiving state. In European migration and integration research, the process is called social integration and is defined as the inclusion of migrants into the core institutions and social networks of the society (Bosswick and Heckmann 2006).

At the macro level, integration refers to a characteristic of a social system, often referred to in recent literature as social cohesion. The more a society is integrated, or the greater the level of social cohesion in a particular society, the more closely and more intensely its constituent parts (groups or individuals) relate to one another (Entzinger and Biezeveld 2003:6).

At the level of groups or individuals, the integration process involves the interaction between individual members of the minority group and the ethnic majority group, as well as between those groups and the institutions and policies of the state. Starting with the proposition that a certain level of social unity and cohesion are necessary for a society to operate, this dissertation understands the integration processes as contributing to achieving that unity in culturally diverse societies.

3.1. DIFFERENT DIMENSIONS OF INTEGRATION

Integration is understood as a multidimensional process that includes several analytical dimensions: structural, cultural, social and identificational. These different dimensions, or stages, are more or less successive and interrelated. Some scholars argue that the progression between stages happens over generations while others argue that one person can experience these stages in a single lifetime⁶.

The most frequently used analytical differentiation was provided by Milton Gordon (1964), who made the distinction between seven types, or stages, of assimilation. According to this model, assimilation starts with cultural assimilation, which leads to the next and most crucial stage called structural assimilation, which is then followed by marital, identificational, attitude receptional, behavioural receptional and civic assimilation. Although Gordon (Ibid.) identified seven dimensions of assimilation, the critical distinction in his conceptual scheme is between acculturation and structural assimilation. Acculturation refers to the adoption of the majority group's "cultural patterns" by the minority group, while structural assimilation refers to the entry of members of the ethnic minority into primary-

⁶ For more about the discussion of different dimensions distinguished in integration literature and empirical studies both in North-American and European scholarly traditions see Nimmerfeldt, Schulze and Taru (forthcoming) (Article I).

group relationships with the majority group. Contemporary researchers also differentiate between two broad spheres of integration: structural and socio-cultural integration. However, the distinction has changed in substance over time. Today, structural integration refers to the socio-economic incorporation of the minority group into the core institutions of society, instead of primary level interethnic contacts. The socio-cultural part of integration processes consists of acculturation and interethnic relations, as well as socio-psychological characteristics of adaptation processes, namely identity processes.

The most commonly used analytical framework for studying integration processes focuses on structural, cultural, social (also called interactive (Reinsch 2001; Bosswick and Heckmann 2006) and identificational integration dimensions (Heckmann & Schnapper 2003). This four-stage division of integration processes is also the framework applied for identifying integration needs and policies at the European Union level (Borkert, Bosswick, Heckmann and Lüken-Klaßen 2007). Although the titles of the four dimensions have changed over the years, these four categories have remained in large part the same.

Structural integration is understood as the acquisition of rights, and the access to membership, positions and status in the core institutions of the society: economy and labour market, education and qualification system, housing system, welfare state institutions including the health system, and citizenship as membership in the political community. Participation in these institutions determines the socio-economic status, the opportunity structure for social mobility and personal resources in a modern market society (Bosswick and Heckmann 2006:9). Cultural integration refers to processes of cognitive, cultural, behavioral and attitudinal change on the part of individuals (both from minority and majority groups). Cultural integration on the part of minorities involves knowledge of the titular language, understanding of and respect for basic social and cultural norms. Although it primarily focuses on immigrants and their descendants, cultural integration is an interactive, mutual process that changes the settlement society as well. Social integration is the interaction of immigrants and the majority group in the private sphere, as reflected in people's personal relationships and group memberships (social intercourse, friendship, marriage, participation in associations and organizations). The fourth dimension, identificational integration relates to membership in a society on the subjective level, demonstrated by feelings of belonging and identification with different groups in society, particularly in the form of ethnic, national and other types of social identification (Esser 2000; Heckmann and Schnapper 2003; Boswell 2003; Bosswick and Heckmann 2006).

3.2. IDENTIFICATIONAL INTEGRATION

Integration at the identity level has been less thoroughly studied than structural integration or acculturation processes. The discussion both in the US and Europe has been dominated by indicators of structural integration, (i.e. position in

education and the labour market) (Thomson and Crul 2007: 1034). Another dimension of integration that is often described is the acculturation process, which is seen as one of the prerequisites for structural integration.

The emphasis on structural integration and acculturation processes stems in large part from the theoretical frameworks employed for conceptualising integration, according to which socio-economic mobility is considered to be of major importance in adaptation processes. Another reason that the identificational dimension of integration has been neglected or only superficially explored in integration studies, is that the concept of identity is fuzzy, and identity aspects are less quantifiable. Because their interpretations are more grounded in the national context and discourse, they are difficult to include into comparative quantitative studies. Survey data oversimplifies the research done on identity, since it often employs only a categorical identity question that either asks for nominal self-identification or gives the respondent the option to pick predetermined identity categories. In worst practices, the survey only allows the respondent one choice.

The studies that focus on the identificational integration of immigrants and their descendants, either solely or together with other integration dimensions, have mostly focused on ethnic self-identification and the processes by which it is retained or rejected (Gans 1979; Alba 1990; Waters 1990; Esser 2004; Heckmann and Schnapper 2003; Rumbaut 1994; Portes and Rumbaut 1996, 2001). In the European context, for some immigrant groups, the religious identity, instead of ethnicity or together with it, is seen as one of the major indicators of identificational integration (Buijs and Rath 2006; Foner and Alba 2008; Fleischmann 2011). Another aspect often included in these studies is national identity formation, where identificational integration is assumed to lead to the creation of a shared national identity, which requires certain commonalities, such as a shared language and core cultural values (Heckmann 2003). Less attention is paid to the way in which the identification at the national level is formed as complementary to, or parallel with, self-identification with one's ethnic group. Besides looking at ethnic and national identifications, one can notice the rising interest in local collective identities, mainly at the level of the residence city, as a possible source for the feeling of belonging among the second generation (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf and Waters 2002; Groenewold 2008; Schneider and Stojčić 2008; Crul and Schneider 2010).

The most common definition of identificational integration in recent studies departs from the one proposed by Heckmann and his colleagues (Heckmann and Schnapper 2003:10; Bosswick and Heckmann 2006:10). They understand identificational integration as membership in a society at the subjective level, indicated by the formation of feelings of belonging to, and identification with different groups in society, particularly ethnic, regional, local and national groups. This dissertation aims to introduce an approach to identificational integration that does not focus on minority members' identifications with different groups in society but rather on the creation of a sense of belonging to one's resident country and its society based on the feelings of being at home and being accepted as a full member of that society.

The feeling of belonging at the national level is important for social cohesion and unity in society, as well as for the psychological well-being of immigrants and their descendants.

The notion of social unity is understood as a reciprocal attachment, meaning that individuals and groups that comprise a society should feel attached to each other and attached to the society (polity). Attachment, in turn, cannot be cultivated without feelings of security and belonging. To become attached to a society, a person needs to feel welcomed and respected as a part of it. Based on these feelings, the sense of belonging will develop and be reflected in the desire to call the resident country home (Uberoi 2007:144). Previous research has demonstrated that a sense of belonging plays an important role not only in a positive self-image, but also in the formation of positive attitudes towards others including trust (Arredondo 1984, quoted in Chow 2007:512). Attachment to the country and society at the national level also increases political interest and involvement, including voter turnout (Huddy and Khatib 2007:65).

One of the psychological challenges faced by immigrants is the feeling of not belonging anywhere. As Baumeister and Leary (1995) claim, the need to belong, that is to form and maintain social attachments is a fundamental human need. They illustrate that belonging has multiple and strong effects on emotional patterns and cognitive processes. Furthermore, a great deal of human behaviour, emotion, and thought is caused by this fundamental interpersonal motive. A lack of attachments is linked to a variety of ill effects on health, adjustment and well-being.

While first-generation immigrants might preserve an attachment to their country of origin and hold onto interpersonal relationships formed in the homeland, for the second generation this attachment to their country of origin is often not feasible or desirable. Therefore, the second generation faces the danger of not belonging to any country and therefore being in-between the resident country and their parents' country of origin. If there is an ethnic community of credible size in the country that is coherent enough to provide the second generation with both a sense of belonging and social, economic and psychological support, then the danger of belonging nowhere and the subsequent sense of insecurity and identity crisis is diminished. It has been argued that Russians do not form a coherent ethnic community in Estonia. The Russian community in Estonia is too heterogeneous and fragmented, and therefore does not have a unifying minority identity (Vihalemm and Masso 2003; Laitin 1998; Kolsto 1995; Vihalemm and Kalmus 2009). Therefore, in the case of second generation Russians in Estonia, the feeling of belonging nowhere could be a substantial challenge, making belonging to the wider society even more important psychologically.

3.3. THE CONCEPT OF SECOND GENERATION

In this dissertation, the target group for empirical study is second generation Russians in Estonia. Following the definition of second generation in the TIES

project, the survey respondents (and also the respondents for the qualitative follow-up study) are Russian youth aged 18-35 who were born in Estonia, with at least one parent born outside who migrated to Estonia during the Soviet era. In case of the Estonian Russians, the second generation overlaps in great deal with a birth cohort but not one to one. There is already remarkably large group of ethnic Russian youth, who by demographic definitions belong to the native population (born in the country with both parents also born in the country). The lack of information about their grandparents' birth place does not allow us to determine whether these Russians are part of the third generation of post-war immigrants or if they are the descendants of Russian minority residing in Estonia prior to World War II (Nimmerfeldt 2010).

Starting with the scholars of the Chicago school of sociology, theories of integration have considered generational change to be the yardstick for measuring success in integration processes. The first generation (the foreign-born) were less assimilated and less exposed to American life than were their American-born children (second generation), and their grand-children (third generation) were in turn more like the core American mainstream than their parents (Waters and Jimenez 2005:106). There are many different ways to divide immigrants and their descendants into generations. Some argue that second generation is comprised of those born in a country with both parents born elsewhere, while others consider second generation to also include those with at least one parent born outside the resident country. Furthermore, there are scholars who also analyze the so-called in-between generations (1,5; 2,5 generations). These approaches take into account not the birth place but the length of time spent in the country and the age of the immigrant upon arrival (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 1996). Some authors include the 1,5 generation (born abroad but arrived to the resident country in their childhood or early adolescence) in the same group as youth born in the country to foreign born parents (second generation) by arguing that their primary socialization has taken place in their current country of residence, and therefore, their starting positions in the integration processes are more or less equal (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters, 2002; Sardinha 2010).

By definition, immigrants are those who move across national borders, not regional or other borders. Standard definitions of the "immigrant" always include the idea that an immigrant is an individual who moves into a country from another country. But this of course is not sufficient because it fails to distinguish immigrants from tourists, students etc. Some definitions go further by stating that the reason for the move is decisive; i.e. immigrants are the persons who intend to settle in another country. Others go even further by contenting that the act of settling is intended to be permanent. For both approaches, the matter of settlement is what differentiates immigrants from students and tourists, however it still is difficult to draw clear lines around who is immigrant and who is not, because the motives for moving are not always clear nor is it clear whether they intend to stay from the very beginning (Kivisto and Faist 2010:49-50).

Christian Joppke (2001) has proposed a definition that offers the basis for a more objective assessment of a person's status as a border crosser. „Immigration is the permanent movement of people across states, seen from the perspective of the receiving (rather than sending) states” (Ibid.:7208). The state establishes a person's status. States distinguish between immigrants by dividing them into two broad categories: voluntary migrants – those who are assumed to have a choice regarding whether to migrate or remain in place, and asylum seekers and refugees – those who are perceived to have been forced to depart from their homeland. Most theories of integration are about the first type of immigrants, because they are more numerous than the latter. These two types are also treated by states and civic organizations differently. Consequently, the modes of incorporation should also be different. But theories of integration continue to have mainly voluntary labour migrants in mind (Kivisto and Faist 2010:52-53). Classifying immigrants is further complicated by the fact that national borders are not always fixed and sometimes people who were residing in their homeland find that they are residing in another nation despite the fact that they did not move – the border did (Brubaker et al. 2006).

The patterns of immigration to Estonia differ from classic labour migration. Most of the Russians⁷ arrived in Estonia during Soviet times when immigration was promoted and controlled via organised labour recruitment and Soviet policies (Sokolova 2011). The first flow of Russians (and other Russian-speakers) was sent to Estonia (whose economy was integrated into Soviet Union's state-controlled economic system) to create the political party and state elite dedicated to the imperialist policies of Soviet Union in order to establish a loyal bureaucracy in Estonia. Among the much-needed workforce, Estonia received numerous bureaucrats and high-ranking officials who were essential for overseeing the implementation of Soviet policies, both in the state administration and in state enterprises (Kulu 2001). Many Russians who arrived during the first flow were highly educated; they did not have to compete in labour market with the natives. After the 1980s, however, the educational level of immigrants deteriorated; the majority of those arriving were young people without any vocational training or higher education (see Saar and Titma 1992; Lindemann 2011:91; Lindemann and Saar 2011:58). Whether they migrated willingly or they were deputed by the Soviet state-run labor program, at the time of their migration, they believed that they were merely moving to another part of the Soviet Union. Russians who settled in Estonia during that time considered themselves as a majority nation of the Soviet Union. With the re-establishment of Estonian independence in 1991, the profound change in the status of Russians occurred: from local representatives of an imperial ethnic group, to one of a minority in a small nation-state (see Pettai & Hallik, 2002).

⁷ Today approximately one-third of the Estonian population is of non-Estonian ethnic origin. More than 100 different nationalities and ethnic groups are represented; the biggest ethnic minority group is Russians comprising 26% of the total population (Statistics Estonia, available at: <http://pub.stat.ee>).

Russian minorities that formed as a result of Soviet era migration have been treated differently by different scholars. For example, Georg Sheffer (1994:62) classifies Russians in the republics of the former Soviet Union as an „incipient diaspora“, which is awakening or has only recently been formed. Pål Kolstø (1999) too considers Russians to be a diaspora; but he broadens this term to include also ethnic groups that have not migrated to distant countries, but whose original country has lost power and left them behind. Will Kymlicka (2001) examines Russians in Estonia as one of the hard cases because it is not easy to classify them, according to Western definitions and models. He argues that post-war Russian settlers in Estonia do not consider themselves to be an immigrant minority, but rather a national minority. At the same time, the public discourse and state policy treat them as illegal immigrants, who had no right to enter in the first place, because Estonia was occupied by the Soviet Union. Despite this major gap in perceptions, he argues that Russians fall into the analytical category of immigrants and that Estonian integration policies follow the immigrant model of integration.

This dissertation begins with the argument that Russian youth aged 18-35 years, whose parents were born outside Estonia but who themselves were born in Estonia and were socialized for the most part after the Estonian Republic regained its independence, are at least on a general level comparable both structurally and socio-culturally to the second generation members of immigrant minorities in Western countries. Therefore, the theories based on second generation integration are applicable at least to some degree in the Estonian context. This does not mean that we should not constantly be aware of the historical differences in migration patterns, or take into consideration the socio-structural peculiarities of Estonian society stemming from Soviet times when drawing conclusions about the applicability of a particular theory to the empirical reality. Furthermore, the dissertation argues that research on the Russian second generation in Estonia can be a significant addition to the theoretical debate and to the elaboration of the empirical research framework, despite the contextual differences or maybe precisely because of these differences.

Waters and Jimenez (2005:107) argue that theoretically the concept „generation“ and its centrality to immigrant research must be rethought, given the ongoing influx of new immigrants. Because what made “generation” such a powerful tool for predicting the degree of integration in the case of immigrants mainly from Europe in the end of 19th and in the beginning of 20th century was tied to the cut-off in immigration that occurred as a result of the Great Depression and the restrictive immigration laws of the 1920s. This restriction created conditions that one’s generation defined one’s distance from immigrant ancestors, it served as a proxy for birth cohort and for distance from all first-generation immigrants. Compared to these European immigrants, the experience of post-1965 immigrants to America is different because there has not been and probably will not be in the near future any cut-off or diminishing in immigrant flows. In the case of Russians in Estonia, there was a clear cut-off in immigration inflows by the imposition of immigration quotas

after the restoration of independence. The immigrant population diminished significantly by return migration in the beginning of 1990s. Therefore, the concept of generation is still relevant for studying the integration of Estonian Russians.

4. TWO-DIMENSIONAL APPROACH TO IDENTIFICATIONAL INTEGRATION

In the literature on the integration of immigrants and their offspring, the focus is on two dimensions of identity level integration: identification with one's ethnic group and identification with the majority group in the resident country, referred to as ethnic and national identity respectively. Identity level integration has been used by different studies in different ways: as either only identification with different groups/categories, or as several attitudinal and behavioural aspects related to ethnic and national identity in the wider context of socio-cultural integration. The sections below present first a short overview of scholarship dealing with the relationship between identifications along these two dimensions, followed by a brief outline of the most widespread operationalisations of identity in integration studies. These operationalisations are critically evaluated in the concluding section based on the results of empirical analysis and identity theories. One strand of scholarship, as represented by the linear assimilation approach, views ethnic and national identity as mutually exclusive, while the other strand argues that it is possible to have multiple strong identities and therefore allows for the possibility that an individual may have both a strong national identity and a strong ethnic identity.

4.1. CONCEPTUALISATION OF IDENTIFICATIONAL INTEGRATION

Identificational integration is understood in the classical linear model, first formulated by Robert Park (1950) and further elaborated by Milton Gordon (1964), as the last step in the adaptation process of immigrants. It is defined as 'a development of the sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society' (Gordon 2005:102). Integration at the identity level is understood as the gradual diminishing of the salience of ethnic and linguistic markers. The end point of these processes is the formation of a self-image as an unhyphenated member of a society. Accordingly, identity change is assumed to happen over generations, concluding in the replacement of one's ethnic identity with the national identity shared by the majority group. In assimilation theory, shared national identity means the ethno-cultural identification with the majority group; therefore identificational assimilation is understood as leading to the ethnic identification with the majority group instead of one's heritage ethnic group.

Evidence of the decline in ethnic identities and loyalties accompanied by growing identification with the national identity category among the descendants of immigrants has been provided through a number of studies based on research of Europeans and their descendants who migrated to the US early in the 20th century. These studies have concluded that widespread intergenerational social mobility and intermarriage lead to the decline in ethnic identity over three or four generations because of assimilation into the American mainstream. Such an identificational assimilation is expressed by the change in the nature of the ethnic identity, which

turns into an optional, familial, leisure time form of symbolic ethnicity (Gans 1979; Gans 1994; Alba 1990; Waters 1990; Song 2003). However, the new waves of immigrants and the so-called ‘new’ second generation have led researchers to question the straight-line nature of integration processes. Integration no longer seems to be simply a matter of time and social mobility. Also, the decline in ethnic identity paralleled by a growth in identification with the mainstream society over generations has been proven incorrect in relation to some groups (Esser 2004; Heckmann and Schnapper 2003; Rumbaut 1994)⁸. Others argue that the results of the “new” second generation identity studies do not sufficiently disprove the assimilation hypothesis. These scholars argue that the new evidence might indicate that the processes occur at a different pace and that before we can conclude that linear assimilation at the identity level is not happening we need to wait for data on the third and subsequent generations (Alba and Nee 1997).

As a response to the empirical research that demonstrated that the straight line assimilation model is too optimistic and simplistic, Portes and his colleagues developed the segmented assimilation theory to explain the integration patterns of the “new” second generation. According to the segmented assimilation theory, the second generation’s integration process at the identity level involves three models of ethnic self-identification. In the first model, the individual follows the ‘linear ethnicity’ line of assimilation into the native majority ethnic category. This model corresponds to the linear assimilation theory with the end goal of adaptation into the host society and culture, with ethnic identification transformed from one’s heritage group to the majority group in society. The second model involves the individual retaining the ethnic identity of their parents, and the third model involves developing a ‘reactive’ native minority ethnicity. The third model results in an individual distancing themselves from the immigrant community and their own ethnic group as a result of increasing identification with a native minority group (Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes 1995; Zhou 1997; Portes and Rumbaut 1996, 2001).

Both approaches assume the decline in ethnic identity to be accompanied by the growth in identification with some other group on an ethno-cultural basis. In assimilation theory, identificational assimilation is argued to result in an ethnic identification with the majority ethnic group in society. Similar mutual exclusivity of ethnic identity and identification with the majority (or some national minority or a pan-ethnic minority category) is implicitly assumed by segmented assimilation theory. The melding of different identifications into a hyphenated identity is considered an intermediate phase in identity formation. Consequently, the studies exploring and explaining the different modes of identity patterns often employ a hierarchy of identifications, i.e. analyzing what takes precedence, loyalty to the nation or ethnic identifications. In these studies, the hybrid identity is viewed as one

⁸ There are also several studies which proved the persistence of ethnic identities instead of its erosion among European-origin immigrants in America (e.g. Glazer and Moynihan 1963; Nahirny and Fishman 1965; Greeley 1971; 1974; Isaacs 1975; van den Berghe 1981; Gleason 1983; cf. Kivisto 2005).

of the options for identity, but is considered “a kind of halfway house in terms of social identity” and indicates an early stage in a process of assimilation at the identity level, leading to the self-identification as un-hyphenated national, for example American (Citrin and Sears 2009:159).

However, there are studies that treat identity as a multi-component self-conception, and do not consider identification at the national level incompatible with identification with one’s ethno-cultural group. These studies consider the hyphenated combination of self-identification with both ethnic and national identity to be an end goal on its own. These studies commonly use the concept of hyphenated identity to refer to the combination of ethnic identity with identification at the national level. The notion of a hyphen is employed to articulate the combination of ethnic and national identities leading to self-identification such as ‘Italian-Canadian’ or ‘Mexican-American’ (Mahtani 2002). The national identity in this context is understood as being based on a common cultural core and shared values. These hybrid identities are considered to be more characteristic of immigrants in traditional immigration countries where, in contrast to the European context, the discourses of nation building rest less on a homogenised national image of a country and its population. Instead, the national identity contains elements of multiple cultures, and the immigrant background of the population is deeply embedded in the identity of the nation⁹ (Mackey 2002, quoted in Creese 2005).

Based on empirical evidence that full identificational assimilation or integration of immigrants and their descendants into the dominant culture of residence countries is more the exception than the rule, a new paradigm emerged in the 1990s that introduced the idea that immigrants and their descendants redefine but do not forsake the bonds that link them to their country of origin (Cóis 2010:260). Instead of replacing affiliation to one country and society with identification to another, they create a series of bonds that transcend national borders. This paradigm adopts the concept of transnationalism to its understanding of migration and its aftermaths and also talks about hybrid and hyphenated identities as the possible end-goal of identity formation during the socio-cultural adaptation processes (Faist 2000; Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton 1992).

This concept, either termed ‘hybrid’, ‘creolised’ or ‘hyphenated’, has gained more prominence in European scholarly discourses about minorities and immigrants; the hyphen in identity formation is defined in terms of multiple national attachments and cultural aspects of identity that are plural and fluid (Caglar 1997). In the more recent research on the so-called new second generation integration, one can notice a growing tendency towards conceptualising identificational integration in a way that does not assume that identification with one’s ethnic group and heritage and identification with the majority group in the society are mutually exclusive. Instead

⁹ In Europe, if some kind of hyphenation is used, it has a different appearing, for example German Turks, which still highlights the ethnic identity as nominative part of the construct and the reference to resident country is used as an adjective.

of concentrating primarily on the decline of ethnic identities and retention or replacement by the national identity of the resident country, immigrants' and their descendants' identity is increasingly approached as a multicomponent and a multidimensional concept, in which different modes of reconciling multiple identities are outlined. These studies usually follow the definition of identificational integration offered by Heckmann and his colleagues (Heckmann and Schnapper 2003:10; Bosswick and Heckmann 2006:10). Integration at the identity level is defined as the subjective membership in a society, denoted by the formation of feelings of belonging to, and identification with, different groups in society, particularly ethnic, regional, local and national groups. At the conceptual level, the focus is not on ethno-cultural identity changes per se, but on the formation of a sense of belonging that could be connected to different groups in society. Although recently, more attention has been paid to religious, regional, local and supranational (e.g. European) identity¹⁰, most integration research still focuses on identification with ethnic and national identities, and examines combinations of these identifications in identity patterns according to whether individuals identify only with their ethnic group (culture or country of origin), only with national group (resident country or its culture) or with both (e.g. O'Bryan, Reitz, Kuplowska 1976; Phinney 1990; Hutnik 1991; Berry 1997; Sidanius and Petrocik 2000; Brewer and Roccas 2001; Westin 2003; Phinney et al. 2001; van Niekerk 2007; Constant and Zimmermann 2008; Citrin and Sears 2009).

Some of these studies look at identificational integration as a means to achieve some level of unity in multicultural societies. Immigrants and ethnic minorities are assumed to become nationals of their residence country, that is they consider themselves to be Belgians, Brits, French etc, either as their primary self-definition or as a part of a hyphenated or dual identity. But what is not always clear is how much cultural unity is necessary for uniting different ethno-cultural groups in a common national identity. In other words, does the sense of belonging at the national level consist of an emotional attachment to one's homeland and everyone living there or does it require a stronger identification with the majority on a cultural basis? What if the immigrant group identifies more strongly with their own ethno-cultural group?

Hyphenated identity is also used as a reference to identification solely based on culture. This bi-cultural identity is characterised by the blending of the national norms and values and culture of the majority group with those of the immigrant's ethnic culture (Crul and Vermeulen 2003:2). Studies have demonstrated how allegiances to the ethno-cultural majority and minority are combined into a hybrid identity, that can be thought of as a vague ethnicity consisting of a feeling of pride and enrichment from being part of two cultures (Gallant 2008; Hébert, Wilkinson and Ali 2008; Mansouri and Francis 2009:12-13). This way of reconciling multiple identities involves the formation of a "blended bicultural identity"; that is a unique

¹⁰ Look for example Groenewold 2008; Schneider and Crul 2009; Crul and Schneider 2010; Fleischmann 2011.

configuration of interests derived from the specific experiences of particular ethnic groups in a multiethnic society and not merely a combination of two group memberships (Brewer and Roccas 2001:13, cited in Citrin and Sears 2009:150). This blurs the conceptual use of identity in integration studies even further.

4.2. OPERATIONALISATION OF IDENTITY IN INTEGRATION STUDIES

In the literature on migration and integration, identity as a concept is understood most often in the framework of social identity theory and its offshoots (Tajfel 1981, Tajfel 1982). Departing from the theoretical tradition of social identity, ethnic and national identities are mainly understood as elements of individual self-conception, which consist of identifications with different groups in society. It is assumed that individual identity is partly developed by group identifications or by the acquisition of membership roles in groups. Therefore, the answers to the questions “Who am I?” or “What kind of person am I?” reflect relevant group membership affiliations (Peters 2003:13). Hence, both ethnic and national identities as social identities reflect peoples’ perceptions of themselves as belonging to certain groups and as pursuing their goals through membership in these groups (Citrin and Sears 2009:146-147).

In quantitative studies on integration, identity is most commonly explored via nominal self-identification (Alba 1990; Waters 1990; Rumbaut 1994) or through self-categorization (Dustmann 1996; Citrin and Sears 2009). In self-categorization theory, the self-identification with different identity categories is considered to be equal to the identity structure, and the self-categorization process is explained as an accentuation of the similarities between the self and other in-group members on the one hand, and the differences between the self and out-group members on the other (cf. Turner et al. 1987; Abrams and Hogg 1990).

Measuring ethnic and national identity in quantitative studies involves self-categorization measures of identity that ask respondents to choose the identity categories which describe them best. Different survey items are used to explore identity in this kind of forced-choice format. Some ask respondents about how they think of themselves and provide them with a list of nominal single identity categories from which the respondent picks up either one or several that describe them best. Other measures ask respondents to prioritize between self-categorizations and ask them which of the self-descriptions are primary, secondary, etc.

Another type of categorical identity question often employed in surveys scale five self-identifications. This scale was first elaborated by Luis Moreno (1988) for measuring a compound nationality, a dual national and regional identity which incorporates the local/ethno-territorial self-ascribed identity and the state/national identity produced in the state-building process (Moreno and Arriba 1996). The question was originally worded as follows: We are interested to know how people living in Scotland/Spain see themselves in terms of their nationality. Which of the

statements in this card best describes how you regard yourself?”. Respondents were given a prompt card listing five alternative categories: (1) Catalan/Scottish, not Spanish/British (2) more Catalan/Scottish than Spanish/British, (3) equally Catalan/Scottish as Spanish/British, (4) more Spanish/British than Catalan/Scottish, (5) Spanish/British, not Catalan/Scottish, (6) Don’t know (Moreno 2006:5). There have been different wordings for the preamble in different studies. For example, in election studies in Scotland, the question was posed as follows “Which, if any, of the following best describes yourself?” but in Quebec as “Different people have different ways of defining themselves. Do you consider yourself ...?” (Henderson 2007:117-119). Other versions for wording the question have been “In general, would you say that you feel ...” or “In which of these five categories you include yourself?” (Moreno 2006:5).

This type of question has also been adapted to measure dual identifications along ethnic and national identity categories. For example, in American surveys, this self-categorization question has been worded as follows: “When it comes to political and social matters, do you primarily think of yourself?¹¹” or “When you think of social and political issues, do you think of yourself mainly as a member of a particular ethnic, racial, or nationality group, or do you think of yourself as just an American?¹²” with the possible choices shortened into three: (1) just as an American, (2) both as an American and (ethnicity), or (3) only as (ethnicity) (Citrin and Sears 2009:156-157). Other surveys include pan-ethnic identity categories like Asian-American (Lien, Conway and Wong 2004).

Another approach to evaluate multiple self-categorizations utilizes the usual identity category question which asks about identification with different nominal categories but includes a measure of the strength of identification with each listed category. These questions utilise a Likert-type scale and respondents are asked to evaluate how strongly they identify with each of the predetermined categories or groups. Depending on how many categories are included, this approach provides an elaborate picture of identity patterns instead of just looking at identification with ethnic and national groups. This kind of categorical identity measurement was included in the TIES study. In the TIES survey, identification with different groups via self-categorization was measured by asking a question about the intensity of feelings of belonging simultaneously to a variety of groups in society, including national, ethnic, religious, local and supra-national ones. The question was worded as follows with an interviewer’s introduction: “People can think of themselves as members of various groups in the wider society. The following questions are about how you think of yourself in this respect. I will read you a list of various groups in society. How strongly do you feel that you belong to these groups?” then after the interviewer gave a card to respondent with the list of groups and asked for each item: „To what extent do you feel ... „. The list included: a) national group (titular group in survey country, Dutch, French, German etc); b) ethnic group (Turk,

¹¹ The series of Los Angeles County Social Surveys (LACSS)

¹² General Social Surveys (GSS)

Moroccan); c) local (Inhabitant of the city); d) religious group (Muslim, Christian) e) supranational (European). The scale for evaluating the strength of belonging to different groups included six categories: 1) not at all; 2) very weakly; 3) weakly; 4) neither weakly nor strongly¹³; 5) strongly; 6) very strongly.

¹³ In TIES common survey the middle-point of the scale was „neither weak nor strong“, but in Estonian survey it was reworded „keskmiselt“ which translated into English is „moderately“.

5. ETHNIC AND NATIONAL SELF-CATEGORIZATION OF SECOND GENERATION RUSSIANS

Similarly to the common survey instrument of the TIES project, in the Estonian survey identification with different groups via self-categorization was measured by asking a question about the strength of feelings of belonging toward a variety of identity categories, including national, ethnic, religious, local and supra-national ones¹⁴. In one of the dissertation publications (article III), two items included in the TIES survey questionnaire were used for measuring identificational integration along two dimensions: (1) the ethnic identity of second generation measured by the sense of belonging to their ethnic origin group (labelled “Russians”), and (2) the identification with the majority group at the national level similarly measured by asking about the youth’s sense of belonging to the titular group of the society (labelled “Estonians”). The results of survey data analysis complemented by the qualitative data analysis proved that this method was inappropriate for measuring second generation Estonian Russians identificational integration at the national level.

5.1. IDENTIFICATION WITH THE CATEGORY “RUSSIANS”

According to the categorical identity measurement in the TIES survey ethnic identification is much stronger among Estonian respondents compared to the second generation Russians. 28% of Russian respondents reported their sense of belonging to the group labelled “Russians” as “very strong”, and 43% evaluated their affiliation to be “strong”, while 65% of Estonian respondents indicated “very strong” and 24% “strong” sense of belonging to the group labelled “Estonians”. The share of respondents that felt they belonged to their ethnic group as either “weakly”, “very weakly”, or “not at all” was very small for Russian youths, and almost non-existent among Estonians.

These results coincide with the outcomes of regular Integration Monitoring surveys conducted in Estonia (Korts and Vihalemm 2008; Nimmerfeldt 2010). In addition, several previous qualitative studies have also demonstrated that among Estonian Russians their ethnic identity is rather weak, especially in comparison to ethnic Estonians, and it is less salient in the identity structure, compared to identification with family and everyday social networks (Vihalemm and Masso 2004; Nimmerfeldt 2006; Nimmerfeldt et al. 2007).

¹⁴For an overview of the TIES survey results on identifications with different groups in society, see the country report on the TIES project in Estonia, where the role and relevance of territorial, civic, cultural, ethnic and religious identity categories in the identity structure of Estonian and Russian youths are explored and compared (Nimmerfeldt 2008a).

The follow-up qualitative study carried out with second generation Russians also supported the results of previous studies, according to which ethnic identification is not the most salient dimension of the Estonian Russians' identity. When respondents were asked to define themselves spontaneously during follow-up interviews, none of them referred to their ethnic group, nor did they define themselves through ethno-cultural characteristics. Other identity dimensions, mostly related to social roles and relationships associated with studies, occupational groups, family relations and roles, friends, and often hobby activities, were most frequently presented in the Russian youths' self-presentations. If the respondents were asked to sort cards with different groups according to whether they feel connected to them or not, then the card "Russians" was never left in the row "not mine". However, when they were asked to rate the groups along the strength of feelings of belonging, then 'Russians' was not the group with the highest score. Instead, groups formed on the basis of linguistic similarities (*Russian-speakers*), a similar citizenship status (*Estonian citizens*), and groups comprising all the people living in Estonia (*Estlanders*, in Estonian: *Eestimaalased*¹⁵) regardless of ethnic origin were the ones that the respondents felt more closely connected to (see also Schulze and Nimmerfeldt 2010, 2011).

The meaning of ethnic category for Russian youth is mainly related to cultural and linguistic basis of identification. When the respondents were asked, during the follow-up interviews, who they consider to be Russians that they belong together with, then the connection was defined mainly through mother tongue and growing up and living in a Russian culture. At the same time, ethnic identification with nominal category "Russians" does not coincide with the sense of belonging to Russian minority in Estonia nor does it resonate with identifying themselves with their co-ethnics living in Russia (see also Nimmerfeldt 2006).

5.2. IDENTIFICATION WITH THE CATEGORY "ESTONIANS"

As mentioned above, in the TIES project the other dimension of the second generation's identity formation, the identification at a national level, is measured by asking the respondents about their sense of belonging to the titular group of the respective survey country. Based on analysis of the categorical identity measured in survey as well as on analysis of the follow-up interviews it was demonstrated in article III that at least in the context of Estonia this kind of operationalisation of identification at the national level is not meaningful.

TIES survey results show that majority of second generation Russians in Estonia feel weakly or not as belonging to the group labelled "Estonians": only 6 percent feel that they strongly, and 1 percent very strongly, belong to "Estonians", while

¹⁵ The term „Estländer“ originates from the beginning of 19th century and was used by Baltic Germans to denominate the members of student corporations based on their territorial origin, meaning compatriot or fellow countryman regardless of their ethnic origin (Bender 2006).

45% of respondents reported no feelings at all of belonging to that category. The rest of the sample was divided between three scale points as follows: 11% of respondents feel Estonian very weakly, 19% weakly and 18% moderately. To conclude based on these results that the Russian youth in Estonia do not feel that they belong in Estonia would be misleading, because of the mainly ethnic meaning of the nomination “Estonian”.

In the TIES project, the hypothetical meaning of national identity, of being Austrian, German, French etc., is expected to be either connected to the citizenship status, place of birth and living, context for socialisation and “enculturation”, or to the ethnic origin and descent (Schneider and Stojčić 2008). TIES survey data analysis shows that citizenship status is not significantly associated to the Russian youths’ feelings of belonging to the group labelled “Estonians”. The majority of respondents don’t feel that they belong to the category “Estonians” at all or they feel weak or very weak sense of belonging, irrespective of what kind of formal citizenship status they have. And since all of our respondents were born and grew up in Estonia, therefore going through their socialisation in Estonia, we can assume that the national identity category “Estonian” is mainly a reference to ethnicity and much less to the other aspects connected to national level identification.

This conclusion drawn from quantitative analysis was confirmed by the qualitative follow-up study with TIES respondents. During the interviews respondents were asked to sort cards presenting different groups according to whether they feel they belong to them or not. Among these groups there was also one titled “Estonians”. As a rule, the interviewed Russians did not pick this card as a category of belonging, and the explanation for this choice was that you have to be born as an ethnic Estonian to be Estonian – meaning that Estonians are those whose parents and grandparents are ethnic Estonians. Also, the language was often mentioned as one of the determining factors; by this the respondents did not mean that it is enough to know the Estonian language to become Estonian, but that you have to speak it as a native Estonian does. The latter requirement is seen by Russian youths, as impossible as the requirement to have Estonian born ancestry for generations. Some respondents also referred to stereotypes and mentioned that Estonians are those who act and look like Estonians. Less pronounced, but not completely absent, was the view of identity that stipulates that an Estonian is a person who considers him/herself to be Estonian (see also Schulze and Nimmerfeldt 2010, 2011). The main messages from the qualitative study were that the Russian youths feel that they can never become Estonians even if they would want to, although this kind of desire was not shown by any of the respondents. The obstacles are believed to be the exclusive nature of an Estonian’s national identity and their reluctance to attenuate the strictly, essentially defined borders.

Accordingly, the slight identification with the majority group’s nominal identity category on the part of Estonian Russians can be explained by the exclusive nature of national identity in Estonia. During the period of re-establishing independence, as well as after, the Estonian identity was actively constructed as an ethno-cultural

group, united by native origin, common culture, history, national traditions, feelings, language, preservation of, and pride in, their culture and traditions, a deep connection with the Estonian territory and landscape. The Estonian ethnic and political identity shaped a common semantic field: “Estonian” was interpreted as belonging to the Estonian nation in an ethno-cultural sense (Jakobson 2002: 178).

The conclusion of the analysis conducted in article III was that self-identification with the predetermined identity category “Estonian” is not suitable for measuring national level identification. The part of identificational integration that involves the formation of a sense of belonging to the resident country and society cannot be measured by using the identity category labelled as a titular group in society, at least not in the context of Estonia. This is because in Estonia the national identity category in its essence really denotes ethnic identity.

It is important to note, that outside of Estonia the category of people who are perceived as “Estonian” expands whether they go to Russia or somewhere else. Many of the respondents pointed this out during our follow-up study, giving examples of their experiences of being considered to be Estonians by people in other countries, including by Russians in Russia. And this external categorization applied both to Russians with an Estonian citizenship and passport, as well as to those without it. It was also mentioned that they consider themselves Estonian as well while they are abroad, even though these same people don’t identify with this category in Estonia. But there were number of situations when they identified themselves as Estonians, for example, while filling in forms or when being asked where they come from. This illustrates the ambivalence of second generation Russians’ identity references at the national level.

6. THE SENSE OF BELONGING AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

The second major aim of this dissertation is to examine the possible objective and subjective level factors that influence the sense of belonging to Estonia among second generation Russians. In the article II included in the dissertation, an overview of the relevant factors that affect the formation of a sense of belonging to the country of residence and its society is presented. The factors were gathered from both theoretical literature, and from previous empirical studies, as well as from the qualitative follow-up study conducted with TIES survey respondents. A binary logistic regression analysis was carried out in order to estimate the impact of the following factors on the formation of a strong sense of belonging: citizenship status, close relations with Estonians, experienced and perceived discrimination, perceived threat to cultural identity, transnational ties and activities, emotional connectedness to the kin-state and the strength of ethnic identity. Additionally, the influence of these factors was examined for parental background and country-specific human capital, as well as personal socio-demographical characteristics and indicators of the level of structural integration and acculturation.

6.1. ADDITIONAL OPERATIONALISATION OF NATIONAL LEVEL IDENTIFICATION

This dissertation aims to introduce an approach to identificational integration that does not focus on minority members' identifications with different groups in society but rather on the creation of a sense of belonging to one's resident country and its society based on the feelings of being at home and being accepted as a full member of that society.

The point of departure for conceptualizing integration at the identity level is the statement included in the definitions proposed by Heckmann and his colleagues, according to whom identificational integration is about membership in a society on the subjective level presented in feelings of belonging and different forms of social identifications (Heckmann and Schnapper 2003; Bosswick and Heckmann 2006). However, this conceptualisation centres on the sense of belonging to the resident country and its society in general, instead of belonging to and/or identifications with different groups and categories (social identities) in society. This approach combines group membership and respective social identities with the conceptualisation of identificational integration provided by Esser (2003), who defines the fourth dimension of integration as identification with the receiving country instead of stressing the identification with certain groups in society, as well as the definition of integration provided by Penninx (2004) which states that integration is the process of becoming an accepted part of society.

An additional instrument for measuring identificational integration through the formation and strengthening of the sense of belonging to Estonia among second generation Russians is presented in article II. This instrument emphasises emotional attachment and connection to Estonian country and society as important basis for social unity in Estonian society. The sense of belonging is measured by a block of seven statements based on three different aspects of connectedness to Estonia. First, the statements cover emotional attachment to Estonia, indicated by the intention to stay and by whether or not the respondent considers Estonia their homeland, plus a more direct statement about emotional attachment through an expression of love for Estonia. Second, the block includes statements about feelings of membership in Estonian society. The third aspect measures feelings of closeness with the majority group in Estonian society.

During the adaptation of the TIES survey instrument to the Estonian context, a set of statements on the aforementioned three aspects was formulated. A pilot survey for testing identity questions, including statements on the connection to Estonia, was carried out. Based on the factor analysis of the pilot study, the following seven statements were chosen for inclusion in the final survey instrument:

- (a) I love Estonia,
- (b) I feel that I am part of Estonian society,
- (c) I consider Estonia my homeland,
- (d) I would gladly leave Estonia and settle elsewhere,
- (e) I am proud of the achievements of Estonians,
- (f) I have nothing in common with Estonians,
- (g) I feel unwelcome in this country.

The respondent's level of agreement is specified on a typical five-level Likert scale, from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". Based on these seven statements, a new variable is composed for measuring the strength of the sense of belonging to Estonia¹⁶. The result is an index with values from 7 to 35, which are for descriptive analysis collapsed together into four categories ranging from very weak to very strong¹⁷ and dichotomized for logistic regression by merging the very weak and weak into weak and strong and very strong into strong sense of belonging. According to this composed variable, 12% of Russian respondents feel a very strong and 42% per cent a strong connection to Estonia, while 35% feel weakly and 11% very weakly connected.

¹⁶ For composing the index all the statements were recoded in a way that the smallest value indicates the weakest identification and scale for three items (d, f and g) were reversed. Cronbach's Alpha = .830.

¹⁷ The initial sum index was collapsed into four categories as follows: 7-19 = 1 (very weak); 20-25 = 2 (weak) 26-31 = 3 (strong); 32-35 = 4 (very strong).

6.2. FACTORS INFLUENCING THE SENSE OF BELONGING TO ESTONIA

In the literature, several factors are highlighted as having an impact on integration processes generally or on identificational integration specifically. These factors are related either to the wider social and political context, to the more immediate local environment, to the social network and family or to personal socio-demographic characteristics. Second, identity formation is influenced by factors related to both the country of residence and its society, as well as to the country of origin and identification with the ethnic group.

Citizenship status

One principal basis for solidarity and social unity is the formal and legal membership to the state acquired through citizenship. Citizenship denotes membership to a political and geographic community and it encompasses legal status, rights, political and other types of participation, as well as a sense of belonging (Bloemraad, Korteweg and Yurdakul 2008:153). Therefore, many believe that formal membership in the state is followed by the sense of belonging to that community. Parsons argues that a shared sense of citizenship might be sufficiently powerful to override the divisive potential of ethnic group allegiances and, thus, could serve as a way to prevent ethnic conflict and marginalisation (quoted in Kivisto 2004:291). Civic incorporation, together with accompanying civic identity, is viewed as a possible solution for ethnically and culturally diverse societies, by multicultural theorists such as Taylor (1992), Kymlicka (1995) and Parekh (2000). They claim that civic incorporation through citizenship as an overarching mode of identity might provide a sufficient basis for common culture and, thus, societal cohesion (Kivisto 2004:293).

The immigrants' readiness to become naturalised has traditionally been used as a measure of their sense of belonging to the society (Chow 2007:513). Acquisition of citizenship is supposed to encourage individuals to internalise national norms and values, as well as to allow them to mix with the general population (Schnapper, Krief and Peignard 2003:16). On the other hand, behind the decision not to acquire citizenship are reasons like continuing identification with the country of origin, its culture, language, and religion, as well as the preservation or development of a sense of national pride. In addition, more practical reasons are given, such as legal bonds and pressures from the country of origin. Last, but not least, this disinterest might also be a reaction to the rejection experienced by immigrants and their descendants in residence countries (Kurthen 1995:932).

Recent studies conducted in Estonia provide some proof that emotional attachment to Estonia is stronger among Russians with Estonian citizenship, compared to those without any citizenship or with Russian citizenship. Using a survey question about the sense of belonging to the Estonian people in the constitutional sense, Lauristin (2008) demonstrates that among Estonian citizens the feeling of belonging to the

Estonian people is much stronger compared to people with undetermined citizenship or Russian citizenship. At the same time, the follow-up interviews conducted with Russian youths who are born and have lived their whole life in Estonia revealed that having to go through the naturalisation process is perceived as insulting by members of the second generation. Consequently, the way Estonian citizenship has been acquired – either by birth or through the naturalisation process¹⁸, is taken into consideration while analysing the impact of legal status on the sense of belonging.

Perceived and experienced discrimination

One of the challenges confronting the second generation is the hostile social environment of their residence countries. Experiences and perceptions of discrimination and hostility on the part of majority group in society have been proven to have a major impact on the identity construction of immigrants and minorities. The relationship is primarily negative leading immigrants into reactive differentiation from the majority and distancing from mainstream values, norms and institutions. This kind of distancing is accompanied either by a strengthening of ethnic identification, which leads to segregation, or identification with an opponent subculture (Rumbaut 1994; Portes and Rumbaut 1996, 2001; Berry, Phinney, Sam and Vedder 2006; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind and Solheim 2009).

Interethnic relations

The idea that interethnic relations play a role in the formation of attachment to the country and its society stems from the so-called “contact hypothesis”. According to the contact thesis, close and continuous contact with out-group members promotes positive and tolerant attitudes toward that group (Watson 1947; Williams 1947; Allport 1954; Ellison and Powers 1994). Previous studies done in Estonia support parts of this hypothesis and have clearly demonstrated that personal close contacts (at the level of family or friends) are the most important factors affecting the attitudes towards the other group (Valk and Karu 1997; Korts 2009; Korts and Vi-halemm 2008; Schulze 2008). Unfortunately, the survey instrument used for TIES survey in Estonia doesn’t cover all the aspects relevant for testing the contact hypothesis, therefore the working hypothesis for analysis was posed as follows: Russian youths who have Estonians among their circle of friends in general and, specifically, among their three best friends feel a stronger sense of belonging to the society, compared to second generation Russians who have no close contacts with Estonians.

¹⁸ Due to the small size of the group with citizenship from countries other than Russia (2.6 per cent) they will be excluded from further analysis.

Transnational ties and feeling connection to the country of origin

Widening access to transportation and digital communications technologies has transformed the relationship between space and place, so that travel and mobility are no longer prerequisites for engaging with and being influenced by the world views and opinions of people in geographically distant locations (Haller and Landolt 2005: 1183). As a result, novel possibilities for global, multi-local, and transnational modes of membership and types of identities arise. Increasingly, aspects of social life take place across borders, even as the political and cultural salience of nation-state boundaries remains clear. Several studies have shown that migrant families orient significant aspects of their lives around their country of origin by keeping in touch with family members, relatives and friends who live there. They travel as tourists and send or receive remittances. Additionally, they follow the media of their country of origin and they engage in transnational collective action, religious, civic, and political institutions (Guarnizo, Portes and Haller 2003; Haller and Landolt 2005). These kinds of transnational actions have led many people, including migration scholars and policymakers, to assume that the integration of immigrants and their descendants has failed. Instead of integrating into the society of resident country, migrants are believed to prefer living in a sort of transnational social space in which the language, culture, and social contacts of their homeland are cherished (Lucassen 2005:166). Thus, transnational ties challenge the conventional notions about the assimilation of immigrants into residence countries.

Most scholars of transnational migration today recognise that many contemporary migrants and their offspring maintain various kinds of ties to their country of origin while also becoming incorporated into the countries where they have settled (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007:130). An increasing number of migrants are orienting their lives toward two or even more societies; they develop transnational communities and consciousness (Castles 2002:1146). The mobility and belonging to more than one place is now seen as complementary instead of being contradictory. Sustained ties with two or more countries are regarded as an integral, and potentially beneficial, part of the migratory experience (Gustafson 2005:8), instead of being an anomaly.

Because of Russia's proximity to Estonia, it is assumed that transnational activities like these are frequent among Russians. Many of them have family members and relatives living there and many travel there frequently either for work or business. However, whether visits and staying in the country of origin increase or decrease the sense of belonging to the resident country and its society depends on the nature of the experiences they have in Russia. Positive experiences, including a sense of belonging with ethnic peers, and of being accepted as a member of a group while staying there, might strengthen their ethnic or ethno-national identity and weaken their sense of attachment to Estonia. This is especially so if such positive experiences in the country of origin are complemented by negative experiences of not being accepted in the society, or experiencing hostility and discrimination in the resident country. At the same time, visiting the country of origin might be a catalyst

for a reevaluation of circumstances in the current resident country. This might occur via a comparison of living conditions, political, economical and social environments. It may also highlight the cultural similarities an individual shares with the majority in the resident country as well as differentiation from members of one's ethnic group living in the country of origin. During the follow-up interviews conducted with second generation Russians, several interviewees expressed their disappointment and dislike of the living conditions and social-political arrangements in Russia, and most of them felt that they are also culturally different from Russians in Russia. Some mentioned being treated like outsiders, and some like traitors. Consequently, we can hypothesise the association between transnational ties and the sense of belonging to the resident country to be in either direction.

Ethnic identity

In mainstream integration and assimilation theories, immigrants' identificational integration is generally considered to be related to ethnic and national self-identifications. The process is referred to as a decline in ethnic identities and loyalties accompanied by a growing identification with the majority group and the resident country among the descendants of immigrants. Such an identificational assimilation is expressed by a change in the nature of ethnic identity, which turns to an optional, familial, leisure time form of symbolic ethnicity (Gans 1979; Alba 1990; Waters 1990). This decline in ethnic identity is considered to be followed by the formation of a self-image as an unhyphenated or hyphenated member of the society. In order to test this hypothesis, a composed index of the strength of ethnic identity based on five statements of ethnic pride, attachment and commitment to one's ethnic group and its common practices is included into the regression model¹⁹.

Perception of assimilative pressure

Next, the sense of belonging to a resident country and its society is expected to be affected by the perception of policies, public discourse and majority attitudes either

¹⁹ The five statements included for measuring the ethnic identity were: (a) 'Being a Russian is an important part of myself', (b) 'I see myself as a real Russian', (c) 'When somebody says something bad about Russians I feel personally offended', (d) 'I often wish to conceal the fact that I am a Russian', (e) 'It is important to me to know Russian history, culture, customs and traditions'. Based on these statements, an index was composed for further analysis. For that, all the statements were recoded so that the smallest value indicates the weakest identification and scale of one item (d) was reversed. Cronbach's Alpha = .673. The initial sum index with values from 5 to 25 was collapsed into four categories indicating the strength of ethnic identity to be either very weak (5-16), weak (17-19), strong (20-22) and very strong (23-25).

as an assimilative or separative pressure on the part of state and the majority group in society. The hypothesis about the impact of a perceived threat of assimilation/separation stems from the reactive identity approach which seeks to explain the dialectics of assimilation and confrontation in identity construction processes. The reactive identity approach was first elaborated for the study of public opinion towards EU integration by Vetik, Nimmerfeldt and Taru 2006 (Article IV) and was later refined for studying interethnic relations and integration processes of second generation Russians in Estonia (Vetik 2006; Nimmerfeldt 2006).

The theoretical basis for the definition and operationalisation of the concept of reactive identity is based, on one hand, on the semiotic ideas of Lotman (1999, 2001) and Benveniste (2003) and, on the other hand, on social identity theory (Tajfel 1981; Tajfel and Turner 1979) and Jenkins' (2004) social-psychological approach to identity, as well as on sociological research on reactive ethnicity conducted by Portes and Rumbaut (1996, 2001).

In the reactive identity approach, the concept of identity is understood as subjectivity formed in the process of constructing an "us-them" relationship. The concept is defined as a boundary between "us" and "them", constructed in a dialogue with the "other" based on two processes: identification with the "other" and differentiation from the "other". Both processes are part of identity construction. An imbalance between these two processes in the self-other relationship will be perceived by people as assimilative or separative pressure, resulting in the emergence of a reactive counter identity, i.e. confrontation with the "other". Reactive identity emerges in situations where individuals perceive either dominance of identification with the "other", i.e. assimilative pressure or dominance of differentiation from the "other", i.e. separative pressure (Vetik, Nimmerfeldt and Taru 2006:1081-1083). Reactive identity represents a counter reaction to these kinds of imbalances and is expressed in confrontation with the "other" and will result in an even stronger boundary between "us" and "them".

In the TIES survey, an instrument comprising four statements about the perception of assimilative pressure²⁰ was introduced based on previous qualitative studies which had revealed that Russian youth often feel that Estonian integration policy aims at their cultural and linguistic assimilation. The 2007 school reform is considered especially threatening because it requires Russian-language schools to transition step by step to teaching in 60% of classes in Estonian at the secondary education level by the 2011/2012 academic year. In addition, the Language Law which establishes language proficiency requirements for public servants, government officials and some private sector employees, and the Citizenship Law, which includes a language examination as a requirement for naturalisation, are

²⁰ Assimilative pressure is measured by a composed variable based on four statements about the perception of a threat to cultural identity: (a) 'Learning Estonian makes one distant from Russian culture', (b) 'Maintaining Russian culture in Estonia is at risk', (c) 'I don't feel any pressure to give up Russian culture and replace it with Estonian' and (d) 'There is room for a variety of languages and cultures in Estonia'.

viewed as either direct or indirect attempts at assimilation (Nimmerfeldt 2006:61; Nimmerfeldt et al. 2007).

Parental background

It has been argued that identificational assimilation is shaped largely by family context and studies have demonstrated the effect of parental ethnic socialisation, social status, and parent-child relationships on identificational assimilation (Rumbaut 1994). Our data allows us to test the impact of social status (highest completed educational level and occupational group held at the respondents' age of fifteen) and the more country-specific human and social capital of parents (proficiency in Estonian and citizenship status) on identificational assimilation. In addition, the parents' descent is taken into account, with the objective of checking whether second generation youths with one parent born in the country feel a stronger connection to Estonia compared to youths with both parents born outside the country.

Personal socio-demographic characteristics

Mainstream integration theories assume the relevance of several socio-demographic characteristics for the formation of a sense of belonging. The inclusion of personal characteristics like the respondent's titular language proficiency, highest level of education completed, employment status and occupational group into the analysis tests the hypothesis drawn from classic theories about acculturation and integration into the main structures of society being followed more or less automatically by the formation of a sense of belonging. Structural integration is often considered to be a gendered process (Rumbaut 1994). In addition age might impact the sense of belonging either directly or indirectly through the level of education, employment, occupational status and language proficiency.

Previous research has proven that the city of residence is significantly related to identification processes (see Porter and Rumbaut 2001; Schneider and Stojčić 2008; Nimmerfeldt 2008a). Based on the concentration of Russians in Ida-Virumaa cities, including Kohtla-Järve, compared to the situation in Tallinn (see Sokolova 2011), we can assume that the city of residence has either a direct or an indirect effect on the attachment of second generation Russians to Estonia and Estonians. In Tallinn, the minority-majority patterns are more strongly established, while in Kohtla-Järve ethnic differences are not as pronounced in everyday life. The city of residence might have an indirect effect on the sense of belonging through other hypothesised factors like discrimination, the strength of ethnic identity and the perceived threat to cultural identity. On the other hand, because of the geographical proximity of Kohtla-Järve to Russia, the city of residence might also be associated with feelings of connection to Russia. However, a more direct impact of residence on the connectedness might also be expected. A previous qualitative study has unveiled

shocking facts about the sense of belonging to Estonia among Russian inhabitants in this region. In focus group conducted in Narva, some participants drew a clear distinction between “their” city (and Ida-Virumaa in more general) and the rest of Estonia, especially Tallinn, pronouncing point-blank that “Narva is not Estonia”. In response to the moderator’s question specifying what then comprises Estonia, the respondents said that “Estonia is out there, in Tallinn and elsewhere” (Vetik and Nimmerfeldt 2008a:2).

Results of logistic regression analysis

In order to explore to what extent these factors have an effect on the formation of the sense of belonging in the case of second generation Russians, a two-step logistic regression analysis was carried out. The analysis looks at the odds of feeling a strong connection compared to a feeling of weakly belonging to Estonia using the composed index for measuring the sense of belonging based on seven statements collapsed into two categories as the dependent variable.

The results of the analysis demonstrate that only two of the above mentioned factors are significantly associated with the formation of a strong sense of belonging to Estonia among second generation Russians. First, considering all the possible factors included into the model, the perception of assimilative pressure has the greatest impact on the chances of feeling a strong belonging to a resident country and its society. Second, the diasporic identity – considering Russia the homeland and intending to go to live in Russia – significantly lowers the odds of feeling a sense of belonging to Estonia.

In the case of emotional attachment to a parent’s country of origin, we cannot claim causality based on our survey data because the identification with Russia could also be a reaction to the lack of sense of belonging to Estonia. Concerning the effect of a perceived assimilative pressure, we can rely on the reactive identity approach and explain the result by referring to policies and public discourse. Since regaining independence, discourse in Estonia has been dominated by legal restorationism and this has been incorporated into integration policies with an emphasis on “Estonian cultural predominance” (Pettai and Hallik 2002). Previous studies also indicate that Russians perceive Estonian integration policy as forced “assimilation” (Vetik 2006, 2008), which expects them to adapt to a society dominated by Estonian language and culture. Estonia’s language policy is regarded as a threat to the survival of the Russian language in Estonia, and the ongoing school reform is seen not as an attempt to equalise the opportunities for everyone in society but rather, as a threat to the Russian youth’s cultural identity (Saar 2008; Proos 2006). Hence, the weaker sense of belonging to Estonia among second generation Russian youth, evident in low levels of emotional attachment to the country and feelings of not being part of its society could be explained by the perception of assimilative pressure from the Estonian state and the majority group.

However, the fact that no other factors have a significant impact on the odds of having a strong sense of belonging is also an important finding. First, the logistic regression analysis shows us that neither the citizenship status of second generation Russians nor the way Estonian citizenship has been acquired plays a significant role. Previous studies focusing on the integration of Russians in Estonia have also proven that citizenship status is more of a pragmatic choice rather than an indication of a person's civic identity. Based on the Integration Monitoring data, Lauristin (2008) argues that acquiring Estonian citizenship is not related to political or civic identification but is, instead, a sort of social investment. At the same time, the results of Integration Monitoring also show that the emotional attachment to Estonia is not perfectly correlated with citizenship status (*ibid.*; Hallik 2006). Furthermore, it is not possible to interpret undetermined citizenship status, as a weak feeling of belonging to Estonia. Former empirical studies have proven that there are several reasons for Russians' stateless status. First, the strict requirements of the citizenship policy, mainly the Estonian language exam, hinder the naturalisation process. According to recent survey results, nine out of ten Estonian and Russian respondents considered the inability to learn Estonian one of the main reasons why there are still so many people without Estonian citizenship living in Estonia (Nimmerfeldt 2008c). A qualitative study among individuals with undetermined citizenship conducted in Tallinn and cities in Ida-Virumaa indicated that besides a lack of knowledge of the Estonian language, the more practical aspects related to everyday life are equally important arguments for retaining an ambiguous legal status. On one hand, it is easier for persons without Estonian citizenship to travel to Russia compared to Estonian citizens; on the other hand, the lack of Estonian citizenship often poses no problems for living in Estonia (Vetik and Nimmerfeldt 2008b; Vetik 2010). The survey results of Integration Monitoring 2008 support these conclusions: 72 per cent of Russian respondents state that the facility of travelling to Russia is one of the reasons why Russian speakers do not seek Estonian citizenship; and 75 per cent think that the cause can also be found in the fact that being without citizenship does not hinder their lives in Estonia (Nimmerfeldt 2008c).

The analysis does not support the "contact hypothesis". Having Estonians among current friends in general, or among three best friends in a narrower sense, plays no significant role in the probability of feeling a strong sense of belonging to Estonia. Here, one of the explanations might lie in the fact that the questions used for measuring interethnic relations do not reflect the contacts between two groups in the best way, the first question being too general and the second too narrow. Another explanation for the lack of association between interethnic contacts and feelings of belonging might be the shortage of close contacts between the two groups, which leads to a situation where attitudes are formed based on perceptions held by a person's ethnic peers. According to the TIES survey data, only 6 per cent of Russians interviewed have many Estonian friends and 2 per cent said that most of their friends are Estonians. Previous research has also revealed that interethnic contacts among Estonians and Russians in Estonia are relatively sparse and mainly

rather sporadic, involving occasional contacts in shops, on the street or on public transport. The few relationships reported between the two groups generally remain instrumental, work and study related (Korts 2009:127; Korts and Vihalemm 2008:1). It may be the case that contacts with colleagues or fellow students were reported as friendships, which ordinarily is hypothesised to increase the sense of belonging, but in fact does not translate into close bonds between the two groups. Due to a lack of close personal contacts, the sense of belonging to Estonia and among Estonians is more likely to be affected by the overall public discourse, reflected by the media or prevalent among the personal circle. Korts (2009:135) has shown in her recent study on Russian youth that the widespread perception (or fear) of a lack of respect from the majority group is of crucial significance to intergroup relations and attitudes towards the “other”. This is not based on personal experiences but rather, taken directly from public discourse or based on attitudes held by peers and family members.

According to the logistic regression analysis, the frequency of visits to Russia has no impact on second generation Russians’ feeling of belonging to their country of residence. Similarly, the time spent in Russia does not play a role. There is also no support for the implicit hypothesis of many integration theories, which assume that weak ethnic identity predicts a strong sense of belonging to the resident country and its society. Variation in the strength of ethnic pride and attachment is not reflected in the different levels of the sense of belonging to Estonia. This indicates that feelings of not being part of the society are not necessarily accompanied by a stronger border drawn between one’s ethnic group and the majority. In other words, feelings of belonging to both the ethnic group and to the resident country and its society are not mutually exclusive. Whether the feeling of not belonging to either really means that there is a feeling of belonging nowhere and what other possible groups might serve as substitute sources for feelings of belonging is a task for further analysis.

None of the hypotheses related to the respondents’ parental background found support: for Russian youths with both parents born outside of Estonia, the odds of feeling a strong sense of belonging to Estonia did not decrease compared to youths with one parent born in Estonia; the odds are also not increased by the parents’ higher social status and country-specific human capital. Among personal socio-demographic characteristics, only the respondent’s age has some significant impact on the sense of belonging to Estonia — younger age group (18-25) feel less strongly connected to Estonia compared to Russian youths aged 26-35 years. However, the indicators of acculturation (proficiency in Estonian) and structural integration (educational level, employment status and occupational group) do not explain the formation of a sense of belonging to Estonia. The process is neither gendered, nor locally context-based at the city level. Besides, adding parental and personal background variables into the regression model does not reduce the strong effects of perceiving a threat on cultural identity and feeling emotionally attached to Russia.

The analysis conducted for the dissertation was a first attempt to empirically test the effect of theoretical factors on the sense of belonging, however the author acknowledges the shortcomings of both the data and the research instrument. First, the survey was carried out in only two cities in Estonia (Tallinn and Kohtla-Järve). Therefore generalising the results to all second generation Russians in Estonia is not possible and the hypothesis needs to be tested on more representative data in future research. Second, the sample might be biased also because one of the sampling criteria was ethnic self-identification as Russian, which could have left out those with ethnic Russian background who identify themselves as Estonians. Although assimilation at the identity level at this scale is not very probable according to previous studies, this fact still could influence the results of the study.

There are several aspects which might have an impact on the sense of belonging to Estonia which are not operationalised in the TIES study at all, or which require more thorough measurement for future studies. For example, cultural integration is operationalised for this study only by titular language proficiency. Other aspects of acculturation, such as adopting Estonian traditions and customs, knowledge of Estonian historical figures, literature and music, sharing the values and convictions, being familiar with cultural life and so on – could also have an impact on the sense of belonging to Estonia. Also interethnic relations as an indicator of social integration could be measured in a more nuanced way taking into account the nature and frequency of the contacts, but also exploring the relations in both a broader and narrower sense besides friendship. Accordingly interethnic relations should be measured to account for both the frequency and quality of contacts among friends, schoolmates, colleagues and acquaintances. In addition, intermarriage, which is often treated as the litmus test for social integration could not be operationalised in the TIES data set as the ethnicity of the partner was not asked. Another possible set of factors that might influence the sense of belonging not included in TIES survey is the orientation toward West. Transnational ties have only been operationalised through connection to the kin-state however Russian youth in Estonia might also have transnational ties and emotional connections with other countries, most notably with Europe. This kind of orientation could be accompanied by the desire to leave Estonia and could therefore be another indicator of a weak sense of belonging to the country.

7. CONCLUSIONS

One of the main tasks set out in this dissertation was to explore the role and place of identity in theories about integration, and to outline the commonly used operationalisations of identificational integration in quantitative studies. Second, through analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data on second generation Russians in Estonia, the dissertation aimed to demonstrate the gap between conceptualisation and operationalisation of identificational integration. One of the conclusions of this dissertation is that the two dimensional conceptualisation of identificational integration, indicated by self-identification with one's ethnic group and with the majority group in society, does not reflect the identity aspects relevant to social unity based on shared sense of belonging to society. The second conclusion states that measuring identificational integration solely through self-categorization with different groups or categories in a society, does not give us the information needed for evaluating the emotional attachment characterising the affective aspects of identities, which form the basis for social cohesion and unity.

7.1. SHORTCOMINGS OF TWO-DIMENSIONAL CONCEPTUALISATION AND CATEGORICAL OPERATIONALISATION

It is argued that nominal measures of identity are used because of their simplicity, utility, and apparent meaningfulness to respondents (Brady and Kaplan 2009:53-54). This dissertation argues against this assumption and shows that nominal measures are everything but simple and that their utility largely depends on additional items included in quantitative studies or in parallel qualitative studies aimed at probing their content. While identity labels are meaningful for respondents, the problem is that the meanings attached to the identity labels vary greatly among respondents. It may be that the meanings given by respondents are completely different from the understanding of the researchers. Therefore, while conducting research on identificational integration we should not forget that the way that people understand themselves very seldom coincides with the way others perceive them (Lewellen 2002:19).

In self-categorization theory, widely used as the departing point in integration studies, self-identification with different identity categories is considered to be equal to the identity structure. The self-categorization process is explained as an accentuation of the similarities between the self and other in-group members on the one hand, and the differences between the self and out-group members on the other (cf. Turner et al. 1987; Abrams and Hogg 1990). Approaches to identity based on self-categorization theory consider self-identifications with identity categories to be an indication of feelings of belonging to respective groups. Others see self-identification as a group member as only one of the prerequisites for identity formation, in addition to positive feelings and attachment to that group (Phinney 1990; Karu and Valk 2001), and consider it important to note differences between

cognitive and affective dimensions of identities (Brubaker and Cooper 2000; Citrin and Sears 2009).

Migration and integration literature conceptualises identity in the framework of social identity theories. Proceeding from that point, social identities develop because people perceive themselves as belonging to groups and pursue their goals through membership in these groups. Bernhard Peters (2003) sums up the essence of collective identity as follows:

“Loyalty to a group, being accepted as member of a group (by other members or by non-members), seeing oneself involved in the life of a group, in some collective project, being proud of one’s group, being interested in the well-being of the group or in collective achievements, feeling responsible for activities attributed to the group may all be important parts of individual self-understanding, a basis for self-esteem, an important element of the goals or ideals one pursues, a source of meaning for one’s life” (Peters 2003:16).

However, all these affective and relational aspects of collective identifications are hardly captured through measurement used in nominal self-categorization. The results of the analysis conducted in the frame of this dissertation show that the identity category labelled according to the titular group in society is not suitable for measuring shared identity at the national level because respondents understand it as a reference to an ethnic identity category. Similarly, the question remains whether the meanings of any identity category for minority members themselves coincide with the meanings attached to it by the majority group, by the wider society, by policy makers or by social scientists.

The ethnic connotation of the term “Estonian” is understood as self-evident by the local policy-makers, public media and scholars, and the term is also used in everyday language for referring to ethnic Estonians only. For that reason, in Estonian integration studies, several other possible group nominators for self-categorization have been used in order to measure the sense of belonging at the national level, such as “Estonian citizen”, “Estonian inhabitant” or a term *Estländers* (“*Eestimaalased*”). During the follow-up interviews we asked about the meanings of these terms for second generation Russians and we got very diverse interpretations. The meanings varied greatly among the respondents and in some cases were surprisingly different from the widespread meaning of these terms for Estonians in the Estonian language. A good example is the term “*Eestimaalased*”, which in Estonian denotes all people living in Estonia, but which had a very different meaning for some Russian respondents, who interpreted the term as referring to farmers or land owners. However, the majority of respondents did understand the term similarly to the meaning in the Estonian language; as someone who lives in Estonia and considers the country to be his/her homeland regardless of ethno-cultural background. An example of the diversity of meanings is also the category “Estonian citizen”, which for some respondents only refers to legally defined citizenry and is used to identify one’s formal belonging to the polity, while for others it means being part of the society and community irrespective of one’s

legal status. In the case of second generation Russians in Estonia, using citizenry as a national level identity category is made even more ambiguous by the fact that nearly half of the target group doesn't have Estonian citizenship²¹. The category "Estonian inhabitant" is also ambiguously understood by Russian respondents and it is problematic for measuring the subjective level of membership in the society and emotional attachment to the country. It might be used for identifying one's bonds with the country as a place of physical residence, but it could also signify one's attachment to the country and its society at a more emotional level. The analysis conducted based on follow-up interviews showed that all of the above mentioned category labels have their limits for measuring self-identification at the national level (see also Schulze and Nimmerfeldt 2010, 2011).

Accordingly, one of the conclusions of the analysis is that not only is the category "Estonian" a good measure of national level identification, but there are general shortcomings related to the measurement of identity through self-categorization in the context of integration studies. First, an approach to identity level integration based on identification with multiple groups in society does not make clear the distinction between the bases for identification with different groups. For example, it is not clear whether identification with an ethnic group is meant to be on the ethno-cultural or on the ethno-national basis. Similarly unclear is what comprises the basis for identification at the national level: is it ethno-cultural identification with the majority group or does it refer to civic-political identification? The ethnic and national perspectives of the world often overlap and that makes it particularly difficult to differentiate between ethnic and national identifications empirically, the more so by using identity labels such as Germans, Turks, Russians etc²². Without making a differentiation between possible bases for identification with a certain category, we cannot identify who is considered to be included under that category. For example, in case of the second generation Russians in Estonia, there are three possibilities of who might be considered to belong to the ethnic category "Russians": the ethnic group could be Russians in Russia, or they could be Russians in Estonia, or Russians just defined as a group culturally and linguistically different from Estonians but also different from Russians in Russia. The latter could be a transnational category uniting a people based on common language and cultural practices. Results of the qualitative study indicate this interpretation to be the most prevalent among second generation Russian youth.

Favell (2001) points out another paradox with the national level identification, namely that in European nation-states the majority group members are more and more identifying themselves along local ethnic or cultural schisms (like Flemish or

²¹ For an overview of citizenship statistics in Estonia and the legal status of TIES survey respondents see the country report on TIES project in Estonia (Nimmerfeldt 2008a).

²² Phalet and Swyngedouw (2003) make difference between ethno-national (Turk) and ethnic identity (Kurds) although this kind of distinction is biased to the other extreme considering the identity category Turk to be ethno-national and not related to ethno-cultural identity at all.

Walloon in Belgium) or with a city or regional area in the country (for example as Bruxellois in Belgium). Hence, while immigrants more and more identify with a fictional unified „nation“, the majority groups are doing so less and less. Therefore, the national identity category no more reflects the unifying identity at national level; that is the identity required for social cohesion which shows the shared sense of belonging to the whole society.

Even if there is a common understanding of identity category nomination, for example a national identity category that is commonly understood to be a reference to overarching identification at the national level, which unites the different ethnic minority and majority members in a society, we still do not know whether the self-identification with this category is a reflection of a mere nominal self-identification, relational connectedness, or the sense of belonging to a bounded group of people. Brubaker and Cooper (2000) stress the difference between strongly groupist, exclusive, affectively charged self-understanding on a collective basis, and a much looser, more open self-understanding which involves only some sense of affinity or affiliation, commonality or connectedness to a particular other. Therefore, they distinguish three analytical aspects of identity: commonality, connectedness and groupness. Categorical commonality denotes sharing of some common attribute, and relational connectedness refers to the relational ties that link people, but “groupness” underscores the need for a feeling of belonging together with the members of a distinctive group. Such a feeling may depend in part on the degrees and forms of commonality and connectedness, but it will also depend on other factors such as particular events, their encoding in compelling public narratives, prevailing discursive frames, and so on. All these different aspects of identity have different consequences on personal experiences, attitudes and social actions (Ibid.:19-21).

Definitions commonly used for identificational integration that originate in social identity and self-categorization theories, look at social identities related to ethnic and/or national (or other) groups and pay less attention to other bases for identity formation. For example, besides the group/category, which is comprised of people living in a certain territory, the place in itself can be meaningful in identity formation (King 1995, Rose 1995, Basu 2001 cited in Sardinha 2009:50). According to Rose (1995) emotions towards a place are connected to the notion of identity in three ways: 1) identifying with a place; 2) identifying against a place; 3) not identifying. Identifying with a place does not imply just the territory but the symbols and history that are related to that place, and also the state as a political entity and its society as socio-political community. On the other hand, not identifying with a place implies being a stranger in a strange land and possessing a feeling of not belonging and not equating with the symbols and landscapes that compose the society (Sardinha 2009:50).

For immigrants and their descendants, there are actually two places to be taken into consideration as a basis for identification: their country of origin and their current country of residence. The first has been to some extent covered in recent migration

and integration research, especially in studies focusing on diasporas, transmigrants, or return-migration to the country of origin. For example, Sheffer (1994:61) points out that members of diasporas maintain their ethno-national identities, which are strongly and directly derived from their historical homelands and related to them. The second facet of belonging to a country has received much less attention. Although some definitions of identificational integration include a reference to the sense of belonging to the resident country (Esser 2003) very few of the empirical studies have focused on measuring it.

A separate question is what social groups are relevant for minority youth in their self-perception. Ethno-cultural and national groups might not be the most salient collective identifications in everyday life, but this does not mean that these group identities might not become utterly salient in certain social circumstances and situations, leading to sharp intergroup differentiation, which might in turn result in ethnic mobilization and conflicts (Peters 2003:13). Brady and Kaplan (2000) argue that ethnic or national identities could be measured nominally only for those for whom identifications on these bases are highly salient. Different ways for measuring identity salience have been proposed; some of them focus on how much respondents value their own identity, while other methods focus on how much respondents want other people to recognize and acknowledge their identity. An example of the latter is a questionnaire used by White and Burke (1987) that asks people to indicate how important (on a four-category Likert scale) it is to have others (close friends, parents, people in general) think of them in terms of their ethnicity (Brady and Kaplan 2009:68). However, it is more common to explore how important different identifications are for the persons themselves.

Kuhn and McPartland (1954) used a “Twenty Statements Test”, where people were asked to give as many responses as they can in six minutes to the question “Who am I?”. This approach has been further elaborated by asking respondents to identify five most important statements. Accordingly, ethnic identity was considered more salient if it was both mentioned in answering the first question, and chosen as one of the five most important statements (Verkuyten 1991). Another approach to measuring the salience of ethnic identity uses statements such as “Being [ethnic identity] is an important part of who I am”, “For me, being [ethnic identity] means more than just being [ethnic identity]”, “[My ethnic identity] is something I rarely even think about” and “I really don’t have any clear feelings about being [ethnic identity]” after identifying their ethnic affiliation nominally (Callero 1985). Similar statements are used for measuring the importance of national identity in the American context (“I often think of myself as American”, “Being an American is very important to who I am” and “I am proud of being an American”) (Citrin and Sears 2009; Citrin, Wong and Duff 2001; Sniderman, Hagendoorn, and Prior 2004).

The criticisms presented above does not mean that identity categories are not suitable for exploring identity at all – they do reflect important aspects of self-conceptions. Rather, this dissertation argues that in addition to self-categorization to different groups/categories in society, we should examine the formation of

emotional attachment to the country and its society using some additional methods. This can be done through a qualitative study which helps us formulate the survey items or to interpret the results, or the inclusion of an enhanced operationalisation of different aspects of identificational integration into survey instruments.

7.2. ENHANCED CONCEPTUALISATION OF IDENTIFICATIONAL INTEGRATION

This dissertation proceeds from an approach to integration processes in multicultural societies that does not assume the opposition of cultural diversity and social cohesion built on a shared sense of belonging. Departing from the proposition that on some level social unity and cohesion are necessary for a multiethnic and multicultural society to operate, this dissertation understands the integration processes in society as contributing to the aim of achieving that unity. At the macro level, integration refers to social cohesion in society. Perceived from the perspective of groups or individuals, the integration process involves the interaction between individual members of the minority group and the ethnic majority group, as well as between those groups and the institutions and policies of the state. Identificational integration in this conceptual framework refers to the creation of a shared sense of belonging uniting ethno-culturally different minority and majority group members. Through demonstrating the shortcomings of a two-dimensional approach to identificational integration, which is widely applied in empirical studies and which focuses on the identification with ethnic (minority) and national (majority) groups in society, this dissertation claims that an enhanced approach is needed that takes into account several other aspects of identity.

Identificational integration, as conceptualised in this dissertation, is about membership in a society at the subjective level, shown in feelings of belonging and different forms of social identifications. But instead of relying solely on feelings of belonging to and/or identifications with different groups/categories in society (social identities), the conceptualisation provided in the dissertation centers on the sense of belonging to the resident country and its society in general based on the feelings of being at home and being a part of that society, and being accepted as a full member of that society.

Second, the enhanced approach to identificational integration presented in this dissertation analyzes the sense of belonging to, and/or identification with, the country of origin and social identities which are related to groups/categories other than those present in the society of resident country (i.e. social identities referring to identifications with co-ethnics in the state of origin). Therefore the transnational identity aspects related to ties and emotional connections to the country of origin and co-ethnics living there, are also taken into account as relevant factors for identificational integration. The transnational attachment, or the sense of belonging to the kin state, is called diasporic identity in this dissertation.

This identity component might be related to the ethno-national self-identification or to identification on an ethno-cultural basis. Kolsto (1999) differentiates between cultural attachment and political allegiance to one's "historical fatherland," and argues that these kind of affiliations to kin-state are not mutually exclusive with positive identification with the current resident country. Moreover, an individual may be culturally attached to the kin-state, while at the same time being politically oriented toward the country of residence. The cultural changes taking place during the adaptation process represent a continuum of positions stretching from minimal change to complete cultural re-identification, with numerous intervening gradations and intermediate types. The political dimension in the connection to either the kin-state or to the present country of residence represents more of a discontinuous set of choices (cited in Vihalemm and Masso 2002:198). Besides the sense of belonging and emotional attachment to both the kin-state and to the country of residence, the strength of ethnic identity shown in ethnic pride and the sense of belonging to one's ethno-cultural heritage group or culture is an important aspect of identificational integration.

Changes in ethnic and national identifications occurring during integration processes are thereby conceptualised along four major dimensions. Ethnic identification might be based on ethno-cultural categorical communalities, relations or emotional connectedness with co-ethnics in the resident country, with co-ethnics in the kin-state, or with co-ethnics as a transnational category. Besides identifying with the kin state on ethno-cultural basis, the connectedness to the country of origin might be shown in ethno-national identification with it. At the same time, the national identification might involve the sense of belonging to the resident country and its society (including identification with ethnic majority group on a civic-political basis) instead of to the country of origin. The fourth dimension is identification with the ethnic majority group in resident country on an ethno-cultural basis.

Not all of the mentioned identity aspects, considered important in relation to identificational integration, have been satisfactorily operationalised in the Estonian TIES survey (like identifications both on the cultural and on the civic-political basis with ethnic majority group in resident country, with the kin state and co-ethnics living there, and with co-ethnics comprising the minority in resident country). Furthermore, instruments for measuring all these different dimensions of identificational integration need further elaboration. The proposed instruments for ethnic identity and sense of belonging to Estonia need also to be further tested and possibly improved in the future.

The results of the analysis conducted in the framework of this dissertation show that measuring identificational integration by using self-categorization with predetermined identity categories is in some cases (national identity) defective and misleading, and in other cases (ethnic and diasporic identities) just not nuanced enough. In case of the national identity, the identity category that is labelled based on the titular group in society is not suitable for measuring shared identity at the

national level, because of the fact that this category in essence really denotes an ethnic identity. On the other hand, the results show that other possible nominal categories are not without their deficiencies, the biggest problems being that these are often understood in a various ways within the target group and second, that nominal self-categorization is not informative about the affective and relational aspects of identifications.

The additional measurement of national level identification proposed in Article II uses a block of seven statements on different aspects regarding the sense of belonging, based on feelings of being at home in the country of residence, and on feelings of being accepted by and feeling a part of its society (look part 6.1 hereinabove). Furthermore, for ethnic identification, an alternative measurement to self-categorization is used in Article I and II based on five statements about ethnic pride, emotional attachment to one's ethnic group, its cultural traditions and customs (look part 6.2 hereinabove). The most recent article included in this dissertation (Article I) introduces an enhanced operationalisation of the third aspect of identity level integration available in the TIES survey instrument: identification with the country of origin and co-ethnics living there. The diasporic identity aspects were already included into the analysis presented in Article II, measured by three items: (a) the intention to move to Russia; (b) considering Russia the homeland; and (c) the strength of the connection to Russia. In the latest article, the operationalisation includes in addition to the connection to the country of origin also identification with co-ethnics living there. Identification with the Russians in Russia is measured by the statement „I have nothing in common with Russians in Russia“ and by nominal self-categorization. Among several other identity categories, „Russians in Russia“²³ was included in the categorical identity question which asked respondents to what extent they think of themselves as members of various groups in society. As the survey items about the connection to Russia and Russians in Russia did not have similar measurement scales, it was not possible to compose an aggregate variable similar to the one for belonging to Estonia or for ethnic identity.

The operationalisation through the proposed statements about the emotional attachment to the country, and its society or to one's ethno-cultural group is better suited for measuring the affective aspects of identity which the nominal self-categorization does not manage to do. While for the statements on ethnic identity several examples were found in the existing literature, the statements for measuring the sense of belonging to Estonia and to Russia were formulated based on the results of previous qualitative studies (Nimmerfeldt 2006; Nimmerfeldt, Vetik, Vihma and Taru 2006; 2007) and the final set was selected after analysing the data from the pilot study from the TIES survey. Applying a measurement through statements rests on the presumption that the statements included into the instrument

²³ Identity category „Russians in Russia“ was one of the few nominal identity labels which was understood unambiguously by all respondents interviewed during the follow-up study as co-ethnics who reside in Russia.

reveal also the basis of identifications, and that the Likert-type scales used for indicating the agreement or disagreement allows the researcher to discover the salience of these identifications for the respondent.

Although, this dissertation focuses on identity level integration from the point of view of minority members and looks at the aspects of minority identity formation that are presumed to be relevant for achieving social cohesion in culturally diverse societies, this does not mean that certain aspects of majority members' identity play a less important role as prerequisites for social cohesion. On the contrary, as the results of both the quantitative and qualitative data analyses reveal, the exclusiveness of the majority group's identity have a significant impact on triggering the reactive mechanisms operating in minority groups' identity formation. This ultimately leads to strengthening the border between "us" and "them" and thereby undercutting social cohesion.

7.3. THE ROLE OF REACTIVE IDENTITY MECHANISMS IN IDENTIFICATIONAL INTEGRATION

The analysis conducted for the dissertation shows that ethnic identity is relatively weak among second generation Russians, but also that this is not an indicator of ethnic identity decline or replacement by ethno-cultural identification with the ethnic majority, or by civic-political identification with, or emotional attachment to, the country of residence and its society.

The weak ethnic identity of Estonian Russians is explained by some scholars as one of the legacies of the Soviet times. Brubaker (1996) argues that during Soviet times, ethnic background was not the main basis for self-definition. The main markers of identity were politics and ideology, and not culture. It was those markers that created a sense of civil and political unity with the state and among the citizens of the Soviet Republics. Previous studies indicate that before the restoration of Estonian independence, Estonians were identifying themselves as members of an ethnic group, while Russians preferred the category 'Soviet'. Soviet identity was regarded as a combination of political and civic identities, relying on a certain ideology and value system, common experience, history, newly formed traditions, symbols and norms, semantic space and communicational instrumentation. It defined the place and role of the state, as well as the population within the state. Even though the Soviet identity co-existed alongside ethnic identities of the Soviet Republics, the Russian ethno-cultural identity was not expressed until 1987 (Jakobson 2002:182).

Vihalemm and Masso (2002:195) argue that among Estonian Russians, the transformation of the Soviet identity during the first decade of independence followed three possible trajectories: (1) into a local civic identity, either in its narrower political or wider socio-territorial sense (expressed by identity categories of Estonian citizen or inhabitant of Estonia); (2) into a minority identity, either based on ethno-cultural or linguistic self-identifications (expressed by identity categories of Estonian Russian or Russian-speaker); and (3) into a diaspora identity.

This last group represents Russians who have not found an identifying framework in the Estonian context that offers a substitute to the previous Soviet identity, and who reject the identifying categories related to the citizenry or population of Estonia, instead preferring an extra-territorial identity, rather than a minority identity. Aksel Kirch and colleagues (Kirch, Kirch and Tuisk 1997) claim that the diaspora identity category – 'Russians of the near abroad' – was internalised among one-third of the older generation of Estonian Russians and was also reflected among younger groups.

The second generation Russians (aged 18-35 years) included in our study, for the most part have no experience of socialisation during Soviet times and, therefore, the replacement of Soviet identity with something new is not essential to them, though the previous Soviet identity of their parents could have some impact on their identity formation. Still, in the case of second generation Russians in Estonia, the question is more about identity construction than about replacement or transformation. The analysis of the qualitative data shows that the meaning of the ethnic category labelled "Russians" is mainly a cultural and linguistic basis of identification for second generation youth. The ethnic pride and sense of belonging of these Russians does not refer to Russians in Russia or to Russians in Estonia. The ethnic identity is rather based on cultural and linguistic commonalities dissociated from any group of co-ethnics bounded to concrete territory or social-political community of a state (Nimmerfeldt, Vetik, Vihma and Taru 2006, 2007; Nimmerfeldt 2006; see also Vetik and Nimmerfeldt 2008a).

The weak identification with Russians in Russia among second generation Russians could be explained by the fact that they were born and grew up in Estonia, and that their parents have adopted, either consciously or unconsciously, some cultural features of Estonians and are culturally different from their co-ethnics living in Russia (see also Fein 2005). If a strong sense of identification with Russians in Russia is felt by the second generation, it seems to be the result of a reactive identity, i.e. the self-identification with Russians in Russia accompanies the strong sense of belonging to Russia and of self-distancing from Estonia, and this kind of self-positioning is often a reaction to a perceived sense of exclusion, discrimination and non-acceptance by the majority and Estonian state.

The lack of a local minority ethnic group as the basis for ethnic identification could be explained by the fact that there is not any coherent minority yet formed as a group in Estonia, as well as by the reluctance among Russians to conceptualise themselves as a minority. Vihalemm and Kalmus (2009:105) consider one of the reasons behind the relatively weak ethnic identity among Russians in Estonia to be the fact that ethnic belonging is strongly embedded in social networks and that Russians have less social capital and pay less attention to the reproduction of personalised social networks. The reasons for this are found both in the Soviet era legacy, as well as in the experiences of dramatic loss of social status after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Russians' social networks were centred on formal organisations, which disappeared or were reorganised, and during the

transformation period when Estonians employed their social networks to adapt to the transitional changes, Russians in Estonia found their social capital and networks to be ‘unusable’.

Both in literature and policy discourse, identificational integration is assumed to lead to the creation of a shared national identity, which requires certain commonalities, such as a shared language and core cultural values. Some consider it to happen at the expense of declining ethnic identities and changing affiliation from country of origin to the country of residence. Others see it as a process separate from personal identifications with other groups in society, including the ethnic origin group, and occurring despite retained allegiances and connection to the country of origin. The results of the analysis presented in this dissertation tend to support both arguments. While strong diasporic identity is related to a weaker sense of belonging to Estonia, the strength of identification with one’s ethnic group did not decrease the chances of forming a strong sense of belonging to Estonia when all the other factors were taken into account. Whether this result indicates that feelings of belonging to one’s ethnic group or culture and to the country of residence and its society are not mutually exclusive, needs to be tested with a more representative data set.

The analysis of the factors that might affect the sense of belonging to the resident country and its society, drawn from both the theoretical literature and previous studies, proves that the greatest impact on feeling a strong emotional connectedness to Estonia is linked to a lack of perception of assimilative pressure and to weak diasporic identity²⁴. Thus, the main conclusion is that the weaker sense of belonging to Estonia among second generation Russian youth, demonstrated by the low level of emotional attachment to the country and feeling of not being part of its society could be explained in great part by the reactive mechanisms operating in identity formation which in turn leads to the stronger boundary drawn between “us” and “them”. This is especially true as a weak sense of belonging tends to be associated with stronger diasporic identity. The emphasis put on protecting Estonian culture and language in integration policies and the exclusive nature of the national identity create an imbalance between differentiation and identification mechanisms in identity construction processes, which is perceived by Russian youth as the dominance of identification with the “other” and the lack of possibilities for differentiation from the “other” in the “us-them” relationship.

In the case of emotional attachment to Russia and identification with Russians in Russia, we cannot determine the cause based on the TIES survey data. The stronger identification with Russia might be a reaction to the perceived assimilative pressure and/or discrimination; however, it could also be a hindrance for the formation of a

²⁴ Emotional attachment and the feeling of connection to Russia were measured by three items indicating diasporic identity aspects: (a) the intention to move to Russia; (b) considering Russia the homeland; and (c) the strength of feeling a connection to Russia. First two statements proved to have significant effect on the strong sense of belonging.

stronger connection to Estonia. The follow-up qualitative study affirmed for the most part that the stronger diasporic identity, which is correlated with a weaker sense of belonging to Estonia, is part of a reactive identity, expressing the stronger border drawn between “us” and “them” brought about by the perception that state policies and majority group’s attitudes are hostile and discriminative, as well as aiming at assimilation. Hence, the relationship between diasporic identity and national level sense of belonging reveals that the relevance of identification with the country of origin and co-ethnics living there is a hindrance to the identificational integration in society, if strong diasporic identity is formed as a reactive identity.

However, a more representative quantitative study and more thorough qualitative research needs to be conducted in order to test the importance of reactive identity mechanisms in the formation of a stronger diasporic identity and of weaker sense of belonging to the resident country and its society. Another task for further analysis would be to explore the role of reactive identity mechanisms in ethnic identity formation. Based on the qualitative data analysis, there is a reason to believe that the reactive identity mechanisms operating in ethnic identity formation are more relevant in cases where the reference group for ethnic identification comprises the co-ethnics living in the country of origin and less relevant in the cases where ethnic identity is based on identification with the national ethnic or linguistic minority group or with the transnational ethno-cultural group.

Based on the analysis of literature and empirics gathered during the dissertation I propose that future research test the following hypothesis: the sense of belonging to resident country and its society is not mutually exclusive with the ethnic identification and with the sense of connection to the country of origin as long as ethnic and diasporic identities are not formed as reactive identities.

IDENTITEEDILISE INTEGRATSIOONI MÕTESTAMINE JA MÕÕTMINE TEISE PÕLVKONNA EESTI VENELASTE NÄITEL

KOKKUVÕTE

Doktoritöö teemaks on integratsiooni protsesside mõtestamine ja mõõtmine identiteedi kaudu teise põlvkonna Eesti venelaste näitel. Integratsiooni identiteedi tasandil nimetatakse identiteediliseks integratsiooniks (*identificational integration*) lähivalt Heckmann'i ja tema kolleegide (Bosswick and Heckmann 2006, Heckmann and Schnapper 2003) poolt välja pakutud käsitlusest, mis eristab integratsiooni neli dimensiooni: struktuurne, kultuuriline, sotsiaalne ja identiteediline. Viimase all mõistetakse nimetatud autorite poolt seotus- ja kuuluvustunnet erinevate sotsiaalse gruppidega ühiskonnas.

Kuigi valdav enamus integratsiooni alastest uuringutest keskendub eeskätt struktuursele integratsioonile, siis viimasel ajal on üha enam pööratud tähelepanu ka erinevaid etnilis-kultuurilisi grappe ühendava riigiidentiteedi (*national identity*) kujunemisele, milles nähakse üht peamist alust ühiskonna sidususele. Kuigi antud töös lähenetakse probleemile vähemuste identiteedi seisukohast, ei täheda see sugugi seda, et enamusgrupi identiteedi aspektid on vähem olulisteks eeldusteks sotsiaalse sidususe saavutamisel.

Doktoritöö üheks eesmärgiks on näidata, et integratsiooni mõtestamine sotsiaalse sidususe saavutamisenä ühiskonna tasandil ei ole kooskõlas empiirilistes uuringutes domineeriva kahe-suunalise integratsiooni käsitlusega indiviidi tasandil, mis keskendub ühelt poolt vähemuste samastumisele oma etnilise grupiga ja teiselt poolt samastumisele enamusgrupiga. Teiseks eesmärgiks on kriitiliselt hinnata identiteedilise integratsiooni mõõtmist läbi enesemääratlemise nominaalsete kategooriate kaudu. Kolmandaks töö eesmärgiks on välja pakkuda täiendatud käsitlus, mis hõlmab lisaks erinevate gruppidega identifitseerimisele ka emotsionaalset seotustunnet elukohamaaga ja kuuluvustunnet ühiskonna tasandil. Kolmandaks eesmärgiks on vaadata, millised tegurid mõjutavad seotust Eestiga teise põlvkonna Eesti venelaste seas ja millist rolli mängivad reaktiivse identiteedi mehhanismid identiteedilise integratsiooni protsessides.

Doktoritöö põhineb nii kvantitatiivsetele kui kvalitatiivsetele andmetele. Esiteks kasutatakse küsitlusandmeid, mis on kogutud rahvusvahelise projekti „The Integration of the European Second Generation“ (TIES) raames aastatel 2007-2008. Küsitlus viidi läbi Tallinnas ja Kohta-Järvel ning mõlemas linnas küsitleti 18-35-aastaseid teise põlvkonna venelasi ja kontrollgrupina samaealisi eestlasi. Teise põlvkonna venelastena on TIES projektis defineeritud noored, kes on sündinud Eestis, aga kelle vanematest vähemalt üks on sündinud kas Venemaal või mujal Nõukogude Liidus. Kokku hõlmas küsitluse valim 1000 noort, kellest 512 olid venelased ja 488 eestlased. Küsitluse instrument sisaldas küsimusi erinevate integrat-

siooni valdkondade kohta nagu näiteks positsioon tööturul ja sotsiaal-majanduslik toimetulek, haridustee, partneri valik, sotsiaalsed suhted, keeleoskus, akulturasiooni hoiakud, seotus Venemaaga ja identiteet. Lisaks küsitlusandmetele toetub doktoritöö koostöös Jennie Schulze'i ja Anastassia Sokolovaga läbi viidud kvalitatiivsele järeluuringle. Uuringus intervjueriti erineva eesti keele oskusega TIES küsitluse respondente, kes olid andnud nõusoleku uuesti küsitlemiseks. Uuring hõlmas 12 noort hea või väga hea eesti ja inglise keele oskusega, kellega viidi läbi intervjuud kolmes keeles: esmalt eesti keeles, siis vene keeles ja lõpetuseks inglise keeles. Lisaks kuulus uuringusse 7 respondenti, kelle eesti keele oskus oli halb või väga halb ja keda intervjueriti vaid vene keeles. Süvaintervjuude eesmärk oli uurida, kuidas erineva eesti keele oskusega vene noored end identifitseerivad, milliste gruppidega samastuvad ja kuidas vene noored ise mõistavad neid identiteedi kategooriaid, mida tüüpiliselt küsitlustes kasutatakse.

Doktoritöö teoreetiliseks taustaks on ühelt poolt integratsiooni teooriad, mis keskenduvad 20. sajandi teisel poolel saabunud immigrandide ja nende järglaste kohanemisele ja toimetulekule nii Euroopa kui Põhja-Ameerika kontekstis. Teiselt poolt lähtub doktoritöö erinevatest identiteedi teooriatest, kaasa arvatult reaktiivse identiteedi käsitlusest, mille kohaselt mõistetakse identiteeti kui subjektiivset enesemääratlust, mis kujuneb dialoogis „teisega“ meie-nemad suhestumise käigus samastumise ja eristumise kaudu. Reaktiivseks identiteediks nimetatakse „meie-nemad“ vahelise piiri rõhutamist, mille kujunemise põhjuseks on situatsioon, kus samastumis- ja eristumisvõimalused on tasakaalust väljas ning mida tajutakse subjekti poolt kas assimilatiivse või separatiivse survena.

Teoreetilises kirjanduses domineerib kahe-dimensiooniline lähenemine integratsiooni protsessidele, mille kohaselt keskendutakse eeskätt etnilise ja riikliku (*national*) identiteedi omavahelisele suhestumisele. Kui klassikaline lineaarse assimilatsiooni teooria näeb identiteedilist integratsiooni etnilise identiteedi nõrgenemisenä enamusgrupiga samastumise arvelt, siis kaasaegsemad teooriad lähtuvad mitmese identiteedi kontseptsioonist ega välista samaaegselt mõlema suunalist samastumist. Enamus empiirilisi uuringuid operatsionaliseerivad identiteedi lähtuvalt sotsiaalse identiteedi ja enese-kategoriseerimise teooriast, mistõttu kvantitatiivsetes uuringutes on valdav identiteedilise integratsiooni mõõtmine erinevate nominaalsete identiteedikategooriatega samastumise kaudu, mille tulemuseks on respondentide klassifitseerimine vastavalt sellele, kas nad samastuvad eeskätt oma etnilise grupiga või eeskätt enamusgrupiga ühiskonnas, käsitledes samaaegset mõlemasuunalist identifitseerimist kahese identiteedina.

Doktoritöös näidatakse teise põlvkonna venelaste näitel, et taoline kahe-dimensiooniline lähenemine ja kategooriaalse identiteedi instrumendi kasutamine ei ole kooskõlas integratsiooni protsesside mõtestamisega ühiskonna tasandil. Esiteks ei ole samastumine enamusgruppi tähistava kategooriaga Eesti kontekstis sobiv mõõtmaks erinevaid etnilisi grupe ühendavat riiklikku identiteeti, kuna tegemist on pigem etnilise identiteedi tähistajaga. Teiseks on identiteedi kategooriaalse mõõtmisinstrumendi kasutamine problemaatiline kuna erinevate vastajate silmis

võib üks ja sama kategooria omada erinevaid tähendusi, kuid nominaalne enese-kategoriseerimine ei anna informatsiooni identifitseerimisaluste kohta. Kolmandaks ei võimalda selline lähenemine hinnata identiteedi emotsionaalseid aspekte, mida peetakse sotsiaalse sidususe seisukohast olulisteks. Seega vaatamata sellele, et tänapäevased teooriad ei eelda riigiidentiteedi puhul etnilis-kultuurilistel alustel samastumist, vaid pigem tsiviil-poliitilistel, siis empiirilistes uuringutes seda vastavalt operatsionaliseeritud ei ole.

Doktoritöös pakutakse välja alternatiivne lähenemine identiteedilisele integratsioonile, mis seab esikohale seotustunde elukohamaa ja selle ühiskonnaga ning enamusgrupiga samastumise asemel kasutatakse identiteedilise integratsiooni mõõtmiseks väiteid emotsionaalse seotuse kohta Eestimaaga ja Eesti ühiskonda kuulumise kohta. Seejärel uuritakse töös millised on võimalikud objektiivsed ja subjektiivsed tegurid, mis mõjutavad seotuse tundmist Eestiga ning küsitlusandmete analüüsi tulemusena selgub, et peamine takistus Eestiga tugeva seotuse tundmisel on ohu tajumine oma kultuurilisele identiteedile ja tugev diasporaa identiteet. Seega on nõrga seotustunde puhul suuresti tegemist reaktiivse identiteediga, mis väljendub enesedistantseerimises Eestist ja mille põhjuseks on assimilatīvse surve tajumine riigi poliitika- ja enamusgrupi liikmete poolt.

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Relationships between Integration Dimensions among Second Generation Russians in Estonia

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Abstract

This article examines the relationship between structural, cultural, social and identificational integration among second generation Russians in Estonia on the basis of the TIES data. The relationship between structural integration and other dimensions is established through a cluster analysis and an analysis of the difference between means across clusters. In addition a bivariate correlation analysis is used to determine the relationship between cultural, social, and identificational dimensions. The results call the linear assimilation model into question in the Estonian case. While the cluster analysis reveals a positive relationship between structural and cultural integration, social and identificational integration do not follow. Russians retain a strong ethnic identity and socialize primarily with other Russians. The bivariate correlation analysis reveals that there is a relationship between other dimensions of integration. Feelings of belonging to Estonia, and distance from both Russia and Russians in Russia are stronger among those with good Estonian language proficiency. These respondents also tend to have more Estonian friends.

Keywords: integration, second generation, Estonian Russians, linear assimilation theory

Introduction

As a result of increasing globalization and immigration in the past several decades, both scholars and policymakers have been forced to confront the question of how to successfully integrate immigrants into their host societies. This has led to an active research agenda in the area of immigration and integration studies, as well as a plethora of policy programs across countries to tackle the specific challenges of creating a cohesive society out of this new multicultural reality.

Theoretical literature on minority integration breaks down the concept into four distinct dimensions: structural, cultural, social, and identificational. Breaking down integration into its component sub-types has opened up the research agenda toward uncovering the relationships between these various dimensions of integration. Several research programs, notably 'The Integration of the European Second Generation' (TIES) project have tried to uncover the underlying relationship between different dimensions of integration by operationalizing these in a standardized survey.

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In the Estonian context, both policymakers and academics have fallen into the trap of a priori assumptions about the relationship between various dimensions of integration. Both policymakers and academics tend to conflate cultural and identificational integration in Estonia. Language has been one of the most divisive issues in Estonian society owing in large part to the importance of the Estonian language for Estonian national identity, as well as resentment over the Russification policies of the Soviet period. Policymakers have argued that titular language learning among ethnic Russians is the best way to integrate Russians into the social and political structures of Estonian society and to create a common national identity (Vihalemm & Lauristin 1997: 282). The Integration Program (2000-2007) envisioned integration occurring on the basis of the Estonian language and arguably, the newly launched Integration Program 2008-2013 still views proficiency in the Estonian language as the central component of integration and the key to better relations between the ethnic Estonian and Russian communities. This approach is questionable in light of the riots that occurred April 26-28, 2007 following the removal of the Bronze Soldier, a Soviet war memorial, from downtown Tallinn. Many of the Russian protestors were youth, who could speak the Estonian language, signaling that language learning is not sufficient for creating a common national identity or feelings of belonging to Estonia among ethnic Russians.

Through analysis of the TIES data in Estonia, this article makes two primary contributions to theoretical and empirical literature on the integration of second generation Russians in Estonia by: 1) Testing the relationship between different integration dimensions; and 2) Determining whether the linear model of assimilation applies to second generation Russians in Estonia. Establishing a clearer picture of how integration dimensions are related will open up a new research agenda for comparing the integration of second generation Russians to other second generation minority groups in Europe.

After first giving a theoretical overview of the development of integration as a concept, as well as the standard operationalization of the different dimensions of integration, the article will describe the operationalization of these dimensions in the TIES data set as well as the methods employed for examining the relationship between integration dimensions. Finally the article will present the results of the analysis and the implications of the results for future research.

Defining and Measuring 'Integration'

The term integration has been used and defined in a variety of ways by both scholars and politicians. In its simplest sense, integration refers to the process by which immigrants are incorporated into both the structures and the society of the receiving state. The integration process involves the interaction between individual members of the immigrant group and the ethnic majority group, as well as between those groups and the institutions and policies of the receiving state. The early theoretical literature on minority integration grew out of the question of how to incorporate immigrants into their host societies and focused primarily on large settler societies like the United States (Warner & Srole 1945, Gordon 1964). Drawing on the theories and lessons of these pioneering works as well as of more recent studies on so called 'new immigrants' in the traditional immigrant societies (Porter & Rumbaut 1996, 2001; Alba & Nee 2003), scholars have developed an active research agenda on the integration of various minorities into European nation-states (Vermeulen & Penninx 2000, Heckmann et al. 2001, Heckmann & Schnapper 2003, Thomson & Crul 2007, Crul & Schneider 2010).

While scholarship in the United States and Canada has focused on the concept of 'assimilation', European scholars have focused on the concept of 'integration' as something distinct and different from 'assimilation'. This attempt at redefinition is as much the result of the normative push away from 'assimilation' in Europe on the part of policymakers and practitioners, as the desire for theoretical clarity. In this reconceptualization, the primary difference between assimilation and integration is that assimilation is viewed as a one-way process by which immigrants must adopt the customs and cultural practices of the host society, whereas integration is defined as a two way process of acceptance and cultural change between the immigrant group and the host society. This reconceptualization on the part of European scholars has sparked a healthy debate between scholars on each side of the Atlantic as to the usefulness of proliferating terms, as well as disagreement over the meaning of assimilation in the American context⁴. While this article tests the assumptions of linear assimilation theory, a theory developed in the context of North America, it adopts the term integration to describe the process of inclusion in Estonian society. As in other European countries, 'assimilation' in Estonia is understood both by policymakers and in public discourse as the process by which minorities become 'more Estonian'. The Russian minority in Estonia also perceives integration programs as government attempts to assimilate them in order to ensure the dominance of the ethnic majority culture. Therefore, the choice of the term integration is made for practical reasons as opposed to a desire to contribute to the trans-Atlantic debate. The work on assimilation in North America is still relevant for developing the concept of integration and its various sub-dimensions.

While there is some variation across studies, scholars have generally agreed that there are four distinct dimensions of integration: structural, cultural, social or interactive, and identificational (Heckmann & Schnapper 2003: 10)⁵. These dimensions have received varying attention in the American and European contexts. Due to the nature of race relations in American cities, the social, or interactive dimension, has been the primary focus, whereas in Europe, the participation of immigrants in democratic institutions has received greater attention (Faist 2000). This article examines the relationship between all four dimensions.

Structural integration involves the acquisition of rights and equal access to the major institutions of society. These institutions include the labour market, education and housing systems, welfare state institutions, including the health care system, and citizenship (Bosswick & Heckmann 2006: 9). Access to these institutions is crucial to an individual's socio-economic status as well as to opportunities for future advancement. The alternative to inclusion into the main institutions of the host society is integration into ethnic subsystems or transnational systems based on internationally extended rights (Heckmann et al. 2006: 16). While some scholars argue that this alternative decreases social mobility (Penninx & Martinelli 2004, Wiley 1970), others have argued that it is possible to reach parity of socio-economic life chances through participation in ethnically controlled sub-economies (Wilson & Portes 1980, Portes & Bach 1985, Portes & Manning 1986, Waldinger 1996) or through participation in transnational networks (Bosswick & Heckmann 2006). Structural integration is typically broken down into different areas including labor market, education, legal, and

⁴ See Alba & Nee 1997; Barkan 1995; Glazer 1993; Kazal 1995; and Morowska 1994.

⁵ Bosswick & Heckmann (2006) later renamed these four dimensions structural, cultural, interactive, and identificational; Gordon (1964) identified seven different dimensions of assimilation (cultural, structural, marital, identificational, attitude receptional, behavioral receptional, and civic); Esser (2000) proposed a four dimension scheme and labeled them acculturation, placement, interaction and identification; Penninx (2004) divides the integration process into three distinct dimensions legal-political, socio-economic, and cultural-religious.

housing. Labor market integration is typically measured by participation in labor market, income level, and occupational position. Educational attainment is measured through the highest level of education achieved. Higher labor market positioning and income, as well as a high level of educational attainment are evidence of higher levels of structural integration. The acquisition of citizenship, positive attitudes toward naturalization, as well as voter participation and political mobilization are evidence of legal integration. Lower levels of residential segregation and ethnically mixed neighborhoods, as well as interaction within those neighborhoods are evidence of integration in the housing sector (Heckmann et al. 2006).

Cultural integration, or acculturation, refers to the process of cognitive, behavioral and attitudinal change that occurs when individuals from different cultures come into contact (Gibson 2001: 19). Acculturation can occur either through changes in one group that make it more like another, or as a result of changes in both (or more) groups that shrink the differences and distance between them (Alba & Nee 1997: 834). While acculturation primarily concerns the immigrants and their descendants, it is also an interactive, mutual process that changes the society as members of the receiving society are forced to learn new ways of relating to and adapting to the needs of immigrants. Cultural integration does not necessarily entail that migrant groups have to give up the cultural elements of their home country. Bicultural competences and personalities are an asset for the individual and the receiving society (Heckmann et al. 2006: 16). Following Gordon's (1964) model of linear assimilation, cultural integration is typically operationalized along two dimensions: 1) Adoption of the ideals, values, and behaviors of the receiving society; and 2) The retention of the ideals, values, and beliefs of the immigrant's culture of origin (Phinney et al. 2001, Berry 2005). Measuring cultural integration involves examining titular language proficiency, religious practices, and participation in ceremonies, traditions, and customs (Williams & Ortega 1990).

Social, or interactive, integration is defined as the degree to which members of different groups are segregated and the degree to which they intermix. Social integration involves both the frequency and strength of contact between different societal groups and is measured in terms of participation in networks that span intergroup divides (Jandt 1998). Indicators of social integration include the ethnic composition of social networks, friendships, partnerships, marriage and membership in voluntary organizations (Bosswick & Heckmann 2006: 10).

Research on identity integration focus primarily on ethnic and national self-identifications and examine the combinations of these identifications in identity patterns according to whether individuals identify only with their ethnic group (culture or country or origin), only with the national group (majority group or its culture) or with both (Gordon 1960, Gans 1979, Alba 1990, Waters 1990, Phinney 1990, Berry 1997). Identificational integration is most commonly explored via nominal self-identification or through self-categorization, which together with the two-dimensional approach leads to the classification of immigrants or their descendants along the continuum from strong ethnic identity together with weak national identity, to strong national identity together with weak ethnic identification, with hyphenated identity combining identification on both dimensions being situated in between. In more recent studies, identificational integration is understood as membership in a society at the subjective level, indicated by the feeling of belonging to, and identification with different groups in society, particularly on ethnic⁶, regional, local and national levels (Bosswick & Heckmann

⁶ In the European context, sometimes the religious identity, instead of ethnicity or together with it, is seen as one of the major indicators of identificational integration (see e.g. Buijs & Rath 2006; Foner & Alba 2008).

2006: 10). We depart from this approach by arguing that identity is not only reflected in identifications with different groups but also in the creation of a sense of belonging to one's resident country and its society based on the feelings of being at home and being accepted as a full member of that society (Nimmerfeldt 2011). In addition to the sense of belonging to resident country, the identification with one's ethnic group and the connection to the country of origin are also indicators of identificational integration. Similarly, not only the identifications with different groups in the society of resident country, but also the social identities based on identifications with co-ethnics living in the kin-state or seen as a transnational category are important aspects of identificational integration.

The Relationships between Integration Dimensions

Previous research on integration falls into one of two primary categories: those that support linear assimilation theory and those that question it. The linear model, which has traditionally been used to describe classic settler societies in the US and Canada, assumes a causal, more or less automatic, and positive relationship between migrants' structural integration and their social and cultural adaptation in, and identification with, the host state and society. The model assumes that migrants with higher levels of (native) language proficiency and human capital have better opportunities to integrate into the mainstream economy. This, in turn leads to more social contact with majority members, more exposure to host societies' norms and values, and possibly reduced levels of discrimination. As a result, identity integration is expected to happen at the endpoint of the incorporation process, or, as Gordon prominently put it: "if structural assimilation occurs along with or subsequent to acculturation, *all other types of assimilation will inevitably follow*" (Gordon 1964: 80-81). Research on immigrant integration has often focused on groups who follow this linear pattern of immigrant adaptation (Heitmeyer et al. 1997).

In the wake of accelerating globalization in the post Cold War era, the utility of linear models of assimilation have come into question. While linear assimilation theory was based primarily on the experiences of the 1880-1927 wave of US immigrants, their children and their grandchildren, newer waves of immigration do not follow this pattern. Migratory movements have become more heterogeneous with regard to both individual and context level determinants of integration (Castles & Miller 1993, Alba 2003, Alba & Nee 1997). Present migration flows encompass groups from low to highly skilled migrants, from economically motivated to those fleeing from oppression, and from sojourners to settlers. Many of today's immigrants are politically or 'ethnically' motivated and possess comparatively large amounts of individual resources, most importantly education. Second, while classical settler societies have long been the preferred destinations of permanent migrants, receiving countries have become more heterogeneous in terms of policies towards immigrants, and public attitudes towards immigration (Cornelius et al. 1992, Lahav 2004). Finally, the reproduction of immigrants' ethnic identities has become less costly - and more likely in many ways. This is because assimilative pressures have diminished in host societies due to an increasing legitimacy of diversity and pluralism, and globalization has made contacts between origin countries and immigrants easier to maintain (Gans 1992, Glick-Schiller et al. 1995), making the development of bicultural or hybrid identities more likely (Crul & Vermeulen 2003). Consequently the choice between settlement and return are no longer the only two options available for immigrants (Remennick 2002). Hence, transnationalism serves as an alternative model to linear assimilation. Immigrants may create bonds that transcend national borders and they may develop hybrid identities. In addition, ethnic and transnational communities may aid

structural integration by providing resources as well as a lucrative alternative to integrating into the mainstream (Faist 2000, Glick Schiller et al. 1992).

In response to new patterns of immigration to the United States, Portes and his colleagues developed the theory of segmented assimilation, an alternative model that is based primarily on post-1965 immigrants. While linear assimilation theory assumes that higher levels of integration in one dimension lead to higher levels of integration in other dimensions, segmented assimilation theory does not make this assumption. They argue that the integration processes of immigrants have not always followed this linear pattern and that integration models must take into account the different starting positions of immigrants. Depending upon their levels of human capital immigrants may integrate into the mainstream, the underclass, or their own ethnic community. The latter is not viewed as a contradiction to social mobility. The ethnic community may be a good source of socio-economic opportunities as well as a resource for integrating into mainstream institutions (Portes 1999, Portes & Rumbaut 1996, 2001).

Bean, Stevens and Wierzbick (2003) argue that the relationship between socio-cultural and structural aspects of integration is not sequential as implied in linear assimilation theory, but rather involves multiple contingencies and dynamic interplays. Brown and Bean (2006) argue that identificational integration is becoming more autonomous from other dimensions and they propose three possible identificational integration trajectories based upon the relationship between racial/ethnic self-identification and socioeconomic status: Reactive identity which involves becoming more racial/ethnic as a result of experiencing discrimination; symbolic identity, becoming more prominently but superficially racial/ethnic as a result of achieving success; or selective identity, which involves becoming more strongly racial/ethnic in some ways more than others in order to facilitate economic achievement. In general, the relationship between socio-economic and identification integration is curvilinear. Ethnic identification is strongest among those of either lowest or highest social class. While reactive ethnicity is most likely to arise among those in lower class, the highest classes have the most interest in their socio-cultural heritage and the greatest freedom to assume an ethnic identity without fear of discrimination. The working and middle classes generally stand to gain the most from assimilation and might therefore shed much of their ethnic identity. This suggests that the process of identificational integration may occur autonomously from other types of integration.

Moreover, scholars have begun to reach a consensus that progress in one dimension of integration may not be correlated with progress in other dimensions and that integration among the second generation may take a variety of forms (Thomson & Crul 2007: 4). While these theoretical foundations are useful, ethnic Russians in Estonia are not immigrants in the traditional sense. Most ethnic Russians migrated to the Estonian territory during the 1950s and 1960s, when Estonia was part of the Soviet Union. When the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, ethnic Russians living in Estonia became a minority as a result of border changes and therefore cannot be considered voluntary immigrants. While during the 1990s 110 000 Russian-speakers (i.e. 18% of the population of Russian-speakers living in Estonia in 1989) chose to return to Russia through Moscow's repatriation policies (Hallik 2010: 10), many ethnic Russians chose to remain in Estonia as a result of superior socio-economic conditions and opportunities. Consequently, this article uses traditional theories of integration to illuminate processes taking place in Estonian society, however, in the Estonian case we are talking about the integration of an ethnic minority as opposed to the integration of immigrants in the traditional sense. The fact that ethnic Russians in Estonia are not traditional immigrants

has raised a number of challenges for Estonian elites as well as controversies in Estonian society regarding the rights of ethnic Russians as a minority, as they are not perceived as a national minority but rather treated as immigrants under Estonian law.

When Estonia regained its independence in 1991, Estonian elites adopted a restorationist approach to the state which reinstated the Citizenship Act of 1938. The 1992 Citizenship Act granted automatic citizenship to all those who were Estonian citizens before 16 June 1940 and their descendants. Estonian citizenship is acquired by birth if at least one of the parents of the child holds Estonian citizenship. Roughly two-thirds of the 1,5 million Estonian inhabitants were restored Estonian citizenship in 1992. All others were forced to naturalize. Persons desiring Estonian citizenship must pass two examinations: the Estonian Language examination and the examination on the knowledge of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia and the Citizenship Act. In addition, they must perform a loyalty oath. These examinations were a significant barrier to naturalization as a result of poor Estonian language skills among non-Estonians at the time of independence. The requirement of passing the Estonian language exam remains a significant obstacle to naturalization. As a result, Estonian has a large number of stateless persons or persons with undetermined citizenship as well as a significant number with Russian citizenship⁷. Since 1992, a total of 152 205 persons have acquired Estonian citizenship through the naturalization process⁸.

Empirical data, methods and variables

The empirical analysis is based on the survey data on second generation Russians gathered as part of the international research project ‘The Integration of the European Second Generation’ (TIES)⁹. The target group consists of second generation Russians aged 18-35, who were born in Estonia, with at least one parent born outside Estonia), and a comparison group of Estonians the same age¹⁰. The survey was designed to measure the integration of second generation immigrants across the four dimensions of integration (structural, cultural, social, and identificational)¹¹. This article investigates the relationship among these four. The analysis proceeds in two steps. First, a hierarchical cluster analysis is used to divide the respondents into groups based upon various indicators of structural integration. The procedure for clustering includes first the chi-square method for computing the degree of similarity/distance between respondents. Second, a within-group-linkage method is used for

⁷ As of 01 February 2011, 15,8% of the total population of 1 365 118, is Estonian residents without Estonian citizenship. 97 080, i.e. 7,1% of the whole population are residents with undetermined citizenship and 118 212, i.e. 8,7% of the whole population are residents with the citizenship of another state. Among the latter the biggest group is composed of citizens of the Russian Federation (95 570). Source: Population Register, Ministry of the Interior, published at: <http://estonia.eu/about-estonia/society/citizenship.html>.

⁸ Source: the statistics published at the webpage of Police and Border Guard, available at: <http://www.politsei.ee/dotAsset/163198.pdf>.

⁹ TIES is a collaborative and comparative research project on the descendants of immigrants from Turkey, the former Yugoslavia and Morocco who live in major cities in eight European countries (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland). For more about TIES: <http://www.tiesproject.eu/>.

¹⁰ Additional sampling criterion included ethnic self-identification respectively as Russian or Estonian.

¹¹ The method used for survey data collection was face-to-face interviews at the respondent’s home in the respondent’s mother tongue. In total, 1000 interviews (488 with Estonian youth and 512 with Russian youth) were conducted in Tallinn and Kohtla-Järve. For more about the methodological background of the TIES survey in Estonia (see Nimmerfeldt 2008a).

placing each respondent into a cluster according their degree of similarity with the other respondents. Respondents located in the same cluster have similar levels of structural integration as other respondents in the same cluster and dissimilarity with respondents located in other clusters. This method returns the most homogenous groups of cases, which enables these clusters to be categorized as ideal types. This analysis produced three clusters, a most structurally integrated group, a somewhat structurally integrated group and least structurally integrated group. These clusters are then used to map the relationship between structural integration and the other dimensions of integration. ANOVA and F-tests are used to estimate differences between group means and to determine the statistical significance of the differences between the means of indicators of cultural, social, and identificational integration across the three clusters. Finally, correlation analysis is used to examine the relationships between cultural, social and identificational dimensions.

Structural integration

Structural integration is measured using three variables: the highest completed level of education, labour market positioning (employment status and occupational category), and legal status. Both the access to higher education and the access to higher occupational positions influence many other indicators of labour market integration like income, prestige and job security, as well as other aspects of structural integration, such as participation in welfare and housing systems (Lindemann 2011, Kalter et al. 2007).

Educational attainment is measured in terms of highest level of education achieved. The highest level of education reported by the respondents is coded into five-category variable, which in addition to differentiating between primary, secondary and tertiary levels of education, also makes a distinction between vocational education acquired after basic education and vocational education after secondary education¹². The five levels of education are: 1) basic education or less (includes the primary education, basic education and vocational education acquired together with basic education); 2) vocational secondary education (includes vocational and the professional secondary education acquired after basic education); 3) general secondary education; 4) vocational education based on secondary education (includes vocational and professional education acquired after secondary education); 5) higher education (includes professional higher education (diploma study), the Bachelor's degree, the Master's degree and the Doctoral degree).

Labour market integration is measured by an aggregate variable consisting of the employment status and current occupational position of the respondent. The sample includes only those who had completed their education. Respondents fall into two employment status categories:

¹² In the Estonian education system, primary and lower secondary education are not differentiated, they form the level of basic education with nine grades. After ninth grade, the educational system divides into three tracks: general secondary educational, vocational secondary education and vocational training as a continuation of basic education. Until 1999, students could also take secondary specialised education (professional secondary education). Students from all three tracks can compete for admission to higher education, including universities and institutions of professional or vocational higher education, or to pursue post- secondary vocational education. In reality, the chances to continue studies at the tertiary level that includes professional higher education and academic higher education are much lower for students who have not completed general secondary education because admission to higher education institutions is based on the scores on the national examination. In general, the national examination grades are lower for vocational school graduates compared to the graduates from general secondary school (Lindemann & Saar 2011: 59-62).

those who are active in the labour market and those who are not. The latter are divided into three subcategories: those who are unemployed, those who are still studying and those who are on parental leave. Respondents who are employed are divided into four categories according to their occupational status based for current job: 1) professionals (includes managerial, professional and specialist positions); 2) service workers (includes also clerks); 3) skilled workers; 4) unskilled workers (includes operators and labourers)¹³.

Legal integration is measured by the current citizenship status of the respondent and by the way Estonian citizenship is acquired resulting in four citizenship status categories: 1) Estonian citizenship by naturalisation, 2) Estonian citizenship by birth, 3) Russian citizenship and 4) persons without any citizenship¹⁴.

Cultural integration

Cultural integration is operationalised through four indicators. The most commonly used measurement of acculturation is titular language knowledge. The TIES survey measures titular language skills along four dimensions (understanding, communicating, reading and writing) each asking the respondent to evaluate his/her skills on along these dimensions on a 6-point scale ranging from 'excellent' to 'very bad'. A language proficiency index was created based on these four dimensions resulting in an index with a minimum score of four assigned to those respondents who indicated that they know Estonian excellent in all four dimensions, and a maximum score of twenty-four for those individuals who indicated that they know Estonian very badly across all four dimensions.

Social integration

Two indicators of social integration are used. The first is the number of current friends with Estonian ethnicity coded along a five point scale: 1) none, 2) very few, 3) some, 4) many and 5) most. The second indicator is a summative index computed on the basis of three questions regarding the ethnicity of the respondent's first, second and third best friend resulting in a four category variable of best friends' ethnicity: 1) none of the best friends is Estonian, 2) one of the three best friends is Estonian, 3) two out of three best friends are Estonians and 4) all three best friends are Estonians.

Identificational integration

The sense of belonging to Estonia is measured by a block of seven statements about emotional attachment to Estonia, feelings of membership in Estonian society and feelings of closeness and connection with the majority group in Estonian society. An index was created based on agreement with the following statements: a) 'I love Estonia', b) 'I feel unwelcome in this country', c) 'I consider Estonia my homeland', d) 'I would gladly leave Estonia and settle elsewhere', e) 'I feel that I am part of Estonian society', f) 'I am proud of the achievements of Estonians', g) 'I have nothing in common with Estonians'. The respondents expressed their agreement with the statements on five-point Likert scale (from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly

¹³ The answers given to open-ended question were recoded according to the International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI) based on the ISCO-88 scale.

¹⁴ Due to the small size of the group with citizenship of countries other than Russia or Estonia (2,6 per cent), they are excluded from analysis.

disagree¹⁵). The second aspect of identificational integration, the sense of belonging to, and identification with, the country of origin and co-ethnics living there, is measured using different items. As these items did not have similar measurement scales, it was not possible to compose an aggregated variable. Connection with Russians in Russia is measured by the statement 'I have nothing in common with the Russians living in Russia'. Identification with Russians living in Russia was measured in addition by nominal self-categorization. Among several other identity categories, 'Russians in Russia' was included in the categorical identity question which asked respondents to what extent they think of themselves as members of various groups in society. Feelings of belonging to different groups are measured by 6-point Likert scale ranging from 'very strongly' to 'not at all'.

Connectedness to Russia is measured by three questions: 'I consider Russia my homeland; 'How strongly connected with Russia do you feel?'; 'Do you intend to live in Russia in the future for a period of one year or longer?'. The first two indicators or measured on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree', the third indicator is measured by a six-point Likert scale ranging from 'very strongly' to 'not at all', and the final item by four categories : 1) certainly not, 2) possibly, 3) likely, 4) certainly yes.

The sense of belonging to and identification with one's ethno-cultural group, or ethnic identity, is measured through five statements about ethnic pride, attachment and commitment to the group and to its common cultural practices. The five statements measuring the strength of ethnic identity are: (a) 'Being a Russian is an important part of myself', (b) 'I see myself as a real Russian', (c) 'When somebody says something bad about Russians I feel personally offended', (d) 'I often wish to conceal the fact that I am a Russian', (e) 'It is important to me to know Russian history, culture, customs and traditions'. These statements use five-point Likert scale ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. Based on these statements, a summation index was composed¹⁶.

Results of analysis

The hierarchical cluster analysis produced three groups of respondents based upon their level of structural integration. These groups are presented in Table 1. The first group, the 'least structurally integrated' has the highest percentage of respondents in basic education and vocational secondary education and the lowest percentage in higher education. None of the respondents are managers or professionals and this group has the highest share of unskilled workers and unemployed persons. Finally, this group has the highest percentage of people without citizenship and the lowest share of those with Estonian citizenship. The group of 'least structurally integrated' is rather large, consisting of nearly one third of the sample. The third group, the 'most structurally integrated', has the highest percentage of persons in higher education, the highest percentage of managers and professionals, and also the highest percentage of Estonian citizens. Among Estonian citizens, this group has the highest percentage of persons who obtained Estonian citizenship by naturalization, indicating a certain level of cultural integration, or proficiency in Estonian. This is the smallest group. The final group, the 'somewhat integrated along the structural dimension' is the largest group and

¹⁵ For composing the index, all the statements were recoded so that the smallest value indicates the weakest identification and the scales for three items (b, d, and g) were reversed (Cronbach's Alpha = .830).

¹⁶ For composing the index, all the statements were recoded so that the smallest value indicates the weakest identification and scale of one item (d) was reversed (Cronbach's Alpha = .673).

is characterized by a medium level of education and occupational position. In addition, percentage of Estonian citizens in this category falls between the other two groups.

Table 1: Structural integration cluster profiles (column %)

Variables included in the cluster analysis	Clusters based on structural integration indicators		
	Least Integrated	Somewhat Integrated	Most Integrated
Highest completed level of education			
basic education or less	29	6	0
vocational secondary education	47	36	8
general secondary education	17	23	7
vocational education based on secondary education	6	23	20
higher education	1	13	64
Employment status and occupational group			
professionals	0	2	66
service workers	8	37	32
skilled workers	17	34	2
unskilled workers	17	11	0
on parental leave	36	17	0
unemployed	23	0	0
Citizenship status			
without citizenship	62	30	17
Russian citizenship	10	8	8
Estonian citizenship by naturalization	12	32	53
Estonian citizenship by birth	16	30	22
N	114	132	59

The analysis of the differences in the means of integration dimensions across the clusters reveals that cultural integration is significantly related to the structural dimension of integration. Self-evaluated proficiency in the Estonian language is highest in the group of ‘most structurally integrated’ and the lowest in the group of ‘least structurally integrated’ (Table 2).

Social integration is not significantly related to the level of structural integration, based on the difference in means for friendships. The only aspect of identificational integration that is significantly related to structural integration is diasporic identity. Namely, two of the statements included as the indicators of connection to the country of origin and to co-ethnics living there show significant differences in levels of agreement across the three clusters. In the ‘least structurally integrated’ group, there was stronger agreement with the statement ‘I consider Russia my homeland’ than in the other groups. Similarly, the sense of belonging to category ‘Russians in Russia’ is stronger among the respondents belonging to the ‘least structurally integrated’ group (Table 2). It is noteworthy that the differences in these two indicators between the second and third are small, but the difference between the ‘least structurally integrated’ and the other two groups is quite large.

Table 2: Mean values of cultural, social and identificational integration indicators across structural integration groups

	Clusters based on structural integration indicators		
	Least integrated	Somewhat integrated	Most integrated
<i>Cultural integration</i>			
Proficiency in Estonian*	14,90	13,14	10,59
<i>Social integration</i>			
Best friends' ethnicity	0,36	0,43	0,42
Estonians among current friends	1,89	1,98	2,04
<i>Identificational integration</i>			
Sense of belonging to Estonia	25,43	26,08	27,03
I have nothing in common with the Russians living in Russia	2,39	2,72	2,59
I consider Russia my homeland*	3,48	3,83	3,88
To what extent do you feel yourself: Russians in Russia*	4,06	4,67	4,62
How strongly connected with Russia do you feel?	3,42	3,29	3,66
Do you intend to live in Russia in the future for a period of one year or longer?	1,28	1,15	1,23
Ethnic identity	20,33	19,56	19,79

* significant at $p < 0.05$

Table 3 shows the results of bivariate correlation analysis between cultural, social and identificational integration dimensions. Proficiency in Estonian is positively correlated with the number of Estonian friends. All of the aspects of identificational integration are significantly correlated with at least some of the indicators of social and cultural integration. While the indicators of diasporic identity are either significantly correlated with the proficiency in Estonian or with the indicators of social integration, both ethnic identity and the sense of belonging to Estonia are significantly correlated to both cultural and social integration indicators. Respondents who feel that they have nothing in common with Russians in Russia are likely to also have better Estonian skills and a relatively high number of Estonian best friends. Positive responses to the statement 'I consider Russia my homeland' are negatively correlated with a positive assessment of Estonian language proficiency. Respondents who feel a strong connection to Russia tend to have fewer Estonian friends and those who view Russia as a homeland tend to have poor Estonian language skills. Surprisingly, proficiency in the Estonian language does not seem to make respondents less likely to live in Russia in the future. Respondents with a strong sense of belonging to Estonia also have a good command of the Estonian language and a relatively high number of ethnic Estonians among both best three friends and current friends in general. Where respondents have a weak Russian ethnic identity they evaluate their Estonian language proficiency positively and also have more Estonian friends.

Table 3. Correlations between indicators of cultural, social and identificational integration (Pearson Correlation coefficients)

		Cultural integration	Social integration	
		Proficiency in Estonian	Best friends' ethnicity	Estonians among current friends
Cultural integration	Proficiency in Estonian	1,00	-0,11*	-0,23*
Identificational integration	Sense of belonging to Estonia	-0,24*	0,15*	0,26*
	I have nothing in common with the Russians living in Russia	-0,08	0,14*	0,16*
	I consider Russia my homeland	-0,19*	0,03	0,06
	To what extent do you feel belonging to Russians in Russia	-0,16*	-0,09	0,06
	How strongly connected with Russia do you feel?	0,08	-0,11*	-0,09
	Do you intend to live in Russia in the future for a period of one year or longer?	0,13*	-0,07	0,04
	Ethnic identity	0,13*	-0,13*	-0,05

* significant at $p < 0.05$

Conclusion

The results of this analysis cast doubt upon the applicability of the linear assimilation model to the patterns of integration among second generation Russians in Estonia. While there is a connection between cultural and structural integration, which is predicted by linear assimilation theory, there is no significant relationship between structural integration and social or identificational integration. While being structurally integrated does seem to require a certain degree of cultural integration, particularly Estonian language proficiency, this has not lead to a higher degree of social integration as measured by friendships with majority group, or to a greater sense of belonging to Estonian society among the more integrated groups of respondents. Ethnic identity also does not vary significantly across the three groups with different positions across the structural integration indicators.

The only other statistically significant relationship is between diasporic identification and structural integration. This might be explained by two factors. First the 'least structurally integrated' group has the lowest level of Estonian language proficiency and the highest percentage of respondents with undetermined citizenship status. Naturalization requires knowledge of the Estonian language, the Constitution, and a loyalty oath. While there have been several efforts to ease naturalization requirements, language proficiency continues to be one of the main barriers to naturalization. Therefore, the relationship between diasporic identity and structural integration could be explained through the cultural dimension of integration as the connection to Russia and Russians in Russia were significantly stronger among respondents with poor Estonian language proficiency. On the other hand, the relationship between structural integration and the diasporic identity could be direct due to the fact that the share of noncitizens is biggest among the persons with lowest structural position. Reasons behind the decision not to acquire citizenship are by some scholars argued to be also the continuing identification with the country of origin, its culture, language, and religion, as well as the preservation or development of a sense of national pride. In addition, this disinterest in naturalisation might also be a reaction to feeling rejected by the residence country and the majority group (Kurten 1995:932). But the causes of retaining undetermined citizenship status could also be more practical and not related to the sense of belonging at all. Previous research has shown that besides low proficiency in the Estonian language, the practical fact that it is easier for persons without Estonian citizenship to travel to Russia is one of the motivations for retaining an ambiguous legal status among Russians in Estonia (Nimmerfeldt 2008b).

The relationship between structural and cultural integration might be explained by the fact that knowledge of Estonian is a prerequisite for social mobility in Estonian society. Structurally, the most integrated group has the highest percentage of persons with higher education degrees. As a result of Estonian education and language laws, higher education is available publicly only in the Estonian language. In addition, this group had the highest percentage of Estonian citizens who obtained citizenship through naturalization. Naturalization includes citizenship and language examinations. Finally, the 1999 Estonian language law allows for the regulation of language not only in the public realm, but also in private enterprises that are determined to be in the 'justified public interest'. Consequently, the link between structural and cultural integration is explained by the emphasis placed upon language proficiency in both the public and private sphere as well as by the fact that language serves as a gatekeeper for legal status.

Language proficiency is also related to both social and identificational integration. Russians with better Estonian language skills have more Estonian friends and feel a stronger sense of belonging to Estonia and weaker connection to Russia and Russians living in Russia, as well as a weaker ethnic identity. Social and identificational integration are also related in a predicted way: among Russian youth who have Estonian friends, the sense of belonging to Estonia is stronger and connections to Russia and to Russians in Russia are weaker. The ethnic identity of those with Estonian friends also tends to be slightly weaker.

Linear assimilation theory is called into question because structural integration does not necessarily lead to integration along social and identificational dimensions. One possible explanation could be the ethnic segmentation of Estonian society inherited from the Soviet times. During the Soviet era, there were parallel education systems based on the Estonian and Russian language. Public and private schools at all levels, from pre-school to higher education, continue to provide education in the Russian language. However, in 2007 a new law passed requiring minority language schools to transition to teaching 60 percent of subjects in the Estonian language. The language of instruction in public higher education institutions is Estonian, however it is also possible to continue studies in the Russian language in private higher education institutions (Lindemann & Saar 2011: 59-62). In addition, the economic and regional spheres are ethnically segmented. The majority of Russians are concentrated in Ida-Virumaa county, where the ethnic Estonian population is low and in Tallinn (Sokolova 2011). Although there are significant numbers of both ethnic groups in Tallinn, neighbourhoods remain ethnically segregated (Ojamäe & Paadam 2011). As a result, Estonians and Russians may remain segregated from one another in both the school system and later in the labour market. While Russians may achieve a higher occupational position within this segregated economy, they do not necessarily come into contact with ethnic Estonians in either their professional or private life. Another possible explanation is the unique citizenship situation in Estonia. The large number of Russians with undetermined citizenship may not be the result of a weak sense of belonging to political community, but rather the result of naturalization policies or practical choices related to travelling and to the fact that the lack of Estonian citizenship poses no problems for living in Estonia for some Estonian Russians (see Nimmerfeldt 2008b, Vetik 2010).

Future research on second generation Russians in Estonia should probe the questions of why the linear assimilation model is not applicable to second generation Russians in Estonia. Also a more elaborated operationalisation of the cultural and social integration dimensions would shed light on the relationships between different dimensions. The strongest correlations exist between cultural integration and the other three dimensions; however cultural integration is operationalised for our study only by titular language proficiency. Other aspects of acculturation, such as traditions, customs, literature, and music might reveal different results. Social integration is measured by friendships. Inter-marriage, which is often treated as the litmus test for social integration could not be operationalized in the TIES data set as the ethnicity of the partner was not asked. Interethnic contacts should be measured to account for both the frequency and quality of contacts among partners, spouses, friends, schoolmates, colleagues and acquaintances.

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10 Sense of belonging to Estonia

Gerli Nimmerfeldt

10.1 Introduction

This chapter will address one aspect of identificational integration by exploring the formation of a sense of belonging to the host country and its society among second-generation Russians in Estonia, based on the connection and emotional attachment to the host country and feelings of being part of the society. The innovation of the chapter is in providing an additional operationalisation of identificational integration, which differs from traditional approaches applied in empirical studies.

The studies of identificational integration of immigrants and their descendants based either on the linear or segmented assimilation theory or on their elaborations, have mostly focused on ethnic self-identification and the processes by which it is retained or rejected (Gans 1979; Alba 1990; Waters 1990; Esser 2004; Heckmann & Schnapper 2003; Portes & Rumbaut 1996, 2001). In the European context, for some immigrant groups, the religious identity, instead of ethnicity or together with it, is seen as one of the major indicators of identificational integration (Buijs & Rath 2006; Foner & Alba 2008). Another aspect often included in these studies is national identity formation, where the identificational integration is assumed to lead to the creation of a shared national identity, which requires certain commonalities, such as a shared language and core cultural values (Heckmann 2003). Besides looking at ethnic and national identifications, one can notice the rising interest in local collective identities, mainly at the level of residence city, as a possible source for the feeling of belongingness among the second generation (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf & Waters 2002; Groenewold 2008; Schneider & Stojčić 2008).

The most common definition of identificational integration in recent studies departs from the one proposed by Heckmann and his colleagues (Heckmann & Schnapper 2003: 10; Bosswick & Heckmann 2006: 10). They understand identificational integration as membership in a host society at a subjective level, indicated by the formation of feelings of belonging to and identifying with different groups in society, particularly ethnic, regional, local and national groups. Operationalisation of the identificational integration remains, in most cases, at the level of

categorical identity measurement, giving information about self-categorisation into different groups in society. Since the focus is mainly set on ethnic and national groups, the result is often an evaluation of integration at the identity level through classification of immigrants and their descendants according to whether they identify only with their ethnic group, the titular group or feel affiliated with both. Thus, at the national level, identification with the majority group is measured by asking about the sense of belonging to the titular group of the respective host society.

However, a previous study based on quantitative and qualitative data on second-generation Russians in Estonia demonstrated that the national identity category labelled 'Estonian' is mainly understood as a reference to ethnicity and much less to the other aspects expected to be connected to identification at the national level. This is why the part of identificational integration that involves the formation of a sense of belonging to the host country and society cannot be measured by using self-identification with the pre-determined category of national identity labelled as the titular group in society, at least not in the context of Estonia (Nimmerfeldt 2009).

This chapter posits an enhanced approach to identificational integration, based on an understanding that in addition to one's self-identification with society's different groups, the formation of attachment to the host country and society should also be examined as indicators of the sense of belonging at the national level. The measurement of identificational integration proposed here puts greater emphasis on the sense of belonging, based on feelings of being at home in their country of residence and feelings of being accepted and being part of its society. Both aspects of belonging are crucial for social cohesion in society and, at more a personal level, for the psychological well-being of the second generation.

The aim of this chapter is to examine the possible objective and subjective level factors that influence the sense of belonging to Estonia. First, the choice of two sets of hypothetical factors related to both country and culture of origin and to host country, is explained referring to literature and previous studies conducted on Russians in Estonia. Next, a binary logistic regression analysis is carried out in order to estimate the impact on the formation of a strong sense of belonging of the following factors: citizenship status, close relations with Estonians, experienced and perceived discrimination, perceived threat on cultural identity, transnational ties and activities, emotional connectedness to the kin state and the strength of ethnic identity. Additionally, the impact of these factors is examined for the parental background and country-specific human capital, as well as personal socio-demographical characteristics and indicators of the level of structural integration and acculturation.

10.2 Theoretical framework

Mark Thomson and Maurice Crul (2007: 1034)'s introduction to their *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* special issue on the second generation in Europe admits that in both the United States and Europe, discussion about the second generation so far has been dominated by indicators of structural integration, i.e. their position in education and the labour market. Another frequently targeted dimension of integration is the acculturation process, which is seen as one of the premises for structural integration. The fact that the emphasis is mainly on structural integration and acculturation processes stems, largely, from the theoretical frameworks employed for conceptualising integration, by which socio-economical mobility is considered to be of major importance in adaptation processes.

This chapter demonstrates that studying the integration of immigrants in society by only looking at their belonging to the host society through formal and legal bonds and participation in its core institutions means that an important part of the adaptation processes is left out of focus. Because formally being a part of society does not always mean being a full member of that society, there are several informal and symbolic barriers to being recognised and accepted as true and full members. However, the feeling of belonging – the feeling of being at home and being accepted by and part of society – is important in the respect of unity in society, as well as at a more personal level, for the psychological well-being of immigrants and their descendants.

In the case of the latter, it is too often assumed that the bare fact of being born and growing up in the country and going through the socialisation processes in the society is enough to create attachment and a sense of belonging to the host country and its society. Only major shocks in society caused by riots among immigrants' descendants (Britain in 2001, Paris in 2005, Estonia in 2007 and Copenhagen in 2008) bring the subject of belonging into the spotlight in public discourse and into the minds of politicians. At this point, an urgent need for promoting community cohesion becomes clear to everybody. These kinds of riots are then followed by stressing the importance of a common identity shared by all residents as a solution for the lack of social unity. Estonia is no exception. The reaction of the Estonian government to the riots in April 2007 was similar to the one in Britain, where it was stated that they need to 'foster social unity by rehabilitating the importance of being British' (Home Office 2005, quoted in Uberoi 2007:142). In the light of reassessment of the approach toward integration that took place in society after the events related to the removal of the Bronze Soldier statue, the need for a shared sense of national identity among all residents in Estonia was stated explicitly as one of the

main aim of the new integration strategy. According to Estonian Integration Strategy 2008-2013, the ultimate goal of integration in Estonia is a 'culturally diverse society with a strong Estonian state identity'; further on in the text the objective is specified: 'to support the shared feeling of belonging in Estonian society among all permanent residents through sharing common values and knowledge of the national language' (EIS 2008: 3).

No one doubts that at least on some level social unity and cohesion are necessary for a society to operate and many claim that cultural diversity is a heavy challenge to achieving that unity. What is meant by social unity? It is a reciprocal attachment: individuals and groups comprising a society should feel attached to each other and attached to the society (polity) that they all comprise. Attachment, in turn, cannot be cultivated without feelings of security and belonging. To become attached to a society, a person needs to feel welcomed and respected as a part of the whole. Based on these feelings, the sense of belonging will be developed and reflected in the desire to consider and call the place home (Uberoi 2007: 144).

Previous research has demonstrated that a sense of belonging plays an important role in a positive self-image but also in the formation of positive attitudes towards others and building trust towards them (Arredondo 1984, quoted in Chow 2007: 512). Attachment to the country and society at the national level also increases political interest and involvement, including voter turnout (Huddy & Khatib 2007: 65).

One of the psychological challenges faced by immigrants is the feeling of not belonging anywhere. As Roy F. Baumeister and Mark R. Leary (1995) claim, the need to belong, that is, to form and maintain social attachments is a fundamental human need. They illustrate that belonging has multiple and strong effects on emotional patterns and cognitive processes. Furthermore, a great deal of human behaviour, emotion and thought is caused by this fundamental interpersonal motive and a lack of attachments is linked to a variety of ill effects on health, adjustment and well-being.

While first-generation immigrants might preserve the attachment to their country of origin and hold on to interpersonal relationships formed in the homeland, for the second generation, this alternative for creating social bonds and, thus, the needed sense of belonging through attachment to their country of origin is often not feasible or desirable. Therefore, the danger of not belonging to any country and the feeling of being in-between the host country and their parents' country of origin might be even more relevant for immigrants' descendants.

If there is an ethnic community of credible size in the host country that is coherent enough to provide the second generation with the sense of belonging and social, economical and psychological support, then the

danger of belonging nowhere and the following sense of insecurity and identity crises are diminished. It has been argued that Russians do not form a coherent ethnic community in Estonia. Instead, the Russian community in Estonia is considered too heterogeneous and fragmented, missing a uniting minority identity. (Vihalemm & Masso 2003; Laitin 1998; Kolstø 1995; Vihalemm & Kalmus 2009). Therefore, in the case of second-generation Russians in Estonia, the feeling of belonging nowhere could be anticipated as a relevant challenge, making the feeling of belonging to the wider society psychologically even more important.

10.3 Operationalisation of the sense of belonging

In accordance with the traditional operationalisation of identificational integration, identity is explored via self-categorisation in the TIES survey. Identification with different groups is measured by asking a question about the intensity of feelings of belonging simultaneously to a variety of identity categories. Thus, at the national level, identification with the majority group is measured by asking for a youth's sense of belonging to the titular group of the respective host society. The underlying assumption here is that feeling of belonging to a national identity category reflects the sense of belonging to the host society and country. Previous analysis of TIES data showed that second-generation Russians mostly do not identify themselves with the category labelled as the titular group (45 per cent of respondents reported no feelings at all of belonging to that category). A follow-up qualitative study revealed that the reason for this was the fact that the national identity category, in essence, really denotes ethnic identity in the context of Estonia. Consequently, the part of identificational integration that involves the formation of a sense of belonging to the host country and society cannot be measured by using self-identification with a pre-determined category of national identity labelled as the titular group in society (Nimmerfeldt 2009).

Next, the additional instrument used for measuring the sense of belonging to Estonia among second-generation Russians is presented. The instrument emphasises the emotional attachment and connection considered an important basis for social unity in society. The sense of belonging to a host country and its society is measured by a block of seven statements on different aspects of connectedness to Estonia. First, the statements cover the emotional attachment to the country of residence indicated by the intention to stay and consider it the homeland, plus a more direct statement about loving the country. Second, the block includes statements on the feeling of being part of society and

being accepted as its member. The third aspect measures the feelings of closeness with the majority group in society.

During the adaptation process of the TIES survey instrument into the Estonian context, a set of statements on the aforementioned three aspects was formulated. A pilot survey for testing identity questions including statements on the connection to Estonia was carried out among 98 Russian students at Tallinn University. Based on the factor analysis of the pilot study results the following seven statements were chosen for inclusion in the final survey instrument:

- a) 'I love Estonia'
- b) 'I feel that I am part of Estonian society'
- c) 'I consider Estonia my homeland'
- d) 'I would gladly leave Estonia and settle elsewhere'
- e) 'I am proud of the achievements of Estonians'
- f) 'I have nothing in common with Estonians'
- g) 'I feel unwelcome in this country'.

The respondents' level of agreement is specified on a typical five-level Likert scale, from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. Based on these seven statements, a new variable is composed for measuring the strength of the sense of belonging to Estonia¹. The result is an index with values from 7 to 35, which are collapsed together into four categories indicating the sense of belonging from very weak to very strong². The four categories are further collapsed into two and the resulting dichotomous variable is used in further analysis as a dependent variable, aiming to explore the possible sources for the formation of a stronger sense of belongingness to Estonia.

According to this composed variable, 12 per cent of Russian respondents feel a very strong and 42 per cent a strong connection to Estonia, while 35 per cent feel weakly connected and 11 per cent very weakly connected. The next sections of this chapter will review the literature and previous empirical studies in order to pose a hypothesis about what objective and subjective level factors might have an impact on the formation of a stronger sense of belonging and then to test these by a logistic regression analysis.

10.4 What influences the sense of belonging?

In the literature, several factors are pointed out that are related either to a wider social and political context, to a more immediate local environment, a social network and a family or to personal socio-demographic characteristics, presumably having an impact on integration processes in general or more specifically on identificational integration and

psychological adaptation. Second, the identity formation of immigrants is considered to be influenced by factors related to both their country of residence and its society, as well as by their country of origin and their identification with an ethnic group. Next, an overview of the factors expected to be relevant for the formation of a sense of belonging to a host country and its society is drawn both from literature and from previous empirical studies, including the qualitative study conducted with second-generation Russians.

10.4.1 *Citizenship*

One principal basis for solidarity and social unity is citizenship. Citizenship denotes membership to a political and geographic community and it encompasses legal status, rights, political and other types of participation, as well as a sense of belonging (Bloemraad, Korteweg & Yurdakul 2008: 153). Therefore, many believe that formal membership is followed by the sense of belonging to that community. Parsons argues that a shared sense of citizenship must be sufficiently powerful to override the divisive potential of ethnic group allegiances and, thus, could serve as a way to prevent ethnic conflict and marginalisation (quoted in Kivisto 2004: 291). Civic incorporation, together with accompanying civic identity, is seen as one solution to ethnically and culturally diverse societies, also by multicultural theorists such as Charles Taylor (1992), Will Kymlicka (1995) and Bhikhu Parekh (2000). They emphasise civic assimilation instead of structural assimilation, which is almost automatically followed by cultural and identificational assimilation. They claim that civic incorporation through citizenship as an overarching mode of identity might provide a sufficient basis for common culture and, thus, societal cohesion (Kivisto 2004: 293).

The immigrants' readiness to become naturalised has traditionally been used as a measure of their sense of belonging to the host society (Chow 2007: 513). Acquisition of citizenship is supposed to encourage individuals to internalise national norms and values, as well as allow them to mix with the general population (Schnapper, Krief & Peignard 2003: 16). On the other hand, behind the decision not to acquire citizenship are reasons like continuing identification with the country of origin, its culture, language and religion, as well as the preservation or development of a sense of national pride. In addition, more practical reasons are given, such as legal bonds and pressures from the country of origin. Last, but not least, this disinterest is also considered a reaction to the rejection experienced by immigrants and their descendants in host countries (Kurthen 1995: 932).

Recent studies conducted in Estonia provide some proof that emotional attachment to Estonia is stronger among Russians with Estonian

citizenship, compared to those without any citizenship or with Russian citizenship. Using a survey question about the sense of belonging to the Estonian people in the constitutional sense, Marju Lauristin (2008) demonstrates that among Estonian citizens the feeling of belonging to the Estonian people is much stronger compared to people with undetermined citizenship and Russian citizens.

At the same time, the follow-up interviews done with Russian youths who are born and have lived their whole life in Estonia revealed that by the second generation the fact that they needed to go through the naturalisation process is sometimes perceived as insulting. Consequently, a component variable is used for further analysis, one that differentiates within the Estonian citizens' category according to the way Estonian citizenship has been acquired – either by birth or through a naturalisation process³.

10.4.2 *Discrimination*

One of the challenges confronting the second generation is that of the hostile social environment in host countries. Experiences and perceptions of discrimination and hostility on the part of majority group in society have been one of the most common factors anticipated and empirically proved to have a major impact on an immigrant's identity construction. The relationship has usually been demonstrated to be negative: leading to reactive differentiation from the majority and distancing from mainstream values, norms and institutions. This kind of distancing is considered to be accompanied either by a strengthening in ethnic identification, which leads to segregation, or identification with an opponent subculture (Rumbaut 1994; Portes & Rumbaut 1996, 2001; Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder 2006). Accordingly, we expect those who have experienced discrimination and/or who perceive their ethnic group as being discriminated against to be less likely to feel a strong sense of belonging to a host country and its society.

Experiences of discrimination are measured through two questions: 1) whether the respondent has ever experienced hostility or unfair treatment on the basis of ethnicity, either as a child or later in life; 2) whether the respondent has ever been offended because of their ethnicity. For measuring perceived discrimination, there is a question about how often, according to the respondent, Russians experience hostility or unfair treatment because of their ethnicity or descent in Estonia.

10.4.3 *Perceived threat on cultural identity*

Next, we expect the sense of belonging to a host country and its society to be affected by the perception of policies, public discourse and

majority attitudes in respect to minority integration in Estonia. The hypothesis anticipates the sense of belonging to be less strong among second-generation Russian youths who perceive assimilative pressure from the part of state and the majority group in society, compared to those who do not perceive a threat to their cultural identity through assimilation. The hypothesis about the impact of a perceived threat of assimilation stems from the reactive identity approach. This seeks to explain the dialectics of assimilation and confrontation in identity construction processes and was first elaborated for the studies of public opinion towards EU integration (Vetik, Nimmerfeldt & Taru 2006). It was later refined for studying the interethnic relations and integration processes of second-generation Russians in Estonia (Vetik 2006; Nimmerfeldt 2006).

The theoretical basis for the definition and operationalisation of the concept of reactive identity is based, on one hand, on the semiotic ideas of Lotman (1999, 2001) and Benveniste (2003) and, on the other hand, on the social identity theory (Tajfel 1981; Tajfel & Turner 1979) and Jenkins' (2004) social-psychological approach to identity, as well as on sociological research on reactive ethnicity conducted by Portes and Rumbaut (1996, 2001).

In the reactive identity approach, the concept of identity is understood as subjectivity formed in the process of constructing an 'us–them' relationship. The concept is defined as a boundary between 'us' and 'them', constructed in a dialogue with the 'other' based on two processes: identification with the 'other' and differentiation from the 'other'. Both processes are part of identity construction. An imbalance between these two processes in the self-other relationship will be perceived by people as assimilative or separative pressure, resulting in the emergence of a reactive counter identity, i.e. confrontation with the 'other'. Reactive identity emerges in situations where individuals perceive either dominance of identification with the 'other', i.e. assimilative pressure or dominance of differentiation from the 'other', i.e. separative pressure (Vetik, Nimmerfeldt & Taru 2006: 1081–1083). Reactive identity represents a counter reaction to these kinds of imbalances and is expressed in confrontation with the 'other' and will result in an even stronger boundary between 'us' and 'them'.

For testing the hypothesis about the assimilative pressure and reaction to it, in the form of a weaker sense of belonging, we used a composed variable based on four statements about the perception of a threat on cultural identity:

- a) 'Learning Estonian makes one distant from Russian culture'
- b) 'Maintaining Russian culture in Estonia is at risk'
- c) 'I don't feel any pressure to give up Russian culture and replace it with Estonian'
- d) 'There is room for a variety of languages and cultures in Estonia'.

The level of agreement was specified using a five-level Likert scale (from strongly agree to strongly disagree). Based on these four survey items, an aggregated variable is computed.⁴

10.4.4 Interethnic relations

The fact that interethnic relations are considered to play a role in the formation of attachment to the host country and its society stems from the so-called 'contact hypothesis'. According to this, close and continuous contact with out-group members promotes positive and tolerant attitudes toward that group (see Schulze in this volume). Previous studies done in Estonia support this hypothesis and have clearly demonstrated that personal close contacts (at the level of family or friends) are the most important factors affecting the attitudes towards the other group (Valk & Karu 1997; Korts 2009; Korts & Vihalemm 2008; Schulze 2008). Hence, the hypothesis for analysis is that Russian youths who have Estonians among their circle of friends in general and, specifically, among their three best friends feel a stronger sense of belonging to the society, compared to second-generation Russians who have no close contacts with Estonians.

10.4.5 Transnational ties and feeling connected to the country of origin

Widening access to transportation and digital communications technologies has transformed the relationship between space and place, so that travel and mobility are no longer prerequisites for engaging with and being influenced by the world views and opinions of people in geographically distant locations (Haller & Landolt 2005: 1183). As a result, novel possibilities for global, multi-local and transnational modes of membership and types of identities arise. Increasingly, aspects of social life take place across borders, even as the political and cultural salience of nation-state boundaries remains clear. Several studies have shown that migrant families orient significant aspects of their lives around their country of origin by keeping in touch with family members, relatives and friends who live there. They travel as tourists and send or receive remittances. Additionally, they follow the media of their country of origin and they engage in transnational collective action, religious, civic and political institutions (Guarnizo, Portes & Haller 2003; Haller & Landolt 2005). These kinds of transnational actions have led many people, including migration scholars and policymakers, to assume that the integration of immigrants and their descendants has failed. Instead of integrating into the host society, migrants are believed to prefer living in a sort of transnational social space in which the language, culture and social contacts of their homeland are cherished (Lucassen 2005:

166). Thus, to this extent, transnational ties challenge the conventional notions about the assimilation of immigrants into host countries.

Most scholars of transnational migration today recognise that many contemporary migrants and their offspring maintain various kinds of ties to their homelands while also becoming incorporated into the countries where they have settled (Levitt & Jaworsky 2007: 130). An increasing number of migrants are orienting their lives to two or even more societies; they develop transnational communities and consciousness (Castles 2002: 1146). The mobility and belonging to more than one place is now seen as complementary instead of being contradictory. Sustained ties with two or more countries are regarded as an integral, and potentially beneficial, part of the migratory experience (Gustafson 2005: 8), instead of being an anomaly.

Because of Russia's proximity to Estonia, it is assumed that transnational activities like these are frequent among Russians. Many of them have family members and relatives living there and many travel there frequently either for work or business. However, whether visits and staying in the country of origin increase or decrease the sense of belonging to the host country and its society depends on the nature of the experiences had while there. Positive experiences of a sense of belonging with ethnic peers, and of being accepted as a member of a group while staying there, might strengthen the ethnic identity and weaken the sense of attachment to the host country. This is especially so if such positive experiences in the country of origin are collated with negative experiences of inacceptance, hostility and discrimination in the host country. At the same time, visiting the country of origin might be a catalyst for a reevaluation of circumstances in the current residence country. This might occur via a comparison of living conditions, political, economical and social environments. It may also highlight the cultural similarities with the majority in the host country and differences with the members of one's ethnic group living in the country of origin. During the follow-up interviews conducted with second-generation Russians, several interviewees expressed their disappointment and dislike of the living conditions and social-political arrangements in Russia, and most of them felt that they are also culturally different from Russians in Russia. Some mentioned being treated like outsiders, some even like traitors. Consequently, we can hypothesise the association between transnational ties and the sense of belonging to the host country to be in either direction.

Two measures of personal experiences of visiting Russia are used: frequency of visiting Russia in the past five years and time spent in Russia altogether during these visits. Additionally, we use the following different media channels as an indicator of whether the respondent lives in a Russian or an Estonian communication field. Media

consumption is measured by a composed variable, which is based on two questions asking about how often the Russian and Estonian language TV stations are followed. Emotional attachment and the feeling of connection to Russia are measured by three items indicating diasporic identity aspects: the intention to move to Russia; considering Russia the homeland; and the strength of feeling a connection to Russia.

10.4.6 *Ethnic identity*

In mainstream integration and assimilation theories, immigrants' identificational integration is generally considered to be related to ethnic and national self-identifications. The process is referred to as a decline in ethnic identities and loyalties accompanied by a growing identification with the majority group and the host state among the descendants of immigrants. Such an identificational assimilation is expressed by the change in the nature of ethnic identity, which turns to an optional, familial, leisure time form of symbolic ethnicity (Gans 1979; Alba 1990; Waters 1990). This decline in ethnic identity is considered to be followed by the formation of a self-image as an unhyphenated or hyphe-nated member of the host society. Thus, by adding a constructed index of the strength of ethnic identity into the regression model, we will test the hypothesis of these theories about whether the weak ethnic identity is supplemented by a strong sense of belonging to the host country and its society.

The strength of ethnic identity is measured through five statements about ethnic pride, attachment and commitment to one's ethnic group and its common cultural practices:

- a) 'Being a Russian is an important part of myself'
- b) 'I see myself as a real Russian'
- c) 'When somebody says something bad about Russians I feel personally offended'
- d) 'I often wish to conceal the fact that I am a Russian'
- e) 'It is important to me to know Russian history, culture, customs and traditions'.

Based on these five statements, an index is composed for further analysis.⁵

10.4.7 *Parental background*

It has been argued that identificational assimilation is shaped, largely, by family context and demonstrated the effect of parental ethnic socialisation, social status and parent-child relationships (Rumbaut 1994). Our data allows us to test the impact of social status (highest completed

educational level and occupational group held at the respondents' age of fifteen) and the more country-specific human and social capital of parents (proficiency in Estonian and citizenship status). The hypothesis for this part is stated as: Russians with parents of higher social status and country-specific capital are more likely to feel a stronger sense of belonging to Estonia and its society. In addition, the parents' descent is taken into account as well, with the objective of checking whether second-generation youths with one parent born in the host country feel a stronger connection to Estonia compared to youths with both parents born outside the country.

10.4.8 Socio-demographic characteristics

Mainstream integration theories assume the relevance of several socio-demographic characteristics for the formation of a sense of belonging. Including personal characteristics like the respondent's titular language proficiency, highest level of education completed, employment status and occupational group into the analysis tests the hypothesis drawn from classic theories about the acculturation and integration into the main structures of society being followed more or less automatically by a formation of the sense of belonging.

Some previous studies done on the second generation have suggested that self-identification is a gendered process (Rumbaut 1994) and that is why the respondents' gender is also included among other personal characteristics. Last, but not least, age as a categorical variable (18-25 years old and 26-35 years old) is included in the model as a control variable.

The city of residence is included into that block to test the general hypothesis about the contextual impact on identity formation. Previous research has proved the city of residence to be significantly related to the identification processes (see Porter & Rumbaut 2001; Schneider & Stojčić 2008; Nimmerfeldt 2008a). Based on the concentration of Russians in Ida-Virumaa cities, including Kohtla-Järve, compared to the situation in Tallinn (see Sokolova in this volume), we can assume that the city of residence has either a direct or an indirect effect on the attachment of second-generation Russians to Estonia and Estonians. Since in Tallinn the minority-majority patterns are more strongly established because of the demographical situation, while in Kohtla-Järve the ethnic differences are not as pronounced in everyday life, the city of residence might have an indirect effect on the sense of belonging through other hypothesised factors like discrimination, the strength of ethnic identity and the perceived threat on cultural identity. On the other hand, because of the geographical proximity of Kohtla-Järve to Russia, the city of residence might also be associated to the feelings of connection

through the transnational activities and ties to Russia. However, a direct impact of the location on the connectedness might also be expected. A previous qualitative study has unveiled shocking facts about the sense of belonging to Estonia among Russian inhabitants in this region. In the focus group conducted in Narva, some participants drew a clear distinction between 'their' city (and Ida-Virumaa in more general) and the rest of Estonia, especially Tallinn, pronouncing point-blank that 'Narva is not Estonia'. In response to the moderator's question specifying what then comprises Estonia, the respondents said that 'Estonia is out there, in Tallinn and elsewhere' (Vetik & Nimmerfeldt 2008a).

10.5 Results of the analysis

In order to explore to what extent the possible factors expected, either on the basis of theories or the results of previous empirical studies, to have an effect on the formation of the sense of belonging in the case of second-generation Russians, a two-step logistic regression analysis was carried out. The binary logistic regression model (Appendix 10.1) run in the first step includes variables measuring the citizenship status, experienced and perceived discrimination, perceived threat on cultural identity, close interethnic relations, transnational activity, emotional attachment to Russia and the strength of ethnic identity. The analysis looks at the odds of feeling a strong connection compared to a feeling of weakly belonging to Estonia.

The results of the analysis prove only two of the factors – the perceived assimilative pressure and aspects of diasporic identity – to be significantly associated with the formation of a strong sense of belonging to Estonia among second-generation Russians.

Considering all the possible factors, the perception of threat on one's cultural identity has the greatest impact on the chances of feeling a strong belonging to a host country and its society. The chances of feeling strongly connected to Estonia are 8.83 times greater for those second-generation Russians who do not perceive a threat on their cultural identity, compared to those who do perceive this kind of a threat. Although remarkably less (2.96 times) yet still significant, the odds of a strong sense of belongingness increased in the cases of respondents who had not perceived any assimilative pressure, compared to those who have perceived a threat on their cultural identity.

Second, the diasporic identity – considering Russia the homeland and intending to go to live in Russia – significantly lowers the odds of feeling a sense of belonging to Estonia. For respondents who certainly do not intend to move to Russia in the future, the odds of feeling strongly connected to Estonia are 2.32 times higher compared to those

who maybe or certainly consider moving to Russia. An even stronger association is shown between the sense of belonging to Estonia and considering Russia the homeland. The odds of feeling strongly connected to Estonia are 3.33 times higher for those respondents who do not consider Russia their homeland compared to those who do.

In the case of emotional attachment to a parent's country of origin, we cannot claim causality based on our survey data because the identification with Russia could also be a reaction to the lack of sense of belonging to Estonia. Concerning the effect of a perceived threat on cultural identity, we can rely on the reactive identity approach and explain the result by referring to policies and public discourse. Since regaining independence, discourse in Estonia has been dominated by legal restorationism and this has transferred further into the integration policies with an emphasis on 'Estonian cultural predominance' (Pettai & Hallik 2002). Previous studies also indicate that Russians perceive the Estonian integration policy as forced 'assimilation' (Vetik 2006, 2008), which expects them to adapt to a society dominated by Estonian language and culture. Estonia's language policy is regarded as a threat to the survival of the Russian language in Estonia (see Vetik in this volume), and the ongoing school reform is seen not as an attempt to equalise the opportunities for everyone in society but rather, as a threat to the Russian youth's cultural identity (Saar 2008; Proos 2006).

However, the included result of no significant impact of other factors on the odds of having a sense of belonging is no less important than the affirmative results. First, the logistic regression analysis shows us that second-generation Russians' citizenship status or the way Estonian citizenship has been acquired plays no significant role. Previous studies focusing on the integration of Russians in Estonia have also proved that citizenship status is more of a pragmatic choice and not directly dependent on a person's civic identity. Based on the data of Integration Monitoring, Lauristin (2008) argues that acquiring Estonian citizenship is not related to political or civic identification but is, instead, a sort of social investment. At the same time, the results of Integration Monitoring also show that the emotional attachment to Estonia is not determined by the citizenship status alone: 66 per cent of Russians with Estonian citizenship consider Estonia to be their homeland, but 14 per cent consider their homeland to be Russia (20 per cent consider both Russia and Estonia as homelands), while 48 per cent of people with undetermined citizenship and 20 per cent of respondents with Russian citizenship also consider Estonia their homeland (*ibid.*). Similar results indicating that citizenship status and belonging to one's homeland do not overlap were shown by previous monitoring on integration in Estonia (Hallik 2006).

Furthermore, it is not possible to interpret the undetermined citizenship status, in terms of choice, as not being related to a host state in the context of Estonia. Former empirical studies have proven that there are several reasons for Russians' stateless status. First, the strict requirements of the citizenship policy, mainly the Estonian language exam, hinder the naturalisation process. According to recent survey results, nine out of ten Estonian and Russian respondents considered the inability to learn Estonian one of the main reasons why there are still so many people without Estonian citizenship living in Estonia (Nimmerfeldt 2008b). A qualitative study among individuals with undetermined citizenship conducted in Tallinn and cities in Ida-Virumaa indicated that besides a lack of knowledge of the Estonian language, the more practical aspects related to everyday life are equally important arguments for retaining an ambiguous legal status. On one hand, it is easier for immigrants without Estonian citizenship to travel to Russia compared to Estonian citizens; on the other hand, the lack of Estonian citizenship often poses no problems for living in Estonia (Vetik & Nimmerfeldt 2008b). The survey results of Integration Monitoring 2008 support these conclusions: 72 per cent of Russian respondents state that the facility of travelling to Russia is one of the reasons why Russian speakers do not seek Estonian citizenship; and 75 per cent think that the cause can also be found in the fact that being without citizenship does not hinder their lives in Estonia.

When it comes to discrimination, our results indicate that having experienced unfair treatment or being offended on the basis of ethnic origin does not decrease the odds of feeling a strong belonging to Estonia. Similarly, the perceived discrimination of Russians in Estonia does not prove to have an effect on the odds of Russian youth feeling that they belong to Estonia, when all other variables are taken into account. The most probable reason for such results might be in the few frequencies of reported discrimination experiences because of ethnicity among Russian respondents: 3 per cent said they had experienced hostility or unfair treatment because of their ethnicity regularly; and 9 per cent occasionally. Only 1 per cent has been offended on the basis of their ethnic origin regularly and 7 per cent occasionally. Although most of the respondents report never having experienced hostility personally, they do perceive the level of discrimination against Russians in Estonian society to be high. According to half of all respondents, Russians experience frequent hostility or unfair treatment, regularly or occasionally and only 13 per cent think it never happens. In addition, Integration Monitorings have indicated that the perception of discrimination at the group level is much higher than in personal experiences.

The analysis does not support the 'contact hypothesis'. Having Estonians among current friends in general, or among three best

friends in a narrower sense, plays no significant role in the probability of feeling a strong sense of belonging to Estonia. Here, one of the explanations might lie in the fact that the questions used for measuring interethnic relations do not reflect the contacts between two groups in the best way, the first question being too general and the second too narrow. Another explanation for interethnic contacts appearing not to be associated with feelings of belonging might be the shortage of close contacts between the two groups, which leads to a situation where attitudes are formed based on perceptions held by a person's ethnic peers.

According to the TIES survey data, 38 per cent of Russian respondents reported to have no ethnic Estonians among their current friends, 29 per cent had only very few and 25 per cent reported some friends to be Estonians. Therefore, only 6 per cent of Russians interviewed have many Estonian friends and 2 per cent said that most of their friends are Estonians. Previous research has also revealed that interethnic contacts among Estonians and Russians in Estonia are relatively sparse and mainly rather sporadic, involving occasional contacts in shops, on the street or on public transport. The few relationships reported between the two groups generally remain instrumental, work and study related (Korts 2009: 127; Korts & Vihalemm 2008: 1). It may be the case that contacts with colleagues or fellow students were reported as friendships, which ordinarily is hypothesised to increase the sense of belonging, but in fact does not translate into close bonds between the two groups.

Descriptive data from the TIES survey show that second-generation Russians seldom report having ethnic Estonians among three best friends – among 72 per cent of respondents none of the three best friends is Estonian. Due to a lack of close personal contacts, the sense of belonging to Estonia and among Estonians is more likely to be affected by the overall public discourse, reflected by the media or prevalent among the personal circle. Külliki Korts (2009: 135) has shown in her recent study on Russian youth that the widespread perception (or fear) of a lack of respect from the majority group is of crucial significance to intergroup relations and attitudes towards the 'other'. This is not based on personal experiences but rather, taken directly from public discourse or based on attitudes held by peers and family members.

Based on the TIES survey data, 41 per cent of Russians interviewed have never been to Russia, 23 per cent have been there once and 16 per cent twice during the last five years. More frequent visits are much less represented. The visits to Russia are mostly of short duration, lasting between one and three weeks, and with the aim of visiting family or taking a holiday there. According to logistic regression analysis, the frequency of visits has no impact on second-generation Russians' feeling

of belonging to their country of residence. Similarly, the time spent in Russia does not play a role.

There is also no support for the implicit hypothesis of many integration theories, which assume weak ethnic identity predicts a strong sense of belonging to the host country and its society, instead of a strong identification with one's ethnic group. Variation in the strength of ethnic pride and attachment is not reflected in the different levels of the sense of belonging to Estonia. This indicates that feelings of not being part of the society are not necessarily accompanied by a stronger border drawn between one's ethnic group and the majority. In other words, feelings of belonging to both the ethnic group and to the host society are not mutually exclusive. Whether the feeling of not belonging to either really means that there is a feeling of belonging nowhere and what the other possible groups are which serve as substitute sources for feelings of belonging is a task for further analysis.

None of the hypotheses related to the respondents' parental background found support: for Russian youths with both parents born outside of Estonia, the odds of feeling a strong sense of belonging to Estonia did not decrease compared to youths with one parent born in Estonia; the odds are also not increased by the parents' higher social status and country-specific human capital.

Among personal socio-demographic characteristics, only the respondent's age has some significant impact on the sense of belonging to Estonia – specifically, for those who belong to a younger age group (18-25). Their chances of feeling strongly connected are 2.5 times fewer, compared to Russian youths aged 26-35 (Appendix 10.1). However, the indicators of acculturation (proficiency in Estonian) and structural integration (educational level, employment status and occupational group) do not explain the formation of a sense of belonging to Estonia. The process is neither gendered, nor locally context-based at the city level. Besides, adding parental and personal background variables into the regression model does not reduce the strong effects of perceiving a threat on cultural identity and feeling emotionally attached to Russia (Appendix 10.1).

10.6 Conclusion

The focus of this chapter has been on one aspect of identificational integration: the sense of belonging to a host country and its society, with an aim to demonstrate why it is an important aspect of identificational integration of the second generation. Conceptually, the formation of a sense of belonging could be connected to different groups in society, including ethnic, religious, regional, local, national, transnational and

supranational groups. Instead of looking at all possible bases available for identification and relevant for second-generation Russians in Estonia, this chapter examined the sense of belonging at the national level. The purpose was to present an additional way to approach the identificational integration and to present an operationalisation that, instead of looking at self-identification with different identity categories, emphasises emotional attachment to the host country and society, indicated by the feelings of being at home and part of the society. Thirdly, based on both the TIES survey data and the qualitative follow-up study, this chapter explored the possible sources and obstacles for the formation of the sense of belonging to Estonia among second-generation Russians. The impact of several objective and subjective level factors was tested by carrying out a two-step logistic regression analysis.

The analysis proves only two of the factors – the perceived assimilative pressure and the aspects of diasporic identity – to be significantly associated with the formation of a strong sense of belonging to Estonia. Taking all the possible theoretical, personal and parental background factors into account, the greatest impact on the chances of feeling a strong sense of belonging to Estonia relates to a lack of perception of threat on the cultural identity. Second, the diasporic identity – considering Russia as the homeland and having the intention to return to Russia – significantly lowers the odds of feeling a sense of belonging in Estonia.

Thus, the main conclusion is that the principal obstacle for a shared sense of belonging among second-generation Russians is the perceived assimilative pressure from the side of the state and the majority group. The emphasis put on protecting Estonian culture in integration policies and the exclusive nature of the national identity prove to transform into a kind of reactive identity among Russian youths, as indicated by the weak sense of belonging to Estonia. In the case of emotional attachment to Russia, we cannot state the direction of the revealed association based on our survey data. The stronger identification with Russia might be a reaction to the lack of sense of belonging to Estonia; however, it could also be a hindrance for the formation of a stronger connection to Estonia.

Both in literature and policy discourse, identificational integration is assumed to lead to the creation of a shared national identity, which requires certain commonalities, such as a shared language and core cultural values. Some consider it to happen at the expense of declining ethnic identities and changing affiliation from country of origin to the host country. Others see it as irrespective of personal identifications with other different groups in society, including the ethnic origin group, and despite retained allegiances and connection to the country of origin. The results of the analysis presented in this chapter tend to support the

second approach, as the strength of identification with one's ethnic group turned out not to decrease the chances of forming a strong sense of belonging to Estonia. This result indicates that feelings of belonging to both one's ethnic group and to the host society are not mutually exclusive.

However, as yet it is not possible to conclude whether the stronger diasporic identity, which goes together with a weaker sense of belonging to Estonia, is part of a reactive identity, expressing the stronger border drawn between 'us' and 'them'. More thorough qualitative studies in the future could provide an answer. Another question to be addressed by future studies is whether the combination of feelings of neither belonging to the host country and its society, nor to one's ethnic group or country of origin really means that there is a feeling of belonging nowhere, or whether there are other possible groups which serve as substitute sources for feelings of belonging.

Notes

- 1 For composing the index all the statements were recoded in a way that the smallest value indicates the weakest identification and scale for three items (d, f and g) were reversed. Cronbach's Alpha = .830.
- 2 The initial sum index was collapsed into four categories as follows: 7-19 = 1 (very weak); 20-25 = 2 (weak) 26-31 = 3 (strong); 32-35 = 4 (very strong).
- 3 Due to the small size of the group with citizenship from countries other than Russia (2.6 per cent), they will be excluded from further analysis.
- 4 For computing an index the initially measured scales were recoded into three categories and scales of two first statements were reversed. Reliability statistics (Cronbach's Alpha) for the four items is .682. Summing the values of these four variables gives a new variable with values ranging from 4 to 12. For further analysis these will be collapsed into four categories as follows: 1) 'Not at all' (those who got the lowest score of 4 and don't perceive any threat on cultural identity); 2) Rather not (scores 5-6); 3) Rather yes (scores 7-9); and 4) Yes (those who got scores 10-12 and perceive threat on cultural identity according to at least to three statements).
- 5 For composing the index, all the statements were recoded so that the smallest value indicates the weakest identification and scale of one item ('I often wish to conceal the fact that I am a Russian') was reversed. Cronbach's Alpha = .673. The initial sum index with values from 5 to 25 was collapsed into four categories indicating the strength of ethnic identity to be either very weak, weak, strong or very strong.

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Appendix 10.1 Sense of belonging to Estonia strongly or very strongly, odd ratios (Exp (b_i)), logistic regression models

	Model 1	Model 2
<i>1. Citizenship status (reference group: Estonian citizenship by birth)</i>		
No citizenship	642	662
Russian citizenship	1,040	1,757
Estonian citizenship by naturalisation	1,071	1,001
<i>2. Discrimination</i>		
Experienced hostility/unfair treatment (reference group: having experienced)		
Never experienced	741	595
Being offended (reference group: having experienced)		
Never experienced	1,549	1,747
Perceived discrimination against Russians (reference group: frequently)		
Never	1,815	2,511
Rarely	1,848	2,446
Occasionally	1,472	1,635
<i>3. Perceived threat on cultural identity (reference group: certainly yes)</i>		
Not at all	8,545***	8,829***
Rather not	3,163**	2,961*
Rather yes	1,405	1,469
<i>4. Interethnic relations</i>		
Ethnicity of current friends (reference group: several)		
None	635	719
Few	1,019	1,227
Ethnicity of best three friends (reference group: one or more Estonian)		
None	727	688
<i>5. Transnational ties and attachment to Russia</i>		
Visiting Russia past five years (reference group: three or more times)		
Never	726	738
Once	646	711
Twice	833	1,046
Time spent in Russia (reference group: month or more)		
Less than one month	1,483	1,945
Watching TV stations (reference group: Russian-language only)		
Russian- and Estonian-languages	1,675	1,115
Mostly Russian, a little Estonian	1,357	1,370
Intention to live in Russia (reference group: maybe or certainly yes)		
certainly not	2,168**	2,322*
Considering Russia the homeland (reference group: yes)		
No	3,065*	3,328*
Don't know	1,155	1,313
Feeling connected to Russia (reference group: strongly or very strongly)		
Not at all or very weakly	509	456
Weakly	590	567
Moderately	788	664
<i>6. Strength of ethnic identity (reference group: very strong)</i>		
Very weak	1,783	1,827
Weak	913	1,481
Strong	756	939

***p <0.001

**p<0.01

*p<0.05

Source : Own calculations based on TIES data

Table 10.1 (*continued*). Sense of belonging to Estonia strongly or very strongly, odd ratios (Exp (b)), logistic regression models

	Model 1	Model 2
<i>7. Parental factor</i>		
Parents' descent (reference group: one parent born in Estonia)		
Both parents born outside Estonia		1,072
Parents' Estonian citizenship (reference group: neither parent has Estonian citizenship)		
Both parents have Estonian citizenship		1,615
One of the parents has Estonian citizenship		1,479
Parents' Estonian language skills (reference group: good)		
Poor		1,334
Parental highest education level (reference group: at least one parent with higher education)		
Neither parents have higher education		700
Parental highest occupational group (reference group: skilled and unskilled blue-collar)		
Managers, professionals		735
Lower non-manual		814
<i>8. Socio-demographical variables</i>		
Age group (reference group: 26-35 years)		
18-25 years		402*
Sex (reference group: female)		
Male		535
City (reference group: Kohtla-Järve)		
Tallinn		921
Education (reference group: higher)		
Basic or less		802
General secondary		449
Vocational or professional		750
Employment status (reference group: not working)		
Managers and professionals		478
Clerks and service workers		1,639
Skilled and unskilled workers		1,222
Full-time student		2,604
Estonian language proficiency (reference group: very good)		
Poor		488
Moderate		522
Good		532
Constant	220*	511
Pseudo R square	32	39
N	385	317

***p < 0.001

**p < 0.01

*p < 0.05

Source: Own calculations based on TIES data

III

NIMMERFELDT, G. 2009. Identificational Integration of Second Generation Russians in Estonia. – *Studies of Transition States and Societies*, 1, (1), 25-35.

Identificational Integration of Second Generation Russians in Estonia¹

Gerli Nimmerfeldt*

Abstract

This article takes a look at integration processes of second generation Russian youth in Estonia at identity level which is often referred to as identificational integration. The focus is set on two dimensions of the identificational integration: identification with one's own ethnic group and identification with the majority group in host country. First the role and place of identity in theoretical approaches to integration processes is explored. The second task of the article is to demonstrate the shortcomings of widespread theories and commonly used research instruments for studying the identificational integration. For that purpose the hypotheses on identificational integration that stem from literature and presume that national level belongingness either replaces or replenishes ethnic identity are put on test. The analysis is based on both survey data and follow-up face-to-face interviews conducted with 18-35 year old Russians born in Estonia to parents of whom at least one have migrated to Estonia during Soviet times. Conducted analysis on ethnic identity of Russian youth and their sense of belonging to the majority group reveal a need for an enhanced approach to conceptualising and operationalising the identity level integration processes.

Keywords: Second generation, integration, ethnic identity, national identity, Estonian Russian youth.

Introduction

Increasing globalisation and widespread immigration from the 1950s onward have resulted in a new multicultural reality in Europe that threatens the traditional nation-state model of state building. Throughout Europe arguments have recently been heard against cultural, religious and linguistic diversity. The fear of multiculturalism is expressed in estimations that 'too much diversity' disrupts a national identity, breaks down society's cohesion, dissipates common core values in society and undermines participatory institutions such as the welfare state (Vertovec & Wessendorf 2004). Immigrants are described as a potential security risk, as cultural others, as socially marginal, and as foreigners to the community, which is defined through shared loyalty towards the state and shared rights guaranteed by the state (Wimmer & Schiller 2002). Thus, migration and the consecutive integration of immigrants are considered to be problematic for the homogeneity of a nation-state and a temporary deviation from the normality of unique national belonging (Gustafson 2005, Castles 2002). From this perspective, the aftermath of transnational migration is often seen to be assimilation instead of integration. Immigrants are expected to settle permanently and adapt to the host country in a way that does away with these exceptions in normality, they are supposed to give up those cultural, social, linguistic characteristics that may distinguish them from the majority group and develop a sense of belonging to the society and a loyalty to the nation-state where they have settled. And this holds true both for nation-states where the nation had never been imagined as plural and for traditional immigrant societies, which themselves consist of former immigrants. Although the cultural assimilation demand is diminished in contemporary multicultural policies of immigrant integration, the national understanding is still reflected there by the expectation that immigrants or at least their children will develop a sense of belonging and a loyalty to just one state and society.

This article proceeds from an approach to integration processes, that does not assume the opposition of cultural diversity and social cohesion built on a shared sense of belongingness. Understanding the integration of immigrants and their descendants as the process by which they are incorporated into both the structures and the society of the receiving state, this article will look at these processes at the identity level, which is often referred to as identificational integration. Several

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scholars have pointed out that the process of integration has different and interrelated dimensions and the process has been broken up into a different number of successive steps. Gordon (1964) made the distinction between seven types or stages of assimilation, starting with cultural assimilation, which leads to the next and most crucial stage called structural assimilation, which then is followed more or less automatically by marital, identificational, attitude receptional, behavioural receptional and civic assimilation. Gordon's distinction is often collapsed into three or four dimensions of integration and most commonly the analytical framework for studying integration processes focuses on structural, cultural, social (also called interactive (Reinsch 2001) and identificational integration dimensions (Heckmann & Schnapper 2003).

Integration at the identity level has been much less thoroughly studied than structural integration or acculturation processes. The individual's identification with several different groups in social system has been explored and an innumerable quantity of studies on collective identities can be found, starting from local identity and ending with the European identity. However, only a few of them are conducted in the context of immigrant integration in society in general and in connection with the second generation's socio-psychological adaptation more specifically. In case of the latter, the discussion both in the US and Europe has been dominated so far by indicators of structural integration, i.e. position in education and the labour market (Thomson and Crul 2007). Another dimension of integration that is often targeted is the acculturation process, which is seen as one of the premises for structural integration.

The emphasis on structural integration and acculturation processes stems in great part from the theoretical frameworks employed for conceptualising integration, according to which the socio-economical mobility is considered to be of major importance in adaptation processes. Another reason that has caused the identificational dimension of integration to be neglected or then only superficially explored in integration studies is the fuzziness of the concept of identity and the fact that identity aspects are less quantifiable and their interpretations are more grounded in the national context and discourse, making them especially hard to include into comparative quantitative studies. Using survey data further simplifies the research done on identity, since often only the categorical identity question is employed that gives the respondent the option to pick predetermined identity categories, in worst cases making only one choice possible.

This article takes a look at identificational integration of the descendants of immigrants, the so-called second generation who is born in the host country to parents of whom at least one has migration in their background. First, the role and place of identity in theoretical approaches to integration processes and definitions for identificational integration will be explored. Later in the article, the focus is set on two dimensions of the identity level integration: identification with one's ethnic group and identification with the majority group in the host country. The main task of the article is to demonstrate the shortcomings of widespread theories and commonly used research instruments for studying the identificational integration by way of the example of second generation Russians in Estonia. The need for an enhanced approach to conceptualising integration at the identity level will be shown first through the analysis of the strength and formation of ethnic identity among Russian youth. While attempting to test the hypothesis on identificational integration that stems from literature and presumes that national level belongingness either replaces or replenishes ethnic identity, this article also aims to point out that measuring the identificational integration by using self-categorisation with predetermined identity categories alone is not the best suitable operationalisation for this dimension of integration. Either an additional qualitative study for exploring the meaning of each category used in survey in the eyes of the target group or an enhanced operationalisation of identificational integration for the survey instrument is needed.

Empirical data

The analysis reported in this article is based on both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative data on second generation Russians originates from a survey conducted in Estonia between January 2007 and March 2008 within the framework of the international research project 'The Integration of the European Second Generation' (TIES)². The TIES survey instrument was adapted to the Estonian

² The TIES project is coordinated by the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES), University of Amsterdam. The project comprises an international standardized survey of second generation immigrants from Turkey, Ex-Yugoslavia, and Morocco in eight European countries (France, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Austria, The Netherlands, Switzerland and Sweden) (see more about the TIES: <http://www.tiesproject.eu/>).

situation and to the new target group of Russians by the researchers from the Institute of International and Social Studies and the fieldwork was implemented by the survey bureau OÜ Faktum & Ariko. The target group of the survey consists of second generation Russians (*i.e.* Russian youth aged 18-35, who were born in Estonia but whose parents (at least one of them) have immigrated to Estonia), and of a comparison group of Estonians of the same age. The method used for survey data collection was face-to-face interviews at the respondents' homes. Interviews were held in respondents' mother tongue. In total, 1,000 interviews (488 with Estonian youth and 512 with Russian youth aged 18-35 years) were conducted in Tallinn and Kohtla-Järve.

In addition, a comparison to previous empirical studies done in Estonia and elsewhere (including other TIES countries) is provided in order to put the results for the second generation youth into the context of the Russian-speaking population in Estonia and to compare the results with descendants of labour migrants in Europe. The main source for comparison data on the Estonian Russian population is collected in the framework of Integration Monitoring (IM) 2008. IM is a regular nationwide survey for monitoring the integration processes in the Estonian society in different domains. The last survey, which was carried out in April, 2008, covered 1,505 respondents aged 15-75 years of whom 992 were Estonians and 513 Russian-speakers, among them 426 of Russian origin and the rest representing other ethnic groups³.

Besides the results of an additional qualitative study⁴ conducted in January, 2009, follow-up face-to-face interviews with the TIES survey respondents are used for illustrating and interpreting the survey results. The qualitative study aimed to take a closer look at the relationship between acculturation and identificational integration and comprised 18 interviews with Russian youths from Tallinn and Kohtla-Järve. During the interviews participants were asked open ended questions about their identity, their feelings and attitudes toward languages, as well as the frequency of use of different languages in their daily lives.

Theoretical framework

In the literature regarding immigrant integration, two basic theoretical models emerge: linear integration and segmented integration. Identificational integration is seen by the classical linear model, first formulated by Robert Park (1950) and further elaborated by Milton Gordon (1964), as the last step in the adaptation process of immigrants and is defined as 'a development of the sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society' (Gordon 2005: 102). Integration at the identity level is understood as the gradual diminishing in the salience of ethnic and linguistic markers and the end point of these processes is considered to be the formation of a self-image as an unhyphenated member of a host society. Accordingly, the identity change is assumed to happen over generations and it entails the replacement of one's ethnic identity by the national identity shared with the majority ethno-cultural group.

Evidence of the decline in ethnic identities and loyalties accompanied by growing identification with the national identity category among the descendants of immigrants has been provided through an ample quantity of studies based on research on Europeans who migrated to the US before the 1960s and their descendants. These studies have concluded that widespread intergenerational social mobility and intermarriage lead to the decline in ethnic identity over three or four generations because of assimilation into the American mainstream. Such an identificational assimilation is expressed by the change in the nature of the ethnic identity, which turns into an optional, familial, leisure time form of symbolic ethnicity (Gans 1979, Alba 1990, Waters 1990). However, the new waves of immigrants and the so-called 'new' second generation have given reason to question the straight-line nature of integration processes. Integration no longer seems to be simply a matter of time and social mobility. Also, the decline in ethnic identity paralleled with a growth in identification with the mainstream society over the generations has been proved not to happen for some groups (Esser 2004, Heckmann & Schnapper 2003, Rumbaut 1994).

³ The IM 2008 was prepared and carried out by a team of researchers from the Institute of International and Social Studies at Tallinn University and from Tartu University at the behest of the Office of the Minister of Population Affairs and the Integration Foundation.

⁴ Qualitative study in the framework of project 'Language Proficiency and Identity Presentation among TIES Respondents' was prepared and conducted by Jennie Schulze and Gerli Nimmerfeldt and project assistant Nastja Sokolova. The project was financed by the Institute of International and Social Studies, Tallinn University, and by the targeted financing project No 0402739S06 'Consolidation of Democracy in Multicultural Society' (theme leader Prof. Raivo Vetik).

According to the segmented assimilation theory, the integration process at the identity level for the second generation might follow three models of identity formation. The first scenario is to follow the 'linear ethnicity' line of assimilation into a native majority ethnic category. This model corresponds to the assimilation process with the end goal of adaptation to the core society and culture, seen as one of the strategies by the linear assimilation theory. The second option for the second generation is to retain the ethnic identity of their parents and the third pattern is to develop a 'reactive' native minority ethnicity. The latter means embracing the oppositional values of native racial minorities, rather than the native majority, while they distance themselves also from their own ethnic group and immigrant community (Portes & Zhou 1993, Portes & Rumbaut 1996, 2001).

The approach to the identificational integration based either on the linear or segmented assimilation theory or their elaborations has mostly focused on ethnic identity and the processes by which it is retained or rejected. One can also find several studies on national identity formation in general, less in case of immigrants and their descendants, where identificational integration is assumed to lead to the creation of a shared national identity, which requires certain commonalities, such as a shared language and core cultural values. Even less attention is paid to the way in which the identification with the host society and country is formed as complementary to or parallel with self-identification with one's ethnic group and the parents' country of origin.

These studies, which have combined ethnic identity with identification at a national level, commonly use the concept of hyphenated identity. The notion of the hyphen is employed to articulate the combination of ethnic and national identities leading to self-identifications reported like 'Italian-Canadian' or 'Mexican-American' (Mahtani 2002). It has been demonstrated how the allegiances to ethno-cultural majority and minority are combined into a hybrid identity which can be considered just as a label symbolising a relatively vague ethnicity or then expresses a feeling of pride and enrichment from being part of two cultures (Gallant 2008, Hébert *et al.* 2008). These kind of hybrid identities are considered to be more characteristic to immigrants in traditional immigration countries where, in contrast to the European context, the discourses of nation building rest less on a homogenised national image of a country and its population. Instead, multiculturalism and difference as well as the immigrant background of the population are deeply embedded in national level identity⁵ (Mackey 2002, quoted in Creese 2005). Second, the hyphenated identity comprises mostly the identification on a cultural basis, hence it is often also called bi-cultural identity, characterised by the blending of national norms and values and the majority group's culture elements with those of one's ethnic culture (Crul & Vermeulen 2003). The concept either termed as 'hybrid', 'creolised' or 'hyphenated' has gained more prominence also in European scholarly discourses about minorities and immigrants, where the hyphen in identity formation is defined in terms of multiple national attachments and cultural aspects of identity are considered to be plural and fluid (Caglar 1997).

In the more recent research on European second generation integration, one can notice a growing tendency towards conceptualising the identificational integration in a way which does not assume that identification with one's ethnic group and heritage and identification with the majority group in the host society are averse in their nature. Accordingly, instead of concentrating mainly on the ethnic identity decline, retention or replacement by the national identity of a host country, immigrants' and their descendants' identity is increasingly approached as a multicomponential and multidimensional concept. In these studies, usually the definition of the identificational dimension offered by Heckmann and his colleagues (Heckmann & Schnapper 2003, Bosswick & Heckmann 2006) is followed. Integration at the identity level is said to be the subjective membership in a host society, indicated by the formation of feelings of belonging to and identification with different groups in society, particularly ethnic, regional, local and national groups. Here, at least at the conceptual level, the focus is not on the ethnic-cultural identity formation *per se*, but on the formation of a sense of belonging that could be connected to different groups in society.

Despite of the definition used, the majority of empirical studies still focus on ethnic and national identity as general measures for a person's identificational integration and the operationalisation of the identificational integration remains in most cases at the level of categorical identity measurement. This leads to the evaluation of integration at the identity level by using a classification of immigrants and their descendants according to whether they identify only with their ethnic group or with the titular group in the host society or whether they feel to be affiliated to both (cf. van Niekerk 2007). In the European context, for some immigrant groups the religious identity, instead of ethnicity or together with it, is seen as one of the major indicators of identificational integration (Buijs & Rath 2006, Foner & Alba 2008).

⁵ In Europe, if some kind of hyphenation is used, it has a different appearing, for example German Turks, which still highlights the ethnic identity as nominative part of the construct and the reference to host country is used as an adjective.

Hence, in empirical studies on the identity of minority groups the identity is most commonly explored via self-categorisation. In the self-categorisation theory, the self-identification with different identity categories is considered to be equal to the identity structure and the self-categorisation process is explained as an accentuation of the similarities between the self and other in-group members on the one hand, and the differences between the self and out-group members on the other (cf. Turner *et al.* 1987, Abrams & Hogg 1990). Others see self-identification as a group member as only one of the prerequisites for identity formation in addition to positive feelings and attachment to one's group of origin (Phinney 1990, Karu & Valk 2001). Whatever the theoretical conceptualisation of identity includes, the most widely used operationalisation in quantitative studies is still based on self-categorisation.

Similarly, in the TIES survey identification with different groups is measured by asking a question about the intensity of feelings of belonging simultaneously to a variety of identity categories, including national, ethnic, religious, local and supra-national ones. For the purpose of the analysis presented in this article, identity as a multicomponential construct is operationalised as a bi-dimensional one that accounts for bonds and identifications with one's ethnic group of origin on the one hand, and with the majority group in the host country on the other⁶. In accordance with the traditional operationalisation of identificational integration, these two dimensions of identity are explored via self-categorisation. For this purpose, two items of the TIES survey are used: (1) the ethnic identity of second generation measured by the sense of belonging to their ethnic origin group (labelled 'Russians'), and (2) the identification with the majority group at the national level similarly measured by asking about the youth's sense of belonging to the titular group of the respective host society (labelled 'Estonians').

Ethnic identity

Several previous studies have demonstrated that among Estonian Russians their ethnic identity is rather weak, especially in comparison to ethnic Estonians, and it is less salient in the identity structure compared to the identification with family and everyday social networks. According to the survey data of IM 2008, 56% of Russians said that they feel they are Russians with certainty, while among Estonians the share of those who certainly consider themselves to be Estonians was 66%. The Estonian TIES survey data brings forth the differences between the two groups even more sharply. Ethnic identification is much stronger among Estonian respondents compared to the second generation Russians. 28% of Russian respondents reported their sense of belonging to Russians to be very strong and 43% evaluated their affiliation to be strong, while 65% of Estonian respondents indicated very strong and 24% strong sense of belonging to their ethnic group. The share of respondents who feel that they belong to their ethnic group either weakly, very weakly, or not at all were very small for Russian youths and basically non-existent among Estonians (Table 1).

Results of the follow-up qualitative study with second generation Russians also support the outcomes of previous studies, according to which ethnic identification is not the most salient dimension of the Estonian Russians' identity (Vihalemm & Masso 2004, Nimmerfeldt 2006, Nimmerfeldt *et al.* 2007). When respondents were asked to define themselves spontaneously, none of them referred to their ethnic group, nor did they define themselves through ethno-cultural characteristics. Other identity dimensions, mainly related to social roles and relationships associated with studies, occupational groups, family relations and roles, friends, often also hobby activities, were most frequently presented in the Russian youths' self-presentations. But if respondents were asked to sort cards with different groups according to whether they feel connected to them or not, then the card 'Russians' was never left in the row 'not mine', albeit when they were asked to rate the groups along the strength of feelings of belonging, then 'Russians' was not the group with the highest score. Instead, groups formed on the basis of linguistic similarities (*Russian-speakers*), a similar citizenship status (*Estonian*

⁶ For an overview of the TIES survey results on identifications with different groups in society, see the country report on the TIES project in Estonia, where the role and relevance of territorial, civic, cultural, ethnic and religious identity categories in the identity structure of Estonian and Russian youths are explored and compared (Nimmerfeldt 2008).

⁷ The survey item was worded as follows: People can think of themselves as members of various groups in the society. The following questions are about how you think of yourself in this respect. How strongly do you feel that you belong to these groups? INTERVIEWER GIVES A CARD and asks for each item: To what extent do you feel... Russian; Estonian; Inhabitant of the city; Estonian citizen; European; Orthodox/Lutheran and Catholic. Scale for evaluating the strength of the feelings of belonging included: very strongly; strongly; moderately; weakly; very weakly; not at all.

citizens) and groups comprising all the people living in Estonia (*Estlanders*, in Estonian: *Eestimaalased*) despite of their ethnic origin were felt to be more closer connected.

Table 1. The strength of feelings of belonging to one's ethnic group among Estonian and Russian respondents, %

	Russians	Estonians
Very strong	27.6	64.5
Strong	42.7	24.3
Moderate	25	11
Weak	3.3	0.2
Very weak	0.6	-
Not at all	0.8	-
N	508	485

Source: TIES survey in Estonia

The relatively weak ethnic identity of Estonian Russians is explained by some as one of the legacies of the Soviet times. Brubaker (1996) argues that during Soviet times, ethnic background was not the main basis for self-definition. The main markers of identity were politics and ideology, and not culture that created a sense of civil and political unity with the state and among the citizens of the Soviet Republics. Previous studies indicate that before the restoration of Estonian independence, Estonians were identifying themselves as members of an ethnic group, while Russians preferred the category 'Soviet'. Soviet identity was regarded as a combination of political and civic identities, relying on a certain ideology and value system, common experience, history, newly formed traditions, symbols and norms, semantic space and communicational instrumentation. It defined the place and role of the state, as well as the population within the state. Even though the Soviet identity co-existed alongside the ethnic identities of the Soviet Republics, the Russian ethno-cultural identity was not expressed until 1987 (Jakobson 2002).

Vihalemm and Masso (2002) argue that among Estonian Russians the transformation of Soviet identity during the first decade of independence has followed three possible trajectories: (1) into a local civic identity, either in its narrower political or wider socio-territorial sense (expressed by identity categories of Estonian citizen or inhabitant of Estonia); (2) into a minority identity, either based on ethno-cultural or linguistic self-identifications (expressed by identity categories of Estonian Russian or Russian-speaker); (3) into a diaspora identity. This is a group of Russians who have not found an identifying framework in the Estonian context that offers a substitute to the previous Soviet identity, and who reject the identifying categories related to citizenry or population of Estonia, instead preferring an extra-territorial identity, rather than a minority identity. Aksel Kirch and colleagues (Kirch *et al.* 1997) claim that the diaspora identity category – 'Russians of the near abroad' – was internalised among one-third of the older generation of Estonian Russians and was also reflected among younger groups.

Vihalemm and Kalmus (2009) consider one of the reasons behind the relatively weak ethnic identity among Russians in Estonia to lie in the fact that ethnic belonging is strongly embedded in social networks, however, Estonian Russians have less social capital and pay less attention to the reproduction of personalised social networks. The reasons for this are found both in the Soviet time legacy, as well as in the experiences of dramatic loss of social status after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Russians' social networks were centred on formal organisations, which disappeared or were reorganised, and during the transformation period when Estonians employed their social networks to adapt to the transitional changes, Russians in Estonia found their social capital and networks to be 'unusable'.

All this could explain why the feelings of belonging to one's ethnic group labelled 'Russians' among Russians in Estonia have not been as strong as ethnic identity is among ethnic Estonians. But the relevance of these hypotheses for the second generation is yet to be tested. The second generation Russians, aged 18-35 years included in our study, mostly have no experience of socialisation during Soviet times and, therefore, the replacement of Soviet identity with something new is not essential to them personally, though the previous Soviet identity of their parents could have some impact on their identity formation. Still, in the case of the second generation Russians in Estonia the question

is more about identity construction than about replacement or transformation. The given brief scan of the Estonian Russians' identity formation explains why in Estonia we cannot test the hypothesis of assimilation theories about ethnic identity decline among the second generation. According to IM 2008 data, the strength of ethnic identity over generations is not statistically different. 56% of first generation and 52% of second generation Russians feel that they certainly belong to the ethnic identity category labelled as Russians. For both generations, the share of those respondents who do not feel affiliated to that group is the same – 11%.

Identification with the majority group

As was mentioned before, in the TIES project the other dimension of the second generation's identity formation concerned, *i.e.* the identification at a national level, is measured by asking for the youth's sense of belonging to the titular group of the respective host society. The underlying assumption here is that the feeling of belonging to a national identity category reflects the sense of belonging to the host society and country in a similar way and to an equal extent that the feeling of belonging to one's ethnic group indicates the strength of the ethnic identity. We doubt this assumption, especially in the context of Estonia, and in the following we will demonstrate why.

TIES survey results indicate that among the second generation Turks in Europe identification with the identity category labelled as the titular group in the host society is relatively high. In most European cities included in the study⁸, 40-45% of second generation Turks feel affiliated to the national identity category strongly or very strongly and more than half of the respondents feel that they belong strongly or very strongly to the respective national identity category in Frankfurt and Zürich. At the same time, ca five per cent or less feel a weak belonging at the national level and only three to seven per cent of interviewed Turks reported no feelings of belongingness at all to this category (Schneider & Crul 2009).

TIES survey results for second generation Russian youths in Estonia for the same question show an entirely opposite picture: only six per cent feel that they strongly and one per cent very strongly belong to the group labelled 'Estonians', while 45% of respondents reported no feelings at all of belonging to that category. The rest of the sample was divided between three scale points as follows: 11% of respondents feel Estonian very weakly, 19% weakly and 18% moderately.

The IM survey conducted in 2008 allows us to compare the TIES survey results for second generation youths with the Russian-speaking population in Estonia. The results of IM confirm our doubts about the national identity category being ethnically overloaded. From all the Russian-speaking respondents aged between 15-75 years, only four per cent feel certainly to belong among Estonians and ten per cent rather feel they belong, while 43% reported that they rather do not belong, and 35% said they certainly do not belong to this category. Eight per cent of respondents said that it is hard to identify themselves in this way.

Why is there such a big difference in survey results for Estonia compared to other TIES countries? Why don't Russians in Estonia feel they belong to the titular group at the national level similarly to Turks in Europe? The answer to this question lies in the different meanings of the same identity category. In the TIES project, the hypothetical meaning of national identity, of being Austrian, *etc.* is expected to be either connected to the citizenship status, place of birth and living, context for socialisation and 'enculturation', or to the ethnic origin and descent (Schneider and Stojčić 2008). TIES survey data analysis shows that citizenship status is not significantly associated to the Russian youths' feelings of belonging to the group labelled 'Estonians'. The majority of respondents don't feel to belong to Estonians at all or do feel weakly or very weakly, irrespective of what kind of formal citizenship status they have (Nimmerfeldt 2008). And since all our respondents were born and have grown up, thus, gone through their socialisation in Estonia, we can assume based on survey data that the national identity category 'Estonian' is mainly a reference to ethnicity and much less to the other listed aspects expected to be connected to national level identification.

This statement was also clearly confirmed by the qualitative follow-up study. During the interviews respondents were asked to sort cards presenting different groups according to whether they feel they belong to them or not. Among the groups there was also 'Estonians'. As a rule, the interviewed Russians sorted the card with the group 'Estonians' out as a group where they don't feel they belong and the explanation to this choice was that you have to be born as an Estonian to be Estonian –

⁸ TIES survey was implemented in 8 countries and altogether in 15 cities: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Berlin, Frankfurt/M, Paris, Strasbourg, Wien, Linz, Zürich, Basel, Stockholm, Brussel, Antwerpen, Madrid, Barcelona.

meaning that Estonians are those whose parents and grandparents are Estonians. Often also the language was mentioned as one of the determining factor and here they did not mean that it is enough to know the Estonian language to become Estonian, but that you have to speak it as native Estonian. The latter requirement is seen by Russian youths as impossible to meet, because of the requirement to have Estonian born ancestry for generations. As one of the respondents put it when he was asked about what differentiates Russians from Estonians: ‘... imperfect Estonian language skills. It doesn’t matter how well she or I may learn to speak the Estonian language, we will never speak it as Estonians, we will still be different because of the imperfectness and we will not be accepted by Estonians as Estonian’ (*Russian man from Tallinn*).

Some respondents also referred to stereotypes and mentioned that Estonians are those who act and look like Estonians. Less pronouncedly presented, but not totally absent, was the less essential view of identity according to which an Estonian is a person who considers themselves to be Estonian. All in all the main messages from the qualitative study were that the Russian youths feel that they can never become Estonians even if they would want to, although this kind of desire was not shown by any of the respondents. The obstacles are regarded to be mainly the exclusive nature of an Estonian’s national identity and their reluctance to attenuate the strictly, essentially defined borders.

Concurrently, outside of Estonia the same people are considered to be Estonians whether they go to Russia or somewhere else. Many of the respondents pointed it out also during our study, giving examples of their experiences of being considered to be Estonians by people in other countries, including by Russians in Russia. And this external categorisation applies both to Russians with an Estonian citizenship and passport, as well as to those without it. It was also mentioned that they do consider themselves somehow to be Estonians as well while they are abroad, even though the same people don’t identify with this category otherwise. But there were references to situations when they identify themselves as Estonians, for example, while filling in some kind of forms or they present themselves as Estonians if someone asks where they come from. This illustrates the ambivalence of second generation Russians’ identity at the national level.

The slight identification with the majority group’s nominal identity category on the part of Estonian Russians can be explained by the exclusive nature of national identity in Estonia. During the period of re-establishing independence, as well as after, the Estonian identity was actively constructed as an ethno-cultural group, united by native origin, common culture, history, national traditions, feelings, language, preservation of and pride in their culture and traditions, a deep connection with the Estonian territory and landscape. The Estonian ethnic and political identity shaped a common semantic field: ‘Estonian’ was interpreted as belonging to the Estonian nation in an ethno-cultural sense (Jakobson 2002).

Proceeding from the above, we argue that self-identification with the predetermined national identity category ‘Estonian’ is not suitable for testing the hypotheses about ethnic identity replacement or replenishment by national level belongingness among second generation Russians. The part of identificational integration that involves the formation of a sense of belonging to the host country and society cannot be measured by using the identity category labelled as a titular group in society, at least not in the context of Estonia. First and foremost because of the fact that the national identity category in its essence really denotes ethnic identity, therefore, using it for measuring integration would implicate that by integration a replacement of one ethnic identity by another is understood.

The ethnic connotation of the term ‘Estonian’ has been taken as self-evident by the domestic policy-makers, public media and scholars, and the term is also used in everyday language for referring to ethnic Estonians only. For that reason in Estonian integration studies, several other possible group nominators for self-categorisation have been used in order to measure the sense of belongingness at the national level, such as ‘Estonian citizen’, ‘Estonian inhabitant’ or a term ‘*Eestimaalased*’. During the follow-up interviews we asked about the meanings of these terms for second generation Russian youths and we got very diverse interpretations. The given meanings varied greatly among the respondents and in some cases were surprisingly different from the widespread meaning of these terms for Estonians in the Estonian language. A good example for the latter mentioned findings is the term ‘*Eestimaalased*’, which in Estonian by definition denotes all people living in Estonia, but which had a very different meaning for Russian youths, ranging in meaning from ‘farmers’ to being a synonym for the ethnicity nominator ‘Estonian’. An example for the diversity of meanings is also the category ‘Estonian citizen’, which for some respondents only refers to legally defined citizenry and is used to identify one’s formal belongingness to the polity, while for others it means being part of the society and community irrespective of one’s legal status. In the case of second generation Russians in Estonia, using citizenry as a national level identity category is made even more ambiguous by the

fact that nearly half of the target group doesn't have Estonian citizenship⁹. The category 'Estonian inhabitant' is also ambiguously understood by Russian youths and it is problematic for measuring the subjective level of membership in the society and emotional attachment to the country. It might be used for identifying one's bonds with the country purely geographically as a place of residence, but it could also signify one's attachment to the country and its society at a more emotional level. Due to the spatial constraints, we cannot report in detail the results of this qualitative study here, we can only conclude based on the interview results that all the above mentioned category labels have their limits for measuring self-identification at the national level reflecting the sense of belonging to host country and its society.

This doesn't mean that they are not suitable at all – they do reflect important aspects of the attachment, connectedness and the sense of belongingness to the country and its society. But only together with a qualitative study that aims to explore the meanings of these categories for a target group can we have some idea about which aspects of belongingness have been indicated. Besides self-categorisation to different groups in society, we should examine the formation of emotional attachment to the host country and its society using some additional method to the self-categorisation. It can be either a qualitative study helping us to formulate the survey items or interpret the results, or we could include an enhanced operationalisation of this aspect of identificational integration into survey instruments as it is proposed elsewhere (Nimmerfeldt forthcoming). The additional measurement uses a block of seven statements on different aspects of the sense of belonging, based on feelings of being at home in the country of residence and on feelings of being accepted by and part of its society. Both aspects of belongingness are crucial in the respect of social cohesion in society and on a more personal level for the psychological well-being of the second generation.

Conclusions

This article aimed to critically assess both the theoretical and methodological approaches to identificational integration processes of the second generation on the example of Estonian Russians. According to the definition, identificational integration is understood as the membership in a host society at a subjective level. This sense of membership is considered to be indicated by the formation of feelings of belonging to and identification with different groups in society, most commonly ethnic (or religious) and national groups. The operationalisation of the identificational integration remains in most empirical studies at the level of categorical identity measurement, giving information about self-categorisation into different groups in society. The conducted analysis based on both survey data and follow-up interviews reveals a need for an enhanced approach to conceptualise and operationalise the identity level integration processes in the case of the second generation.

In this article, the objective was to empirically test the association between two of the most studied dimensions of identificational integration, assumed in the literature either explicitly or implicitly: identification with one's ethnic group and identification with the majority. Analysis of ethnic identity formation among Estonian Russians aimed to show that classical assumption about ethnic identity decline over generations is hard to test because ethnic identity didn't form the main basis for self-definition for the first generation Russians in Estonia. Instead, the Soviet identity was the most dominant identificational marker for them. Thus, in case of Estonian Russians no decline in ethnic identity is revealed. The analysis indicates that ethnic identity among Russian youth in Estonia is relatively weak compared to Estonians at the same age, but the strength of ethnic identity over generations among Russians is not statistically different.

Another hypothesis stemming from integration theories presumes the weak ethnic identity to be accompanied by stronger identification at a national level. This we couldn't test properly since the operationalisation commonly used in empirical studies, which we followed here, proved to be problematic for measuring the sense of belongingness to the country and its society. The majority of Russian youths don't feel that they belong among Estonians at all or they do feel it weakly or very weakly. The analysis shows that neither the citizenship status nor any other factors assumed to have impact on national level identification are significantly associated with the feelings of belonging to the group labelled 'Estonians'. Additional qualitative data analysis explains the weak sense of belongingness at a national level, measured via self-categorisation to the titular group, through the fact that the national identity category 'Estonian' is mainly a reference to ethnicity. Russian youths

⁹ For an overview of citizenship statistics in Estonia and the legal status of TIES survey respondents look the country report on TIES project in Estonia (Nimmerfeldt 2008).

feel that they can never become Estonians. The obstacles are regarded to be mainly the exclusive nature of the Estonian national identity and their reluctance to attenuate the strictly, essentially defined borders.

Consequently, the part of identificational integration that involves the formation of a sense of belonging to the host country and its society cannot be measured by using self-identification with a predetermined category of national identity labelled as the titular group in society. Other categories may arise for measuring the sense of belonging, but based on the results of the qualitative study we argue that this aspect of identificational integration should not be explored via the self-categorisation method only. An additional qualitative study or an enhanced survey instrument should be included.

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Reactive Identity versus EU Integration*

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Abstract

This article discusses public opinion of EU integration in Estonia in a comparative perspective. It introduces the concept of ‘reactive identity’ and finds that, instead of the internal politics and socio-economic factors put forward in previous research, identity is the key factor in explaining euroscepticism in the countries of central and eastern Europe (CEE).

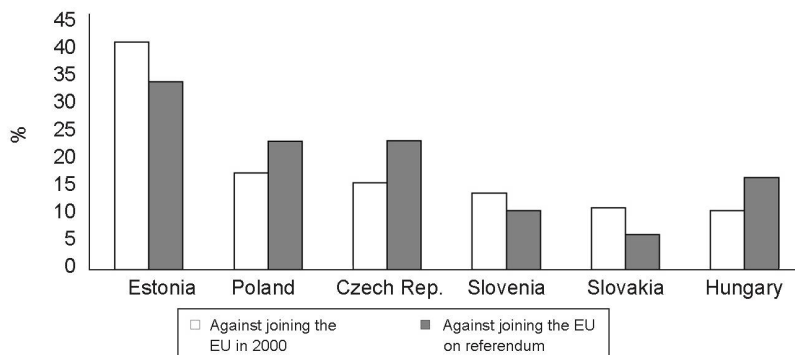
Introduction

In recent years, public opinion polls in the CEE accession countries have shown considerable variation in support for joining the EU. Several studies indicate that Estonia demonstrates the lowest support among these countries (Vetik, 2003). This phenomenon is confirmed by the results of the accession referendums carried out in September 2003 (Figure 1). Very low turnout in the first elections to the European Parliament in June 2004 can also be explained, at least partly, by comparatively high euroscepticism among Estonians.

The purpose of this article is to investigate the explanations for Estonian euroscepticism in a comparative perspective and relate this to prospects for further integration within the expanded EU. The focus is on socio-economic factors, internal politics and identity-related issues as three possible explanations for the formation of people’s attitudes towards EU integration. To what extent are attitudes towards EU integration related to economic questions and

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Figure 1: Attitudes Towards Joining the EU¹ and Results of Referendums on Accession in Six CEE Countries



Source: Value System Survey (2000), available at <http://www.euractiv.com>.

to a decline in social welfare levels, as experienced in CEE countries during the transition period? How do trust in political institutions and perceptions of the effectiveness of government affect these attitudes? What are the effects of elite-level EU discourse on the general public's attitudes towards EU integration? These are some of the questions the following analysis will try to answer. An innovative aspect of the article is its attempt to apply a semiotic approach to explaining the variance in attitudes towards EU integration in the CEE countries.

Empirical data for the analyses come from the research project 'Value Systems of Citizens and Socio-Economic Conditions'. The Value Systems Survey includes ten CEECs (Estonia, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Slovenia, Czech Republic, Romania, Bulgaria, Russia and Albania) and three west European countries (Germany, Spain and Greece) and aims to identify the social and cultural bases for integration of CEE nations into the European Union. As six of the ten CEE countries included in the project are new Member States of the EU, the data for these countries will be used in the analyses.

The article is divided into the following parts. Section I outlines three theoretical approaches to public opinion of EU integration and a theoretical model is introduced that integrates these approaches. Second, the results of empirical analyses that test the hypothetical model for the case of Estonia are presented. Then the same model is tested on the other five CEE countries. Finally, the results of comparative analyses are discussed to explain the importance of

¹ In this analysis, the question from the Value System survey questionnaire: 'Should your country join the EU as soon as possible?' is used as an indicator of the dependent variable, i.e. attitudes toward accession to the EU. In this figure, values are recoded into three categories: against accession; in favour of accession; and neutral (referring to individuals who do not know or have not decided).

reactive identity as a factor that shapes public opinion in the CEE countries and accounts for the higher levels of euroscepticism in Estonia, as compared to other nations.

I. Theoretical Approaches to Public Opinion Towards EU Integration

The theoretical literature on EU-related public opinion in CEE countries is comparatively limited (Cichowski, 2000; Ehin, 2001; Tucker *et al.*, 2002; Caplanova *et al.*, 2004). However, several authors have pointed out that it is possible to rely, to some extent, on the literature on previous EU accessions and EU integration. However, it remains important to ask whether EU support in CEE countries is shaped by similar or different dynamics to the older Member States (Cichowski, 2000).

One trend in the literature relates support for European integration to socio-economic factors, primarily a person's economic conditions and the perceived economic gains associated with membership (Gabel and Palmer, 1995; Gabel, 1998; Eichenberg and Dalton, 1993). A second major trend focuses on domestic politics as an important factor (Franklin *et al.*, 1995). Ehin tested both trends in her study of the Baltic States using data from the 'New Baltic Barometer' of 1996 and found strong support for the expected gains and domestic politics hypothesis (Ehin, 2001). The third trend is related to political partisanship issues (Rattinger 1994; Taggart, 1998). It has been found that where parties support European integration, the supporters of such pro-European establishment parties are also more likely to be in favour (Anderson, 1998). Taggart and Szczerbiak have found that euroscepticism in CEE countries is related to party politics and interest groups (Taggart and Szczerbiak, 2004).

Besides the established theoretical trends there also exist new approaches to EU support in CEE countries. For example, Vetik has proposed an identity explanation for euroscepticism in Estonia (Vetik, 2003). He has argued that, although most Estonians agree that EU membership will boost economic development and provide a stronger security guarantee, many Estonians still oppose joining the EU because it is perceived as a major threat to national identity. Vetik has also pointed out that the way in which the relationship between 'us' and 'them' has been constructed in the discursive practices of the elite has increased euroscepticism in the general public (Vetik, 2003). The identity approach of Vetik is in line with the argument in the literature that low levels of EU support and knowledge in some of the CEE countries should not be interpreted as isolationist – 'Estonian low levels of support are not necessarily a result of decided opposition but instead represent an amount of uncertainty' (Cichowski, 2000).

In this article, we test three of the four explanations mentioned above. We do not include the political partisanship hypothesis because euroscepticism has been a very minor element in party politics in Estonia in recent years and, as a result, party-based euroscepticism was not a factor in the public debate when the data for this study were gathered.² We assume that public attitudes towards EU membership are not the result of one's political party preference. We agree with the argument made in the literature that it is theoretically implausible that on such a fundamental concern voters would be likely to take their cue from political parties, which are the least trusted public institutions in many CEE countries (Tucker *et al.*, 2002).

Socio-Economic Factors

Estonia's economic transition has arguably been the most radical among the CEE countries. Taxes have stayed relatively low and barriers to foreign capital are negligible. Estonia has renounced the use of import and export taxes as an instrument of economic policy. According to the index of economic liberty, Estonia scores highest among east European countries.

Estonia's extremely liberal economic policy has produced macroeconomic gains, but has also produced a number of new social problems. These include sharp economic stratification of the population, deepening disparities in internal regional development and the deprivation of large segments of the population in the labour market. The Gini coefficient measuring inequality in society stands at 0.37 in Estonia, which indicates that the fruits of economic growth have reached different segments of society very unequally (Saar, 2004). As a result, the concept of 'two Estonias' has emerged in the public debate, expressing the need for a new socially oriented developmental model for the country (Vetik, 2002a).

In the literature, higher socio-economic status is associated with positive evaluations of EU membership (Gabel and Palmer, 1995). Hence, one possible explanation for the euroscepticism of Estonians relates to the type of social stratification that has developed in this country in the last decade. Accordingly, our first hypothesis predicts that disadvantaged social groups, who find it hard to cope in today's Estonia, will be more likely to oppose EU accession.

Political Factors

Furthermore, we surmise that attitudes towards joining the EU are strongly correlated with internal political factors. Such a correlation has been noticed in a number of older EU Member States. It has been ascertained that people

² See also <<http://www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/events/jointsessions/paperarchive/turin/ws25/MikkelKasekamp.pdf>> in this respect.

who are content with their government are more positive towards EU integration than those who are not content with their current government (Franklin *et al.*, 1995).

Ehin has found that, in the Baltic States, the effect of trusting the national government is statistically significant, suggesting that committed supporters of the government are much more likely to vote in favour of accession than those who mistrust their government. She has argued that, because the general public is usually uninformed and uninterested in issues related to EU integration, their willingness to endorse integration is partially dependent on their overall confidence in national elites (Ehin, 2001).

In our analysis we will attempt to test this hypothesis using the following variables: trust in the effectiveness of political institutions, evaluation of the development of democracy and evaluation of how the government works. The relationship between the state and the public is a serious problem in Estonia. Regular public opinion surveys, carried out in the period 1995–2001, have shown that trust in major political institutions has been decreasing steadily. According to a 2001 survey, 36 per cent of respondents trusted the Estonian Parliament, 22 per cent trusted the Estonian government and only 20 per cent trusted political parties. In the same survey, only 6 per cent of respondents thought that decision-making in the Estonian parliament is based on the public interest. Two-thirds of the respondents said that only a few public officials were competent, two-fifths considered half of the public officials to be competent and fewer than 10 per cent of respondents said that the majority of public officials are competent (Vetik, 2002b).

Our second hypothesis predicts that people who trust political institutions in Estonia and who are satisfied with how government works will be more positive towards EU integration than those who do not trust political institutions and are not satisfied with the government.

Identity Factors

A third explanation of euroscepticism is related to identity issues that focus on the construction of an 'us–them' relationship in discursive practices concerning EU integration. In the study referred to above, Vetik proposed such an approach. In this article we develop the argument further and test it empirically.

Earlier literature suggests the importance of identity issues behind euroscepticism. For example, Grabbe and Hughes have pointed out that public opinion towards EU accession in CEE countries tends to be more positive in the already established states compared to the newly independent countries which emerged after the collapse of communism (Grabbe and Hughes, 1999). It can be argued that such a pattern is related to the different strengths of their

national identities. Taggart and Szczerbiak have already done so in an article on party-based euroscepticism. They have proposed that euroscepticism is likely to be stronger in those states where national identities are less established and more fragile, thus accession to, and incorporation in, a supranational institution such as the EU is perceived as a greater threat to that identity. However, they have found that there is no relationship between whether the states are newly independent or well established, and levels of party-based euroscepticism. They admit, and this is important in the context of this article, that popular-level euroscepticism is not directly related to party-based levels of euroscepticism (Taggart and Szczerbiak, 2004).

This article develops the identity explanation of euro-scepticism by drawing on the semiotic ideas of Jyri Lotman, as well as respective insights from social identity theory and sociological research on reactive ethnicity. Within Lotman's theoretical framework, identity can be defined as the boundary between internal and external environments, fulfilling two basic functions: first, the boundary defines the relationship between the internal and the external, and second, it filters information coming from the outside and thus prevents certain external influences from reaching and affecting the internal. Relatedness to the external enables a person to orient himself or herself to the outside world, with the separation constructing its uniqueness. Lotman maintains that all semiotic systems of some complexity operate on the basis of these two mechanisms (Lotman, 1999).

According to the semiotic point of view, there are two key elements in the identity formation process – differentiation from and identification with the 'other'. For example, according to Benveniste, in natural language one uses the term 'I' only when speaking to someone who will be a 'you' in the conversation, however brief. Thus, Benveniste defines identity not as the feeling of sameness which everyone experiences of being himself, but as the capacity of an individual or group to contrast with the other (Benveniste, 2003). An analogous mechanism also operates on the level of collective identities, which are formed through the processes of differentiation and identification between 'us' and 'them'. We presume that socio-psychological research uncovering reactive mechanisms in intergroup relations could offer useful insights for an understanding of polarization processes. Particularly, research demonstrating that low status group members tend to challenge the status hierarchy in order to preserve a positive group identification may be of interest in explaining these phenomena (Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Huddy, 2001; Monroe *et al.*, 2000).

Taking those ideas as a basis of inference, I would like to develop the semiotic approach further by introducing the concept of 'reactive identity'. It is similar to that of 'reactive ethnicity' of Portes and Rumbaut (2001), but somewhat broader. That is, it is meant to describe not only ethnic but other

types of identities as well. According to Portes and Rumbaut, reactive ethnicity results when immigrant minorities confront an adverse native mainstream and develop defensive identities to counter it. They demonstrate, in their study of how second-generation immigrants adapt in the US, that there is a tendency to reaffirm the collective worth of the ingroup by drawing an even stronger protective boundary around it, that is, by identifying even more strongly with ethnic traditions and separating from the host society (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). In the same fashion, we understand 'reactive identity', being a generic concept, as subjectivity formed in the process of constructing an 'us-them' relationship. It emerges in situations of imbalance between the processes of differentiation from and identification with the 'other'. The term 'reactive' stresses the fact that this type of identity is a situational phenomenon that emerges in an hostile environment to reinforce the collective worth of 'us'. It represents a counterreaction towards overwhelming dominance of identification over differentiation from the 'other', and is expressed in confrontation to it.

Further, we will describe, in the context of the proposed theoretical approach, the reactive identity formation operating within EU integration. We assert that the EU's inclusion of CEE countries has brought about a new semiotic situation where the balance of national identity mechanisms has been disturbed for several reasons. The central issue lies in the fact that new Member States are backward in their development and, as a result, are economically, socially and politically weaker than older Member States. Therefore, it is in a sense inevitable that the differentiation mechanisms, which should form an essential element of national identity, have been suppressed in the process of accession to the EU, as well as in the ongoing European integration. In the literature one can find many references to the monologue nature of EU integration. Ellman has argued that the logic of economic efficiency in the accession process has imposed a 'unidirectional dictate to be unequivocally accepted by candidate countries' (Ellman, 1997). Watson has noted that accession of the post-socialist countries has been inherently an asymmetrical undertaking, as the terms of integration, despite the rhetoric, have been laid down by the EU (Watson, 2004).

We argue that in such a semiotic context new identity problems have emerged. This kind of inhibition of differentiation mechanisms in the interaction with the 'other' has brought about a national inferiority complex, which could be overcome using two opposite strategies: assimilation or confrontation with the 'other' (see also Smith, 1993, in this respect). In this article we presume that euroscepticism in the CEE countries is based to a great extent on the latter strategy. Though new Member States are formally equal to already established EU states, in actuality identification with the 'other' overwhelmingly dominates over differentiation processes in the construction of 'us-them' relationships.

The imbalance of national identity in the EU integration process necessarily creates a counter-reaction to it in public opinion, which is expressed in the form of negative attitudes towards EU integration. The Estonian case demonstrates that forced identification with the 'other' imposed from above creates a strong confrontation even if most people agree about the pragmatic economic and political benefits of being a member of the EU (Vetik, 2003).

Vetik has shown in his article referred to above that the EU discourse of Estonia's elite strengthens rather than diminishes the imbalance of national identity, which has emerged on an objective economic and political ground. Likewise the present situation has been compared to an earlier episode in Estonian history. Until the era of national awakening in the mid-nineteenth century, Estonians were a peasant people. The distinction between 'us' (Estonians) and 'them' (Germans) was expressed by class hierarchy. Since 'us' was pegged on a lower rung of the social ladder, it created an inferiority complex in many Estonians, which was superseded, on the one hand, by 'Germanization' (*kada-kasakslus*), i.e. total assimilation to the 'other' and, on the other hand, by a rise in national self-consciousness and powerful confrontation with the 'other'.

Similar mechanisms can be seen in the current EU integration. On the one hand, there is the discourse of elites in which identification with the 'other' strongly dominates; on the other hand, there is the discourse of eurosceptics, which is based on confrontation with the EU. The absence of a substantial dialogue between different positions has created a new line of polarization in the broader society, which potentially increases the already existing problem of 'two Estonias'. Joining the EU has been regarded by Estonian elites as a symbolic 'return to Europe', from which Estonia was illegally and wrongfully severed after the Second World War (Lauristin and Vihalemm, 1997). Even if public opinion agrees with this analogy, there is the problem that the dominant EU discourse is very strongly based on concepts like 'catching up with', 'adaptation', 'harmonization', etc., whose common denominator is an external environment that is far more developed. Inwardly directed questions, such as those related to the uniqueness of 'us' and the dialogic nature of accession are, however, brushed aside within such a discourse. We argue in this article that the EU discourse based on such presumptions disrupts the delicate balance of national identity. Constructing identity in this way necessarily has a price, one manifestation of which is public mistrust in both the EU and the elites (Vetik, 2003). The most recent example of this distrust can be seen in the extremely low turnout in the first Estonian elections for the European Parliament in June 2004. All major political parties carried out a very expensive election campaign, but still nearly two-thirds of eligible voters did not vote.

Based on the semiotic analysis above, we would like to test the idea that reactive identity is an important factor in determining public opinion towards the

EU in the CEE countries. The third hypothesis predicts that people who perceive EU integration in terms of ‘them’ dominating over ‘us’ will be more negative towards joining the EU than those who do not feel such an imbalance.

II. Empirical Analysis

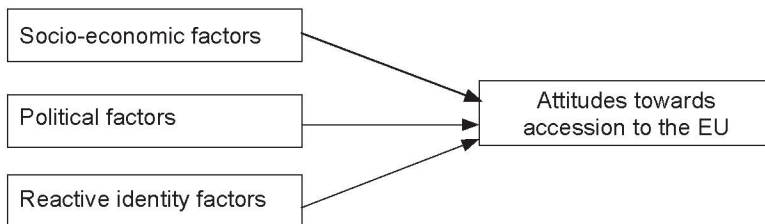
Conceptual Framework of Analysis

In the following we test the hypotheses stated above for three possible explanations, to account for the remarkable differences in attitudes towards accession to the EU in the six CEE countries that joined the EU in May 2004. First a theoretical model with three independent variables and operationalization of the variables is presented. Second, the design and results of the empirical analyses are discussed.

In this article we refer to the variables explaining the theoretical model as conceptual variables. The dependent conceptual variable is attitude towards accession to the EU, which is measured by the extent to which a respondent agrees or disagrees with the statement that one’s country should join the EU as a full member as soon as possible.³ There are three independent conceptual variables: socio-economic placement, political attitudes and reactive identity. Each of the three conceptual variables is measured by several items, which are referred to as indicator variables. The proposed relationships between the conceptual variables in the model are based on the results of statistical analysis of the indicator variables.

The first independent variable comprises indicators that identify an individual’s socio-economic status in society: age, gender, nationality, education, income, employment status and size of the settlement where one resides. The second independent variable includes three factors: first, the usual question

Figure 2: Theoretical Model



Source: Authors’ own data.

³ For an overview of the exact wording and measurement scales of all items, see the Appendix.

of trust in political institutions; second, a question about satisfaction with the development of democracy (see also Rose *et al.*, 1998 in this respect); and, third, a question about the effectiveness of government.

The third independent variable, 'reactive identity' represents the alternative explanation to euroscepticism that was elaborated in the previous section of the article. Within the semiotic approach, identity is defined through the processes of polarization and identification in constructing the relationship between 'us' and 'them' – in our case between Estonia and the EU. It is important to note that normal functioning of national identity presumes a discursive balance in which both parties pose themselves as subjects in the dialogue. The premise, taken as a basis of our third hypothesis, is that, if polarization as an essential element of the national identity of 'us' is suppressed, a counter-reaction in the form of confrontation with 'them' will follow. Operationalization of this phenomenon in our article is based on the presumption that such a confrontation is expressed in a negative attitude towards the models of economic and political development represented by the EU. Three questions about the European dimension of politics in the 'Value Systems Survey' were used for measuring the level of confrontation. Two of the questions queried a respondent's preferences about possible models of political and economic development for their country, giving a range of choices from following the west European models to opting for their own course of development. The third question asked if adoption of EU rules was necessary for the country, even if it was harmful in the near future but beneficial in the long run.

We are aware that the indicators used to measure reactive identity can have different connotations in different contexts. For example, one can argue that the indicator regarding adoption of EU rules is related rather to instrumental cost-benefit calculations. This can be true in many cases, but our point is that such an indicator is very clearly related also to reactive identity issues. Adopting the rules of the 'other' definitely has an impact on one's own identity, if we define identity as construction of differentiation/identification between 'us' and 'them'. The same holds true for the two other indicators used to measure reactive identity. Following west European models of political and economic development can be based on rational choice in some cases, but, in the context of accession to the EU, it is also related to identity issues because the whole process was perceived by many people in terms of us versus them. So, we believe there are two sides of the coin. Research data indicate that in Estonia the identity side has been so strong that many people opposed joining the EU, even if they acknowledged the pragmatic economic and political benefits of joining (Vetik, 2003).

Design of Empirical Analysis

The purpose of the survey data analysis was to test the constructed hypothetical model by establishing comparable coefficients of direct relationships between each indicator variable of the conceptual independent variables and the dependent variable, thus revealing how well the hypothetical model explains variation in attitudes towards EU integration. In the first stage, relationships between each conceptual independent variable and the model's dependent variable were analysed separately. Pairwise deletion of missing cases was used. As a result of the analyses, indicator variables were extracted that significantly differentiated the level of the dependent variables. In the second stage, all the indicator variables for each of the three conceptual variables were submitted to a multivariate regression analysis of the whole model. The outcome of this analysis is the final integrated model, which provides standardized coefficients of controlled relationships between statistically relevant indicators of each independent variable and the dependent variable. The results suggest a model in which reactive identity is the most powerful explanatory factor. In order to validate the claim that identity issues are the main explanatory factors for explaining differences in support for EU accession, the hypothetical model was further tested on five other CEE countries. Finally, the comparison of mean values of relevant predictor variables in all six countries provides an explanation of Estonia's higher level of euroscepticism.

Results of Empirical Analysis

The results of the first regression analysis are presented in the columns of Table 1 entitled 'zero-order relationships', which presents only those standardized regression coefficients (betas) that were significantly associated with the dependent variable. In Table 1, we also report the results of the second stage of the empirical analysis. In the column entitled 'second-order relationship' standardized coefficients for relationships controlled for indicator variables of two other models' conceptual variables (i.e. overall associations) are presented. For the results of the second stage, statistically significant correlations are marked. In addition, the table reports adjusted R^2 values which characterize the overall goodness of the tested empirical models. Significance of the coefficients for each indicator variable, which have been included to measure the conceptual variables of the model (probability of type I error < 5 per cent), and the square root of the variance inflation factor (VIF), which is useful for estimating the severity of multicollinearity⁴ are reported in respective tables.

⁴ The severity of the multicollinearity problem can be estimated with the help of the VIF. Its square root can be interpreted as the proportion by which the standard error of the respective regression coefficient is reduced. Multicollinearity becomes a problem when multiple correlation of an independent variable becomes as large as 0.8, with a corresponding VIF value of 2.78 (Fox, 1993, pp. 252–5).

Table 1: Zero-order and Second-order Relationships Between Indicators of Three Conceptual Independent Variables and the Model's Dependent Variable (Betas)

<i>Conceptual Variables</i>	<i>Indicator Variables Significantly Related to Dependent Variable</i>	<i>Attitudes Towards Accession to the EU</i>			
		<i>Zero-order Relationships</i>		<i>Second-order Relationships</i>	
Socio-economic factors	Size of settlement	-0.12*	-	-	-0.08*
	Nationality	0.23*	-	-	0.23*
	Gender	0.08*			0.04
Political factors	Satisfaction with democracy	-	0.15*	-	0.05
	Evaluation of current government system	-	-0.15*	-	-0.08*
	Should Estonia choose western countries' direction of economic development?	-	-	0.12*	0.11*
Reactive identity	Following west European countries is good for our state	-	-	0.20*	0.17*
	Estonia should adapt to EU rules, even if it is unfavourable in the short run	-	-	0.45*	0.44*
Adjusted R ²		0.09	0.06	0.35	0.43

Source: Authors' own data.

Next, the results for Estonia are discussed for each independent variable in the hypothetical model.

Socio-economic Factors

Adjusted R² describes the overall goodness of a regression equation. The adjusted R² of the model was significantly different from 0, but its value was a modest 0.09 (Table 2). Of the seven variables that indicate an individual's socio-economic status, three displayed a statistically significant relationship with the dependent variable: size of settlement where the respondent resides, ethnicity and gender. The results suggest that there was a tendency to oppose accession to EU in smaller settlements and support was a little higher among ethnic Estonians and men. The regression coefficients for the remaining indicators were not statistically significant at the 5 per cent significance level. This means attitudes towards accession to the EU were fairly similar across age, employment status, income and educational attainment.

Political Factors

The overall goodness of the second empirical model, which examines the relationship between attitudes towards accession to the EU and an individual's

Table 2: Socio-economic Factors and Attitudes Towards Accession to the EU (Betas)

<i>Dependent Variable: Estonia should join the EU as soon as possible (1 agree ... 4 disagree)</i>		
	<i>Beta</i>	<i>VIF</i>
Social category: ^a entrepreneur	0.02	10.38
Social category: skilled blue-collar	0.01	10.64
Social category: unskilled blue-collar, agricultural worker	0.01	10.78
Social category: not working	-0.00	20.78
Social category: student	-0.04	10.34
Age (years)	0.03	10.63
Monthly income: ^b up to 2,500 EEK/month	0.01	20.78
Monthly income: from 2,501 to 3,700 EEK/month	0.05	20.13
Monthly income: from 3,701 to 6,250 EEK/month	0.02	20.00
Educational attainment (years)	-0.03	10.34
Size of settlement: ^c up to 2,000 inhabitants	0.14*	10.54
Size of settlement: 2,000–5,000 inhabitants	0.03	10.34
Size of settlement: 5,000–100,000 inhabitants	0.02	10.30
Ethnicity (1 Estonian, 0 non-Estonian)	0.24*	10.39
Gender (1 male, 2 female)	0.08*	10.13
Adjusted R ²	0.09	

Source: Authors' own data.

Notes: * $\alpha < .05$; ^a a set of dummy variables with reference category white-collar worker; ^b a set of dummy variables with reference category over 6251 EEK/month; ^c a set of dummy variables with reference category capital (500,000 inhabitants).

political evaluations, was characterized by an adjusted R² value of 0.06, which is significantly different from 0 (Table 3). Only two of the five indicator variables were significantly related to the model's dependent variable – satisfaction with the development of democracy and an assessment of current government performance. There were no significant relationships between indicators of trust in central political institutions and attitudes towards accession to the EU.

Reactive Identity Factors

The overall goodness of the third model, which examines the relationship between the attitude towards accession to the EU and reactive identity, was characterized by an adjusted R² value of 0.35 (Table 4). This figure is much higher than the adjusted R² values of the earlier models that used different predictor variables. In our analysis three indicators were employed to identify individuals' attitudes towards following the development strategies of European states and all three variables were significantly related to the dependent

Table 3: Political Factors and Attitudes Towards Accession to the EU (Betas)

<i>Dependent Variable: Estonia should join the EU as soon as possible (1 agree ... 4 disagree)</i>	<i>(1 agree ... 4 disagree)</i>	
	<i>Beta</i>	<i>VIF</i>
Satisfaction with the development of democracy in Estonia (1 satisfied ... 4 dissatisfied)	0.15*	10.11
Evaluation of current government system with free elections and a multitude of political parties (-100 discontent ... 100 content)	-0.15*	10.11
Political trust in parties (1 does not trust ... 4 trusts)	-0.05	10.81
Political trust in parliament (1 does not trust ... 4 trusts)	0.02	20.06
Political trust in government (1 does not trust ... 4 trusts)	-0.05	10.91
Adjusted R ²	0.06	

Source: Authors' own data.

Note: * a <0.05.

variable. Individuals who, firstly, choose a western European economical and political model of development for their country and, secondly, support adapting to EU rules, even if those might cause some disadvantages in the short run, are more likely to agree with the statement that Estonia should join the EU as soon as possible.

Integrated Model

The result of the second stage of regression analysis is an integrated model, which includes all three conceptual variables (the corresponding indicator variables) that were explored previously via three empirical models for zero-order relationships. In Table 1, the standardized coefficients of controlled relationships between relevant indicators of each model's independent variable and the dependent variable are shown in the last column. Results of the

Table 4: Discursive Identity and Attitudes Towards Accession to the EU (Betas)

<i>Dependent Variable: Estonia should join the EU as soon as possible (1 agree ... 4 disagree)</i>	<i>(1 agree ... 4 disagree)</i>	
	<i>Beta</i>	<i>VIF</i>
Should Estonia choose the western countries' direction of economic development or develop its own way? (1 west ... 5 own)	0.12*	1.16
Following west European countries is good for our state (1 agree ... 4 disagree)	0.20*	1.22
Estonia should adapt to EU rules, even if it is good in the long run, though unfavourable in the short run (1 agree ... 4 disagree)	0.45*	1.13
Adjusted R ²	0.35	

Source: Authors' own data.

Note: * a <0.05.

regression clearly show that the integrated model is highly significant, with an adjusted R^2 of 0.43. Of the 15 variables included in the integrated model, six proved to be significantly related to the model's dependent variable (Table 5). When comparing regression coefficients (betas) obtained in the integrated model with the coefficients obtained in the three models for conceptual zero-order relationships, one notices that the effects of only two indicator variables changed significantly: those of gender and satisfaction with democracy. While those coefficients were significant in the conceptual bivariate models, they are insignificant in the integrated model. In addition to these changes, the coefficient describing the impact of settlement size is smaller. Comparing the standardized coefficients for all indicators of the conceptual independent variables, we conclude that the data seem to confirm our hypothesis about the weakness of socio-economic and political factors – and the strength of identity factors – in explaining differences in attitudes towards accession to the EU.

Comparative Analysis of the Six CEE Countries

The integrated model helps us better understand why support for EU accession was relatively low in Estonia. At this point, we would like to know if the same predictor variables operate in essentially the same way in other countries as well. Multivariate regression analyses based on the conceptual model were applied to the data for five other CEE countries included in the Value Systems Survey (Poland, Hungary, Slovenia, Slovakia and Czech Republic). For these countries, the results of the integrated model (i.e. second-order relationships) are presented in Table 6.

In all cases, the same indicator variables are also significant predictors in these five additional countries. Neither socio-economic status nor attitudes toward political systems significantly differentiate attitudes towards EU accession. The most significant determinants of attitudes for all six countries are the reactive identity variables. Two of the indicators displayed very high correlation coefficients in nearly all countries: opinion on possible models of political development and attitudes toward adaptation to the rules of the EU. People who agreed with these statements tended to support accession to the EU. Coefficients of the third indicator variable of reactive identity, i.e. opinions on possible models of economic development for the country, were similar; people who preferred a western model of economic development tended to support rapid accession to the EU, but the coefficients were statistically significant only for Estonia and Slovakia.

Most of the indicator variables of an individual's socio-economic status (age, employment position, nationality, education, income) did not significantly predict support for EU accession in any of the countries. However, there were

Table 5: Regression Coefficients for Controlled Relationships Between Indicators of Conceptual Independent Variables (Betas)

<i>Dependent Variable: Estonia should join EU as soon as possible (1 agree ... 4 disagree)</i>		
	<i>Beta</i>	<i>VIF</i>
Social category: ^a entrepreneur	0.05	10.39
Social category: skilled blue-collar	0.02	10.66
Social category: unskilled blue-collar, agricultural worker	-0.02	10.79
Social category: not working	-0.01	20.73
Social category: student	0.00	10.36
Age (years)	0.02	10.67
Monthly income: ^b up to 2,500 EEK/month	-0.08	20.84
Monthly income: from 2,501 to 3,700 EEK/month	-0.01	20.17
Monthly income: from 3,701 to 6,250 EEK/month	-0.02	20.03
Educational attainment (years)	-0.03	10.37
Size of settlement: ^c up to 2,000 inhabitants	0.08*	10.56
Size of settlement: 2,000–5,000 inhabitants	-0.02	10.38
Size of settlement: 5,000–100,000 inhabitants	0.00	10.31
Ethnicity (1 Estonian, 0 non-Estonian)	0.24*	10.43
Gender (1 male, 2 female)	0.04	10.15
Satisfaction with the development of democracy in Estonia (1 satisfied ... 4 dissatisfied)	0.06	10.19
Evaluation of current government system with free elections and a multitude of political parties (-100 discontent ... 100 content)	-0.08*	10.19
Political trust in parties (1 does not trust ... 4 trusts)	-0.01	10.84
Political trust in parliament (1 does not trust ... 4 trusts)	0.03	20.09
Political trust in government (1 does not trust ... 4 trusts)	-0.05	10.98
Should Estonia choose the western countries' direction of economic development or develop its own way? (1 west ... 5 own)	0.10*	10.27
Following west European countries is good for our state (1 agree ... 4 disagree)	0.17*	10.31
Estonia should adapt to EU rules, even if it is good in the long run, though unfavourable in the short run (1 agree ... 4 disagree)	0.44*	10.18
Adjusted R ²	0.43	

Source: Authors' own data.

Notes: * a < 0.05; ^a a set of dummy variables with reference category white-collar worker; ^b a set of dummy variables with reference category over 6,251 EEK/month; ^c a set of dummy variables with reference category settlement more than 100,000 inhabitants (actually the capital with approximately 500,000 inhabitants).

Table 6: Determinants of Attitudes towards Accession to the EU in Six Countries (Betas)

Dependent Variable: [own country] should join the EU as soon as possible (1 agree ... 4 disagree)

	<i>Estonia</i>	<i>Slovakia</i>	<i>Slovenia</i>	<i>Poland</i>	<i>Hungary</i>	<i>Czech Republic</i>
Employment status: entrepreneur ^a	0.05	0.01	0.07	-0.05	-0.03	0.03
Employment status: skilled blue-collar	0.02	0.04	0.02	-0.02	-0.03	0.01
Employment status: unskilled blue-collar, agricultural worker	-0.02	-0.01	0.01	-0.02	-0.04	0.02
Employment status: not working	0.00	0.01	-0.03	-0.04	-0.00	0.06
Employment status: student	0.01	-0.00	-0.00	-0.05	-0.05	0.04
Age	0.02	-0.02	-0.06	0.01	0.01	0.03
Monthly income	0.06	0.05	0.00	-0.05	0.03	0.06
Education	-0.03	-0.03	-0.05	0.04	0.05	0.01
Size of settlement	-0.08*	-0.10*	0.01	-0.00	0.02	-0.07*
Ethnicity	0.23*	-0.00	0.01	-0.06	-0.01	-0.06*
Gender	0.04	0.07*	0.01	-0.04	0.00	-0.01
Satisfaction with development of democracy	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.01	0.09*
Evaluation of current government system	-0.08*	-0.01	-0.03	-0.06	-0.07*	-0.04
Political trust in parties	-0.00	0.06	-0.02	0.07	0.03	-0.04
Political trust in parliament	0.02	-0.06	0.01	-0.04	-0.04	0.06
Political trust in government	-0.04	0.02	0.01	0.03	-0.02	-0.03
Should [country] choose western countries' direction of economic development	0.11*	0.08*	0.03	0.045	0.06	0.00
Following west European countries is good for [country]	0.17*	0.27*	0.31*	0.31*	0.24*	0.31*
[Country] should adapt to EU rules, even if it is unfavourable in the short run	0.44*	0.40*	0.36*	0.38*	0.45*	0.49*
Adjusted R ²	0.43	0.37	0.29	0.42	0.36	0.55

Source: Authors' own data.

Notes: * $\alpha < 0.05$; ^a employment status is a set of dummy variables with reference category white-collar worker (for details, refer to the Appendix).

some exceptions. Size of settlement had a significant influence on support in Estonia, Slovakia and the Czech Republic, where opposition to joining the EU tended to be higher among people from smaller settlements. Ethnic background had a significant effect on support in Estonia, with Estonians tending to be more supportive of accession than non-Estonians. A significant gender difference was observable in Slovakia, where support for rapid accession tended to be higher among men.

We also see that neither political factor had a remarkable influence on support for accession to the EU in any of the countries in our analysis. While weak relationships were observed between support for EU accession and satisfaction with democracy and assessment of government performance in some cases, no meaningful pattern could be observed among the trust variables. In all countries, respondents' evaluations of the current government were related to EU support in a similar way: more contented people tended to support accession to the EU. However, the relationship was statistically significant in only two cases: Estonia and Hungary. Likewise, satisfaction with the development of democracy was positively related to attitudes toward EU accession in five of the six countries: more satisfied people tended to support EU accession, but the relationship was statistically significant only in the Czech Republic.

The results of our analyses encourage us to claim that, in the six CEE countries studied, a general pattern emerges with respect to support for accession to the European Union. Support is primarily determined by an individual's attitudes toward European models of development. By comparing mean values of variables that proved to be significant predictors, we can understand the lower levels of support for EU accession in Estonia relative to other CEE countries. The explanation lies in the levels of the relevant indicator variables in Estonia. On average, Estonian respondents opposed western European development models and opposed adapting to EU rules more strongly than respondents in other countries (Table 7). It is important to notice that these were exactly the variables that predicted the level of attitudes towards accession to the EU most efficiently. Given the semiotic meaning of the relationships, it is not surprising to see lower levels of support for EU integration in Estonia, as compared to the other states.

Conclusion

The purpose of this article was to explain variations in public opinion towards accession to the EU. We constructed and tested a conceptual model with three independent variables, each representing one possible explanation for reasons behind public euroscepticism. The results of regression analyses strongly support our third hypothesis, which predicted that people who perceive EU

Table 7: Mean Values of Relevant Predictor Variables of Attitudes Towards Accession to the EU ^a

	<i>Estonia</i>	<i>Slovakia</i>	<i>Slovenia</i>	<i>Poland</i>	<i>Hungary</i>	<i>Czech Republic</i>
Opposition to following European models of economic development	3.4	3.3	3.0	3.1	3.1	2.8
Opposition to following the western European way of political progress	2.7	2.4	2.0	2.5	2.7	2.0
Opposition to the adaptation of EU rules, even it is advantageous in the longer run, though bad in the near future	3.3	3.0	3.1	3.0	3.0	2.8

Source: Authors' own data.

Note: ^a all differences are statistically significant

integration in terms of hegemonic domination of 'them' over 'us' tend to be more negative towards joining the EU. We found that, in Estonia, there are relatively high levels of opposition to following western European economic and political development models and adapting to EU rules, thereby explaining why Estonians are more generally opposed to EU integration.

We believe that reactive identity is the key factor behind public euroscepticism in the six CEE countries studied. Our findings and conclusions are novel, especially when compared to previous EU integration research, which has focused primarily on socio-economic and domestic political factors as explanations for public euroscepticism. Our findings encourage us to propose a new research programme that focuses on semiotic aspects of EU integration. We also believe that, in the context of a further expanded EU, researchers must shift their focus and adopt new perspectives. In addition to rational calculation of gains/losses related to EU integration, symbolic and psychological dimensions must also be considered. A semiotic approach, which focuses on new problems related to issues of differentiation and identification, can play an important role in a European Union that is becoming more and more diverse. We also believe it would be interesting to study reactive identity issues in the old EU countries and compare the established and new Member States in this regard. Such comparative research presupposes finding new ways to operationalize the concept of 'reactive identity'.

An important policy implication derived from this analysis is that prospects for further integration depend very much on how identity is constructed in an

expanded EU. We believe that further EU integration can be successful only if it develops as a process of dialogue that explicitly takes into account the need for identity balance. It is important to realize that Europe is not a substance, a thing in and of itself, but a construction built through discursive practices of states, peoples and individuals (Kivimäe, 1998). There is a growing need to create new and more effective mechanisms of dialogue between 'us' and 'them' in the context of the expanding union – otherwise we lose the 'Europe' from the 'EU' (Vähämäki, 1991).

Appendix: Description of Variables

Attitudes Towards Accession to the EU

'[Country] should join the EU as a full member as soon as possible'; a five-category Likert scale was used: 1 fully agree; 2 agree; 3 neither agree nor disagree; 4 do not agree; 5 do not at all agree. Category 8 denoted 'don't know' and 9 'no answer', which were both recoded into missing values.

Socio-economic Factors

Settlement size was measured by a variable with differing number of categories in each country (five to nine categories). In each country, the variable was divided into four approximately equal size categories. In the regression analysis, the resulting four-category variables were treated as categorical variables.

Estonia: 1 – up to 2,000 inhabitants; 2 – from 2,000 to 5,000 inhabitants; 3 – from 5,000 to 100,000 inhabitants; reference category – more than 100,000 inhabitants.

Slovakia: 1 – up to 1,000 inhabitants; 2 – from 1,000 to 4,999 inhabitants; 3 – from 5,000 to 99,999 inhabitants; reference category – more than 99,999 inhabitants.

Slovenia: 1 – up to 500 inhabitants; 2 – from 500 to 5,000 inhabitants; 3 – from 5,000 to 50,000 inhabitants; reference category – from 100,000 to 500,000 inhabitants.

Poland: 1 – rural settlement; 2 – from approx. 10,000 to 50,000 inhabitants; 3 – from 50,000 to 200,000 inhabitants; reference category – more than 200,000 inhabitants.

Hungary: 1 – up to 5,000 inhabitants; 2 – from 5,000 to 20,000 inhabitants; 3 – from 20,000 to 100,000 inhabitants; reference category – more than 100,000 inhabitants.

Czech Republic: 1 – up to 2,000 inhabitants; 2 – from 2,000 to 20,000 inhabitants; 3 – from 20,000 to 100,000 inhabitants; reference category – more than 100,000 inhabitants.

Nationality: 1 titular ethnicity, 0 other ethnicity, e.g. 1 Estonian, 0 non-Estonian.

Age: in years.

Economic status: this variable was a combination of two other variables: one specified the status of a respondent (employed, student, not working) and another variable

specified position in an organization for those who were employed (entrepreneur/manager, white-collar, skilled blue-collar, unskilled blue-collar or agricultural worker). Then the variable was developed into a set of dummy variables and white-collar worker was chosen as the reference category.

Education: years of completed education.

Individual income was measured in the currency of the respective country. Income distributions were divided into four approximately equal size categories. In the regression analysis, the resulting 4-category variables were treated as categorical variables:

Estonia: 1 – up to 2,500 EEK/month; 2 – from 2,501 to 3,700 EEK/month; 3 – from 3,701 to 6,250 EEK/month; reference category – over 6,251 EEK/month.

Slovakia: 1 – up to 9,000 SKK/month; 2 – from 9,001 to 12,000 SKK/month; 3 – from 12 001 to 17,000 SKK/month; reference category – over 17,001 SKK/month.

Slovenia: 1 – up to 80,000 SIT/month; 2 – from 80,001 to 160,000 SIT/month; 3 – from 160 001 to 240,000 SIT/month; reference category – more than 240 001 SIT/month.

Poland: 1 – up to 800 PLN/month; 2 – from 801 to 1,200 PLN/month; 3 – from 1,201 to 1 800 PLN/month; reference category – more than 1,801 PLN/month.

Hungary: 1 – up to 4 6000 HUF/month; 2 – from 46,001 to 60,000 HUF/month; 3 – from 60,001 to 89,000 HUF/month, reference category – more than 89,001 HUF/month.

Czech Republic: 1 – up to 10,000 CZK/month; 2 – 10,001-14,000 CZK/month; 3 – 14,001-20,000 CZK/month; reference category – more than 20,001 CZK/month.

Gender: 1 male, 2 female

Political Factors

Satisfaction with the development of democracy in [own country]; scale; 1 very satisfied; 2 satisfied; 3 not very satisfied; 4 not at all satisfied; 8 don't know; 9 not answered. Categories 8 and 9 were recoded into missing values.

Evaluation of current government system with free elections and a multitude of political parties. Scale –100 discontent ... 100 content, 999 not answered. Category 999 was recoded into missing values.

Trust in parties; scale: 1 does not trust at all; 2 little trust; 3 somewhat trust; 4 trusts fully; 8 don't know; 9 not answered. Categories 8 and 9 were recoded into missing values.

Trust in parliament, scale: 1 does not trust at all; 2 little trust; 3 somewhat trust; 4 trusts fully; 8 don't know; 9 not answered. Categories 8 and 9 were recoded into missing values.

Political trust in government; scale: 1 does not trust at all; 2 little trust; 3 somewhat trust; 4 trust fully; 8 don't know; 9 not answered. Categories 8 and 9 were recoded into missing values.

Reactive Identity

'There are several ways to develop the economy of [our country]. Should [own country, e.g. Estonia] choose the western countries' direction of economic development or develop its own way'. Scale: 1 fully western model; 2 somewhat western model; 3 mixed model: western principles and local variations; 4 somewhat own, local model; 5 fully own, local model; 8 don't know; 9 not answered. Categories 8 and 9 were recoded into missing values.

'Following west European countries is good for [our state]'. Scale: 1 fully agree; 2 agree; 3 neither agree nor disagree; 4 disagree; 5 strongly disagree; 8 don't know; 9 not answered. Categories 8 and 9 were recoded into missing values.

'[Our state] should adapt to EU rules, even if it is unfavourable in the short run, but good in the longer perspective'. Scale: 1 fully agree; 2 agree; 3 neither agree nor disagree; 4 disagree; 5 strongly disagree; 8 don't know; 9 not answered. Categories 8 and 9 were recoded into missing values.

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