



Russian-speaking youths: the position and expectations of a new generation

**Brief summary of materials of
sociological study**

Survey commissioned by:
Tallinn City Office

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Introduction

This report is based on the responses to a nationwide survey held in April 2008. The survey was commissioned by the Tallinn City Office. This is the second survey of inter-ethnic relations commissioned by the Tallinn City Office after the 2007 April unrest. The first survey was carried out by the Estonian Institute for Open Society in the summer of 2007.

Inter-ethnic relations are continuously one of the important spheres, which require considerable attention at the national and municipal levels. Half of Tallinn's population consists of other ethnicities besides Estonians and it is difficult to govern it without a constant analytical overview of the attitudes, problems and needs of the various ethnic groups. An information system is necessary, which would enable a constant monitoring of the climate of ethnic relations in the city, so as to find out about potential hazards and sources of tension as soon as possible. It is vitally important for the city government to analyse the situation and find out about possible security threats, which could have an effect on the city.

This study focuses its attention on the Russian-speaking youths. Especially youths are active as a social group, they keep seeking for new challenges, and their attitudes and behaviour are important in the planning of the city's development.

Estonia has not yet formed a common pattern of naming the other ethnicities residing in the country; therefore a number of different designations are used: local Russians, non-Estonians, other ethnicities, the Russian-speaking population. This analysis as well uses various designations as synonyms.

The goals of this survey were to find out the following:

- The position of local Russian youths in the society;
- Satisfaction of local Russian youths with their life in Estonia, assessment of their future prospects;
- The mobility of local Russian youths and the attraction of the Western countries;
- The desire of local Russian youths to maintain their national identity;
- Indicators of integration;
- The meaning of Russia for local Russian youths.

Inter-ethnic relations have been one of the main areas of study of the Estonian Institute for Open Society since 1993. The Institute has carried out monitoring of inter-ethnic relations in the following years: 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2007 and 2008. In the years 2000, 2002 and 2005 the Institute specialists participated in the RASI research team, which carried out inter-ethnic relations monitoring at the request of the Integration Foundation.

The main problems in the sphere of inter-ethnic relations, which the Estonian Institute for Open Society has addressed, are as follows:

- Integration of other ethnicities in the Estonia society
- Tolerance between Estonians and local Russians
- Learning of Estonian
- Adjustment of Russian schools in the Estonian society.
- Integration of Russian youths

1. On the principles of organising the poll and the sample

According to the methodology compiled by the Estonian Institute for Open Society, the poll was carried out by the firm of social and market research Saar Poll in the period April 09 until April 28, 2008. The poll was carried out in the form of an oral interview in the residence of the interviewees. A total of 1,495 individuals were polled all over Estonia between 15-74 years of age, including 1,026 Estonians and 469 representatives of other ethnicities. The Russian-speaking respondents included 50% of Estonian citizens, individuals without citizenships 22%, Russian citizens 23% and other countries' citizens 5%.

Principles of forming the sample.

The target group was Estonia's population in the age range of 15-74 years. The proportional multi-stage random sample was used. The penultimate stage of the sample used the route method, where the starting address and the rules for the following route were predetermined. The respondent in the household found on the route was determined according to the latest birthday method. The rule of three returns was used to gain access to the respondent (if the respondent was away, the interviewer had to make three attempts on different days and times of day to make contact with the respondent. Only then was the interviewer allowed to extend the route).

The quality of the interviewers' work was randomly checked; it caused no problems with the interviewers. However, the problems mentioned in the questionnaire caused several refusals to answer. There were more such refusals among representatives of other ethnicities than among Estonians.

	Received sample	Weighted sample (according to model)
Gender		
Male	46,2	46,7
Female	53,8	53,3
Language of questionnaire		
Estonian	65,8	69,4
Russian	34,2	30,6
Age		
15-19	9,7	9,8
20-29	18,9	19,2
30-39	16,6	17,5
40-49	17,7	17,8
50-59	16,7	16,9
60-74	20,5	18,7
Ethnicity		
Estonian	64,7	68,6
Other	35,3	31,4
Education		
Basic education or less	28,2	30,7
Secondary education	49,0	54,4
Higher education	22,8	14,9

Urban/rural		
Urban	70,6	69,9
Rural	29,4	30,1
Region		
North Estonia	37,8	39,5
West Estonia	12,8	11,9
Central Estonia	9,8	10,3
Northeast Estonia	14,6	13,0
South Estonia	25,0	25,3

2. Position of young local Russians in Estonia

According to the international tradition, sociological surveys cover the population between 15 and 74 years of age. This survey was carried out according to the same principle. When addressing the issue of the youths this analytical report observes more closely two age groups among them

- Youths in the age of 15 to 19 years
- Youths in the age of 20 to 29 years

The remaining respondents were treated as age groups 30 to 39 years and between 40 and 74 years. The youths of the former group have predominantly been born in independent Estonia or some years before the restoration of independence. The youths belonging to the latter group are also very strongly influenced by the principles of the new society. AS Estonia's independence was restored, they were 3-12-years-old children. The breakdown of the respondents in these age groups allowed us to point out the differences of the young local Russians' generations compared to those, who had become adult by the time of restoration of Estonia's independence.

TABLE 1. Background of birth of local Russians. 2008, non-Estonians

	Assessments in %			
	15 - 19 years	20- 29 years	30-39 years	40 and older
Born in Estonia	98	85	75	34
Father born in Estonia	53	48	32	11
Mother born in Estonia	62	48	35	14

Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society, 2008

Out of the 15-19-year-olds only 2% and out of the 20-29-year-olds 15%, but as many as 25% out of the 30-39-year-olds have been born outside Estonia. Only every third had been born in Estonia out of the generation older than 40 years.

Among up to 29-year-olds, in every second case father and mother have been born in Estonia; they are largely the second generation residing in Estonia. Out of the 40-year-olds and older only every seventh stated that their mother had been born in Estonia.

The younger generation is supported by the high percentage of Estonian citizens. Research has shown that citizenship grants greater certainty in residing in Estonia and is one of the factors of success.

TABLE 2. Citizenship of local Russians. 2008, non-Estonians

	Assessments in %			
	15 - 19 years	20 - 29 years	30 - 39 years	40 years and older
Estonian citizen	69	82	58	34
Russian or other citizen	8	3	18	41
Stateless resident	23	14	24	24
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society, 2008

The highest share of Estonia citizens is among the 20-29-year-olds (82%); 69% out of the 15-19-year olds and 58% 30-39-year-olds have Estonian citizenship.

Among the older generation the largest share is that of Russian citizens (41%) and only every third is an Estonian citizen.

Knowledge of languages is one of the signs of the younger generation, which clearly differentiates it from the older one. Eighty to eighty-eight percent out of the 15-39-year-olds have good or average command of Estonian. Among the older generation only half can speak Estonian.

TABLE 3. Language command of local Russians. 2008, non-Estonians

	Assessments in %			
	15 - 19 years	20 - 29 years)	30 - 39 years	40 years and older
Estonian good + average	88	85	80	56
English good + average	75	50	27	8

Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society, 2008

The command of English is also clearly related to age, three quarters out of the 15-19-year-olds speak good English, half of the 20-29-year-olds, 27% out of 30-39-year-olds and only 8% out of 40-year-olds or older.

Language command of Estonians (see TABLE 4) is closely related to age as well. But the command of Russian among young Estonians is rapidly declining with age. While majority (84%) of 40-year-olds and older has good or average command of Russian, it is already less than one third (28%) among the 15-year-olds. One could conclude that since the younger generation of local Russians has an increasingly good command of Estonian, the knowledge of both Estonian and Russian will ensure them better competitiveness in the labour market.

TABLE 4. Command of languages among Estonians. 2008, Estonians

	Assessments in %			
	15 - 19 years	20 - 29 years	30 - 39 years	40 years and older
Russian good + average	28	56	74	84
English good + average	74	71	42	16

Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society, 2008

The Estonians' command of English is better than that of the local Russians, according to the respondents' own assessment. While the knowledge of English among the 15-19-year-old Estonians and local Russians is at the same level, there are significantly more English speakers among Estonians than local Russians in the 20-39-year group.

A situation is developing in Estonia, where young Estonians are predominantly bilingual (speak Estonian and English), while young local Russians are trilingual (speak Russian, Estonian and English).

CONCLUSIONS.

The younger generation of local Russians has a significantly better position than the older one. Compared to the older generation the younger one has three important advantages:

1. Born in Estonia.

Having been born in Estonia grants the young generation a favourable starting position, because they have to face significantly fewer adjustment problems than the immigrated older generation, which had to start learning, how to adjust to an alien environment.

2. Having Estonian citizenship.

Estonian citizens are more successful, they have improved opportunities for career and achieving a better material position than individuals without citizenship or Russian citizens.

3. Language skills.

The command of Estonian and English is one feature clearly differentiating the younger generation from the older one. Knowledge of Estonian provides great advantages in competing in the Estonian labour market, while the command of English grants the youths greater mobility and enables them to live and work in the West.

3. Economic position of local Russians

The survey enabled to break down Estonia's population in four economic strata:

1. „The wealthy“, who need not limit their spending in any way
2. „The well-to-do“ (not clearly wealthy or poor) the so-called middle class
3. „The thrifty“, who live in a regime of strict economy, consider carefully all expenses and greatly limiting their spending
4. „The borderline poor“, who often lack money for food

We asked the people themselves assess their economic situation. This is a scale of stratification, which the Estonian Institute for Open Society on has used for a longer time and the results of which are reliable.

Although we are dealing with the respondents' own rating of their economic situation, these are closely related to the actual income level and one could claim that the people's assessment of their economic subsistence reflects the actual situation.(see TABLE 5). We believe that the stratification scale measures the respondents' economic situation better than breakdown into expense groups, because they judge their ability to manage, well or otherwise, within the limits of their income. Thus we can conclude from TABLE 5 that although dominant part (79%) of the wealthy stratum earns the greatest income (more than 5,000 kroons per month per individual), this group also includes individuals with lower income and thus the income of every sixth amounts to 3,000 - 5,000 kroons per month per person.

TABLE 5. What is the economic situation of your household? 2008, all respondents

Assessments in %

Income per 1 person per month	Up to 3,000 kroons	3,001-5,000 kroons	5,001 – 8,000 kroons	More than 8,000 kroons	Total
Wealthy stratum	4	17	40	39	100
Well-to-do	12	37	34	17	100
Thrifty and borderline poor	25	56	16	3	100

Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society, 2008

The income of the „well-to-do” (so-called Estonia's middle class) is basically in the range of 3,000-8,000 kroons per month per person, which is received by 71% of them. The income of every fourth in the poorer layer is up to 3,000 kroons, the income of a half is 3,000-5,000 kroons per month per person.

We used the same stratification scale, where the respondents had to assess their economic situation, in 2001 and in 2008.

The economic situation of Estonia's residents has improved in the past eight years. The share of well-to-do people among Estonians has increased from 68% to 83% and among other ethnicities from 52% to 70%. More than ¾ of Estonia's residents can get along economically in 2008 without major problems.

While in 2001 every third Estonian and every second local Russian lived in terms of strict austerity or was even borderline poor, the share of the poorer group among Estonians has declined nearly two times and among local Russians 1.6 times.

TABLE 6. What is the economic situation of your household?

Assessments in %

Assessments	Estonians		Other ethnicities	
	2001	2008	2001	2008
Wealthy stratum(materially successful)	12	27	8	20
Well-to-do (not clearly wealthy nor poor)	56	56	44	50
Thrifty, living in terms of strict austerity	24	15	40	26
Borderline poor (often lack money for food)	8	2	8	4
Total	100	100	100	100

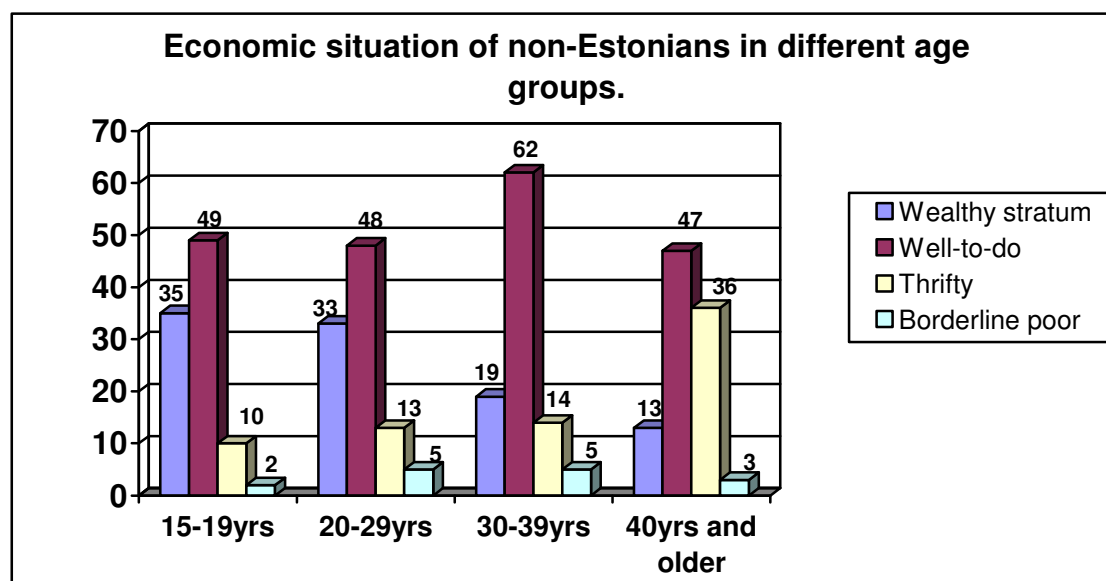
Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society, 2001 ja 2008

The younger generation is economically better off among Estonians as well as local Russians. As of 2008 every third local Russian in the 15-29 age group classified himself as wealthy and every second in the well-to-do stratum. (see TABLE 7).

TABLE 7. What is the economic situation of your household? 2008, (non-Estonians)

Assessments in %

	All respondents	15 - 19 years	20 - 29 years	30 - 39 years	40 years and older
Wealthy stratum	20	35	33	19	13
Well-to-do	50	49	48	62	47
Thrifty	26	10	13	14	36
Borderline poor	4	2	5	5	3

Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society, 2008

The standard of living is also satisfactory in the local Russians' group of 30-39-year-olds, where every fifth rates oneself as wealthy and 2/3 as getting along. The situation is significantly worse among the 40-year-olds and older, 39% of whom are quite close to poverty, can get along economically, but have to consider carefully the spending of every coin.

TABLE 8. What is the economic situation of your household? 2008, (Estonians)

	Assessments in %				
	All respondents	15 - 19 years	20 - 29 years	30-39 years	40 years and older
Wealthy stratum	27	34	29	36	23
Well-to-do	56	51	59	55	56
Thrifty	14	8	10	7	20
Borderline poor	2	2	2	1	2

Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society, 2008

Estonians are economically more successful than local Russians and the watershed between the generations only starts from the age of 40, when the economic subsistence level starts to decline. There are no major differences among the assessments of Estonians and non-Estonians up to 29 years of age of their economic subsistence.

One of the factors influencing the economic subsistence of the younger generation of the local Russians is having Estonian citizenship, which is related to better command of Estonian and greater opportunities in the labour market. Out of the 15-29-year-olds 69-88% has Estonian citizenship. Out of Estonian citizens 80% gets along well economically, out of stateless residents 66% and out of Russian citizens only 54% (see TABLE 9).

TABLE 9. What is the economic situation of your household? 2008 (non-Estonians)

	Assessments in %			
	All respondents	Estonian citizens	Russian citizens	Citizenship undetermined
Wealthy stratum	20	26	10	19
Well-to-do	50	54	44	47
Thrifty	26	16	42	28
Borderline poor	4	4	3	6

Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society, 2008

4. Local Russians' contentment with their position

Estonians are significantly more content with their present position (achievements) than local Russians, the amount of those content is $\frac{3}{4}$ (see TABLE 10). Those discontented are one fifth among Estonians and one third among non-Estonians.

TABLE 10. How satisfied are you with your present achievements, social position? 2008

Assessments in %		
	Estonians	Non-Estonians
Highly satisfied	5	7
Generally satisfied	67	50
Not satisfied	21	35
Cannot answer	7	8
Total	100	100

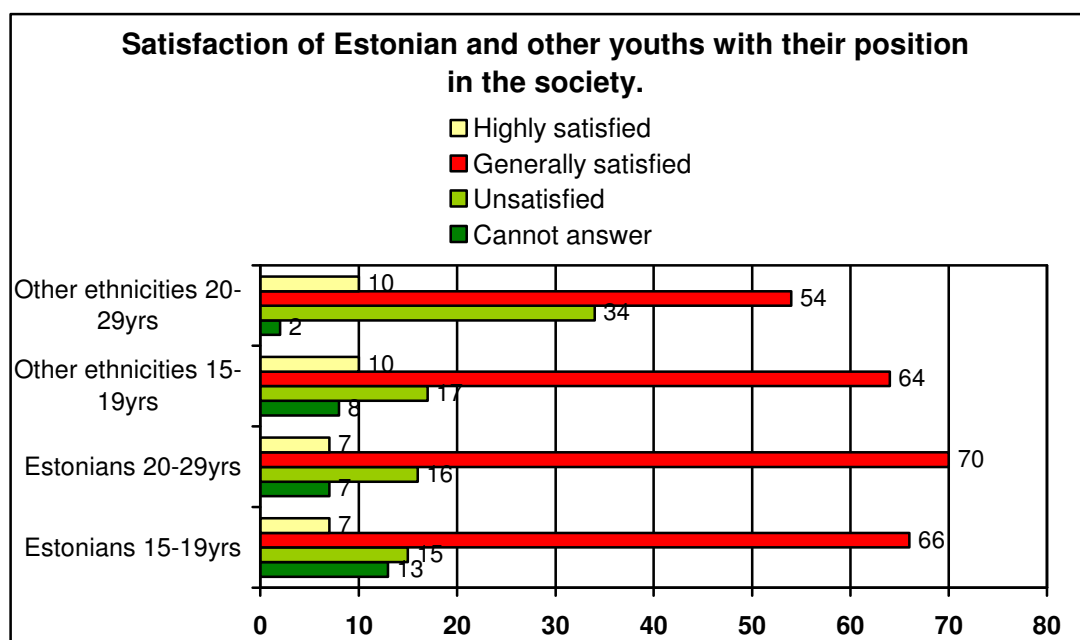
Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society, 2008

The assessments of 15-19-year-old Estonians and non-Estonians of their position are similar. Local Russians 20-29 years of age are twice as unsatisfied with their achievements as Estonians of the same age. It is remarkable that although their assessments of economic subsistence are similar, their satisfaction with the position they have achieved is significantly lower.

TABLE 11. How satisfied are you with your present achievements, social position?

Assessments in %				
Assessments	Estonians		Other ethnicities	
	Youths (15 – 19 yrs)	Youths (20 – 29 yrs)	Youths (15 – 19 yrs)	Youths (up to 29 yrs)
Highly satisfied	7	7	10	10
Generally satisfied	66	70	64	54
Not satisfied	15	16	17	34
Cannot answer	13	7	8	2
Total				

Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society, 2008



The reason of the steep increase of discontent of the 20-29-year-old non-Estonians, compared to the younger age group (15-19 years), could be the situation in the labour market, where the non-Estonians' opportunities for career are more limited than those of Estonians. The local Russians at school consider their position equal to that of Estonians.

5. The importance of maintaining ethnic identity

The survey last year (2007) studied the significance among local Russians of retaining their ethnic culture compared with integrating into the Estonian culture and becoming a citizen of the EU. The respondents had to select one option out of the three. The same question was also asked in the survey of 2000.

TABLE 12. What is most important for you while residing in Estonia? Please choose one option. (No-Estonians)

	Assessments in %	
	2000	2007
Above all remain representative of my ethnicity in Estonia	50	57
Primarily to feel like a citizen of the European Union	12	32
Become Estonian, speak Estonian, adopt Estonian culture and customs	11	7
Cannot answer	27	4
Total	100	100

Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society 2000 and 2007

Both in 2000 and 2007 approximately half of the local Russians primarily preferred to remain the representatives of their ethnicity in Estonia, retaining their ethnic traditions and culture. One third prefers to feel like citizens of the European Union and only seven percent would like to become Estonian. Compared to 2000 the number of those willing to adopt the Estonian culture has somewhat declined, while the number of those identifying themselves with the EU citizens has steeply (2.7 times) increased. Estonia's accession with the EU in 2004 has apparently played a major role here, turning Europe closer and more open for the local Russians.

The choices of the youngest age group (until 29 years) are especially interesting; becoming a citizen of the EU or adopting the Estonian identity (combined 49%) are equally acceptable to retaining their ethnic identity (48%). Local Russians in the 30-50-year-olds group predominantly choose their ethnic identity (preferred by 54-56%), but more than one third also value the identity of the EU citizen. Only 1-3% of respondents of this age group showed a desire to adopt Estonian identity.

TABLE 13 What is most important for you while residing in Estonia? Please choose one option. (2007, non-Estonians)

Age	Assessments in %			
	Represent one's own ethnicity	To feel like EU citizen	Adopt Estonian identity	Cannot answer
Up to 29 years	48	38	11	3
30-39 years	54	36	3	7
40-49 years	56	37	1	6
50-59 years	70	25	5	...
60-74 years	73	18	7	2

Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society 2007

Retaining the ethnic identity is primarily interesting to the older generation, ¾ of who want to represent only their ethnicity and only 18-25% chooses the identity of the EU citizen. Out of the older generation only 5-7% prefers to adopt the Estonian identity.

The same attitude was observed in the 2008 survey, which studied the perception of the importance of retaining ethnic features and culture.

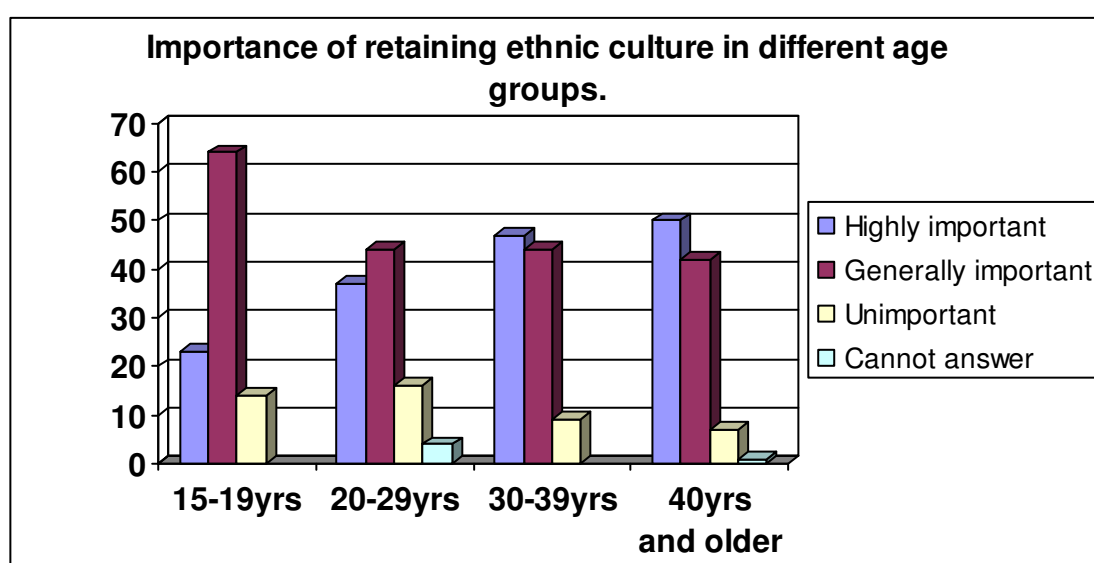
Retaining the ethnic features and culture is important for a predominant part (89%) of local Russians. It is highly important for approximately half of them (44%).

The 2008 survey also clearly points out the younger generation of up to 29-year-olds, which do not consider holding on to ethnic identity as significant as the 30-year-olds and older. Ethnic culture is valued the least by the youngest, the 15-19-year-olds, out of who only every fourth finds it highly important.

TABLE 14 How important is for you to retain ethnic features and culture while living in Estonia? 2008, non-Estonians

Russians	Assessments in %				
	All respondents	15 - 19 years	20- 29 years	30-39 years	40 years and older
Highly important	44	23	37	47	50
Generally important	45	64	44	44	42
Unimportant	10	14	16	9	7
Cannot answer	1		4		1

Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society, 2008



6. Integration indicators

We studied in the 2007 survey the perception of success of the integration going on in Estonia. It appeared that only 28% of Estonians and 20% of local Russians considered integration successful. More than half of Estonians and more than 2/3 of non-Estonians believe that integration has failed.

We attempted to find out in the current survey what the people are expecting from integration and why have the expectations not been fulfilled in case of Estonians as well as non-Estonians.

We selected 12 integration indicators, which reflect process of integration from various aspects:

A. Attitude towards the Estonian state and willingness to live in Estonia:

- Good command of Estonian
- Loyalty towards the Estonian state
- Estonian citizenship
- Binding one's future to Estonia
- Willingness to do something for Estonia (to improve Estonia)

B. Interest in learning about Estonia's history and the country:

- Learning about the Estonians' history
- Learning about the Estonian country

C. Willingness to have closer relations with Estonian:

- Friends/acquaintances among Estonians
- Behaviour and mentality similar to those of Estonians
- Working/studying in Estonian collectives

D. Preferring Estonia to Russia:

- Distancing from Russia
- Preference of Estonian TV channels to Russian ones

We studied, how Estonians and non-Estonians view integration, which indicators are considered more or less important. The respondents had to choose between 12 indicators, when answering the following question: „The subject of integration of non-Estonians to Estonia has been up for a long time. Which are the main indicators of integration? Please choose four most important ones“.

According to the results of the survey, the indicators gave been divided in four groups dependent on their significant, starting with the more significant ones.

I Highly significant indicators, according to at least half of the respondents

Assessments in %

Estonians	Non-Estonians
1. Good knowledge of Estonian - 74	1. Good knowledge of Estonian - 67
2. Loyalty towards the Estonian state – 63	2. Binding one's future to Estonia - 51
	3. Estonian citizenship - 50

II Significant indicators, according to 30-49% of respondents

Assessments in %

Estonians	Non-Estonians
3. Estonian citizenship - 37	4. Loyalty towards the Estonian state - 42
4. Desire to do something for Estonia - 32	5. Estonian friends/acquaintances - 37
5. Binding one's future to Estonia – 32	

III Less significant indicators, according to 10- 30% of respondents

Assessments in %

Estonians	Non-Estonians
6. Learning about Estonian history - 26	6. Desire to do something for Estonia - 28
7. Estonian friends/acquaintances - 25	7. Working/studying in Estonian collective - 25
8. Behaviour/mentality like Estonian - 24	8. Learning about Estonian history - 14
9. Working/studying in Estonian collective - 20	9. Learning about Estonia – 13
10. Learning about Estonia - 19	

IV Insignificant indicators, according to less than 10 % of respondents

Assessments in %

Estonians	Non-Estonians
11. Preference of Estonian TV channels to Russian ones - 6	10. Behaviour/mentality like Estonian - 7
12. Distancing from Russia - 4	11. Preference of Estonian TV channels to Russian ones – 4
	12. Distancing from Russia - 3

Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society, 2008

Good command of Estonian is of decisive importance for Estonians as well as non-Estonians, which is ranked first. Both communities place feeling of confidence in the Estonian state at the second place. For Estonians this means primarily loyalty, but for non-Estonians binding their future to Estonia. The third determining factor for non-Estonians is Estonian citizenship. Estonians value citizenship as well, but place it the following group of “significant indicators”.

The indicators at the top of the ranking coincide closely for both communities. The list of less significant and insignificant indicators also coincides in both ethnic groups. The greatest difference concerns the rating of the indicator „Behaviour and mentality similar to those of Estonians”, which is important for 24% of Estonians and only 7% of local Russians. Estonians also rate the indicator “Friends/acquaintances among Estonians” significantly lower than non-Estonians.

CONCLUSIONS.

The results allow concluding that Estonians and non-Estonians understand integration quite similarly. Despite some differences, the lists of indicators are quite similar.

Estonia is in the initial or introductory stage of integration, where the determining factors are command of Estonian, citizenship, loyalty, desire to bind one’s future to Estonia. Essential indicators, which bring Estonia closer and create a sense of belonging like having Estonian friends, knowledge of Estonia’s history and culture, learning about Estonia as a country are currently less significant and reaching them will take time. Both Estonians and non-Estonians understand this.

When attempting to understand the disappointment in integration, one could mention idealistic expectations that integration could take place rapidly, within 10-20 years. The ranking of integration indicators showed the comprehension that there can be no in-depth

integration for the time being. The current results of integration mark the separation of the Estonian and non-Estonian communities and limited confidence in each other.

Estonians primarily expect good command of Estonian and although the young generation of non-Estonians speak Estonian quite well, the non-Estonians' command of Estonians in general is still limited. It will still take time before all non-Estonians learn to speak Estonian fluently.

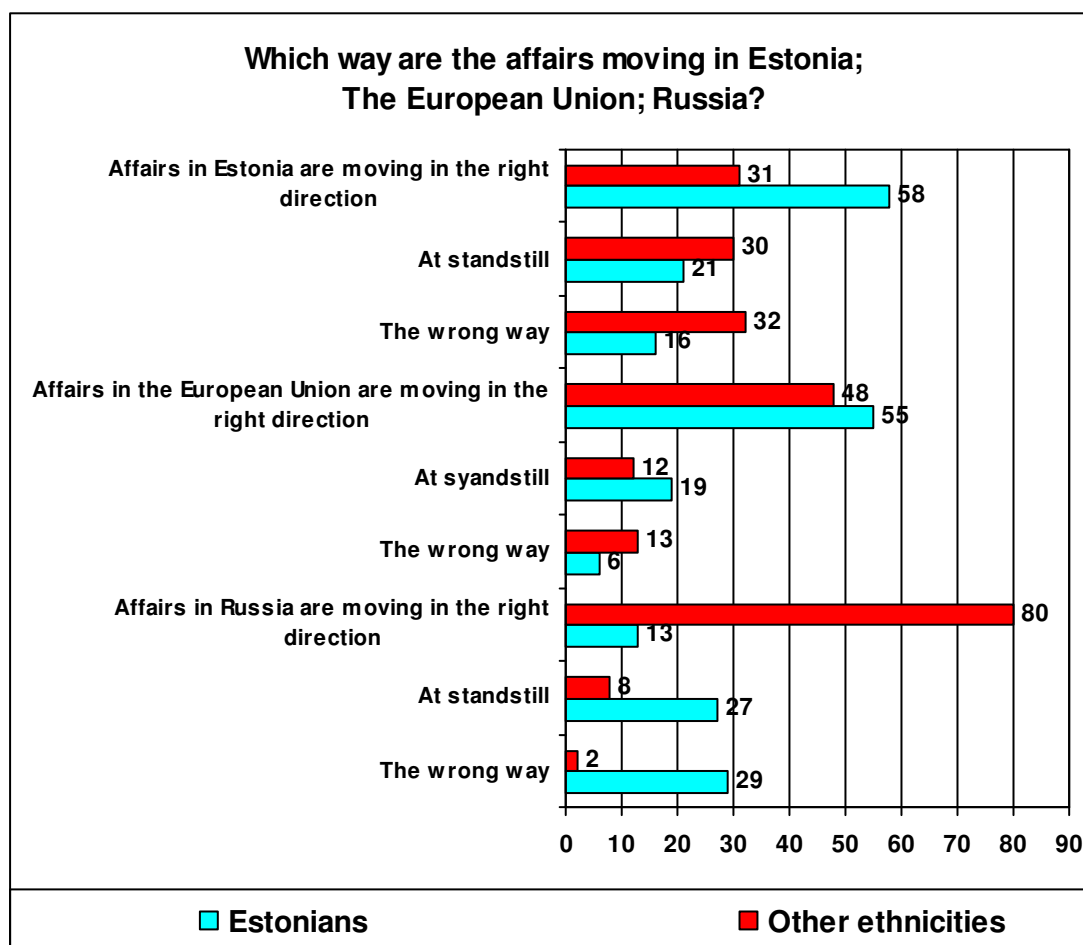
7. On the meaning of a successful Estonia

The answers to the following questions reflect the residents' opinions of the developments and capabilities of Estonia, the European Union and Russia. The attitudes' positive background is reflected by the response „moving in the right direction”. The assessments „standstill” or „moving in the wrong direction” reveal the critical background and discontent of the attitudes.

TABLE 15. Which way are the affairs moving in Estonia, the European Union and Russia in 2008.

	Assessments %-s		
	Estonians	Other ethnicities	Average
I Affairs in Estonia are moving ...			
• In the right direction	58	31	50
• At standstill	21	30	24
• The wrong way	16	32	21
• Cannot decide	5	7	5
Total	100	100	100
II Affairs in the European Union are moving...			
• In the right direction	55	48	53
• At standstill	19	12	17
• The wrong way	6	13	8
• Cannot decide	20	27	22
Total	100	100	100
III Affairs in Russia are moving...			
• In the right direction	13	80	34
• At standstill	27	8	22
• The wrong way	29	2	20
• Cannot decide	31	10	24
Total	100	100	100

Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society, 2008



Assessments concerning Estonia.

While a positive attitude dominates among Estonians, the Russian-speaking respondents can be divided in three equal groups as to their opinions. The attitudes of young Russian-speakers towards Estonia are more positive than those of the older generation. Out of the 15-19-year-olds, 49% judge that Estonia's developments are positive („moving in the right direction”), while 42% of respondents in the following age group, the 20-29-year-olds, have a positive opinion. The break occurs in the above 30 age group. Out of the 30-39-year olds 28% has positive assessment of the developments, while in the 40-74-year age group 25% have positive attitude.

The same tendency is apparent in the Estonians' assessment. Young Estonians are more favourable towards the developments in Estonia, while the older respondents are more critical. Out of 15-19-year-old Estonians 70% have positive attitude towards the developments in Estonia and out of the 20-29-year-olds 65%. The background of positive attitude diminishes in the age group of 40-74-year-olds to 53%, but positive view of Estonia's developments clearly dominates in all age groups of Estonians.

Assessments of the European Union.

The opinions of Estonians and non-Estonians of the developments in the European Union do not differ significantly and a positive attitude towards the EU dominates the opinions of both groups of respondents. Young Estonians have the most positive attitude towards the developments in the EU. Out of 15-19-year-old Estonians 75% believe that affairs in the EU

are developing in the right direction. In the 20-29-year age group of Estonian respondents the same view is held by 61%. Russian-speaking youths, the same as their Estonian counterparts, are more positive about the EU developments than their older compatriots. Out of 15-19-year-old Russian-speaking youths 62% consider the EU developments positive and out of the 20-29-year-olds 59%. Among 40-47-year-old non-Estonians 43% have a positive opinion of the EU developments.

Twenty percent of Estonian and 27% of non-Estonian respondents are unable to judge the developments of the European Union. This is not a critical amount of the population, but nevertheless a significant part of Estonia's adult population is either uninformed of the EU affairs or incapable of forming a personal opinion about them.

Assessments of Russia.

When judging the developments in Russia, the non-Estonians are emphatically positive and the Estonians negative. Russia still forms a major and clear barrier between the mentalities of the Estonians and the non-Estonians.

The positive attitude towards Russia of non-Estonians is uniformly strong in all age groups. Positive view of developments in Russia does not diminish in the older age groups of non-Estonians the way it was apparent in attitudes towards the developments in the European Union or Estonia.

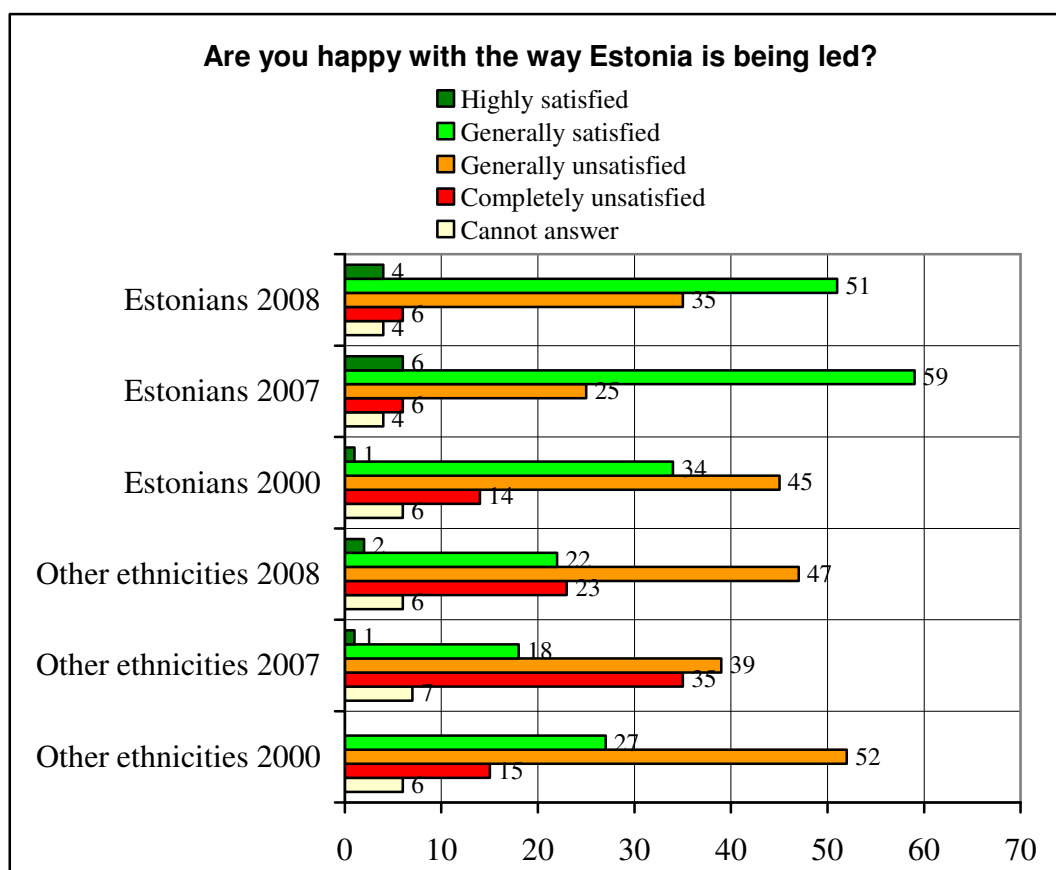
The Estonians' attitude towards the developments in Russia is critical. It should be pointed out, however, that approximately one third of Estonians (31%) lacks an opinion about developments in Russia. One third of respondents is close to a critical amount of the population. If such a large number of Estonians lacks an opinion about events in Russia, it could point at the problem of limited and random reflection of issues related to Russia in the Estonian-language mass media. The less the Estonians know of Russia and understand about its developments, the more vulnerable they are to manipulation and the greater can be the impact of individual and random snippets of information about Russia. People without knowledge are unable of using proper "filters" to pick out the signal from random noise.

In order to find out the background system of attitudes we analyse the respondents' assessments of how the Estonian state is being run.

TABLE 16. Are you happy with the way Estonia is being led?

	Assessments in %					
	Estonians			Other ethnicities		
	2008	2007	2000	2008	2007	2000
Highly satisfied	4	6	1	2	1	...
Generally satisfied	51	59	34	22	18	27
Generally unsatisfied	35	25	45	47	39	52
Completely unsatisfied	6	6	14	23	35	15
Cannot say	4	4	6	6	7	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society 2000, 2007 and 2008



The first tendency is the significantly higher dissatisfaction of the non-Estonians with the governance of Estonia, compared to Estonians. The high discontent of the non-Estonians has remained stable throughout the period under observation, from 2000 until 2008. The share of non-Estonians dissatisfied with the governance of the state was steadily in the range between 67 and 74%. The highest level of dissatisfaction among the non-Estonians was registered in 2007. The poll took place in June, immediately after the 2007 April unrest and the “bronze soldier” crisis. The results of the 2008 survey show that the non-Estonians’ dissatisfaction with the governance of the state has slightly declined within a year, to 70% (from 74% in 2007), while the level of satisfaction has increased to 24% (from 19% in 2007).

Another tendency, which can be pointed out is the changing of the Estonians’ attitudes towards positive. In 2000 only slightly more than one third (35%) of Estonians were satisfied with how the state was led and more than half (59%) were dissatisfied with governance. A principal change had occurred by 2007, the number of Estonians satisfied with the government was double of those dissatisfied. One year later, in 2008, the number of respondents satisfied with governance was still higher than that of dissatisfied. Nevertheless, the Estonians’ dissatisfaction had increased and satisfaction declined within one year. This tendency was certainly influenced by at least two factors. First, the unity of the Estonians and their support to the government’s activities has increased after the “bronze night”. Satisfaction with the governance of the state certainly increased in this connection. Secondly, the Estonians’ assessment in 2008 may have been affected by the deterioration of the state’s economic situation, primarily the slowing of economic growth and the resulting tension in the labour market.

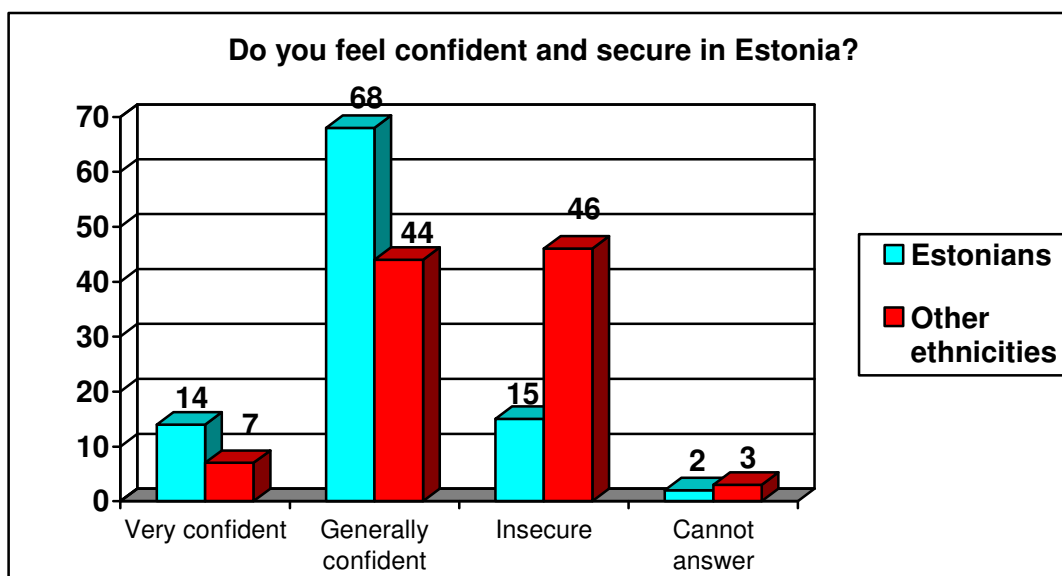
8. Confidence in Estonia

Confidence in the state provides the people with a positive attitude, on which they could base their plans for the future in the society. On the other hand, absence of confidence brings along a negative background for life and promotes dissatisfaction with all fields of life, including the governance of the state and the state in general.

TABLE 17. Confidence in Estonia (Do you feel confident and secure in Estonia) 2008.a.
(Assessments in %)

	Estonians	Other ethnicities	Average
Very confident	14	7	12
Generally confident	68	44	60
Insecure	15	46	25
Cannot answer	2	3	3
Total	100	100	100

Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society, 2008



Judgements on confidence primarily reflect the respondents' self-assessment and show their ability to cope with and adjust to circumstances.

The Russian-speaking respondents are divided in two groups, 51% can cope and feel confident, while a slightly smaller share of non-Estonians, 46%, feel insecure. The sense of confidence among young non-Estonians is higher than that of the older ones. Out of 15-19-year-old non-Estonian youths 16% feel very confident in Estonia, 45% generally confident and 37% insecure. The corresponding figures in the 20-29-year age group are 9%, 52% and 36%.

The sense of confidence of the non-Estonians is influenced by their citizenship. The highest is the level of confidence of non-Estonians with Estonian citizenship. Sixty-two percent out of

the non-Estonians with Estonian citizenship feel secure and 36% insecure. As for Russian citizens, 39% feel confident and 58% insecure and out of the residents without any citizenship 40% feel secure and 56% insecure. Therefore receiving Estonian citizenship is one factor elevating the sense of confidence of non-Estonians to a new level.

Being born in Estonia has a lower effect on the non-Estonians' confidence than Estonian citizenship. Out of the individuals born in Estonia 54% feel secure in Estonia and 43% insecure. Out of respondents born outside Estonia 46% feel confident in Estonia and 51% insecure.

We can sum it up by stating that the confidence of non-Estonians in Estonia is influenced by ...

Age – the feeling of confidence among the young is higher

15-19 a	61% - 37%	Feel secure – feel insecure
20-29 a	61% - 36%	
30-39 a	46% - 54%	<i>watershed of attitudes: insecurity exceeds security</i>
40-74 a	47% - 50%	

Citizenship – Estonian citizenship grants greater sense of security

Estonian citizens	62% - 36%	feel secure – feel insecure
Without citizenship	40% - 56%	
Russian citizens	39% - 58%	

Born in Estonia – has lower effect on confidence than Estonian citizenship

Born in Estonia	54% - 43%	feel secure – feel insecure
Born outside Estonia	46% - 51%	

The answers to the previous questions concerned the respondents' sense of security in the present. The following analysis concerns their confidence in the future of their state; in other words, how secure would the respondents see the life of their children in Estonia.

TABLE 18. Confidence in Estonia's future (Do you believe that Estonia will be a state in the future where your children could live securely and confidently) 2008.a.

(Assessments in %)

	Estonians	Other ethnicities	Average
Firmly believe	17	12	15
Generally believe	60	46	55
Generally do not believe	14	24	18
Do not believe at all	1	7	3
Cannot answer	8	11	9
Total	100	100	100

Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society, 2008

Certainty about future is stronger among Estonian than non-Estonian respondents. Nearly one third (31%) out of Russian-speaking population feel critical and insecure about Estonia's future. On the other hand, more than half of Estonia's Russian-speaking population believes in positive developments of the Estonian state in the future.

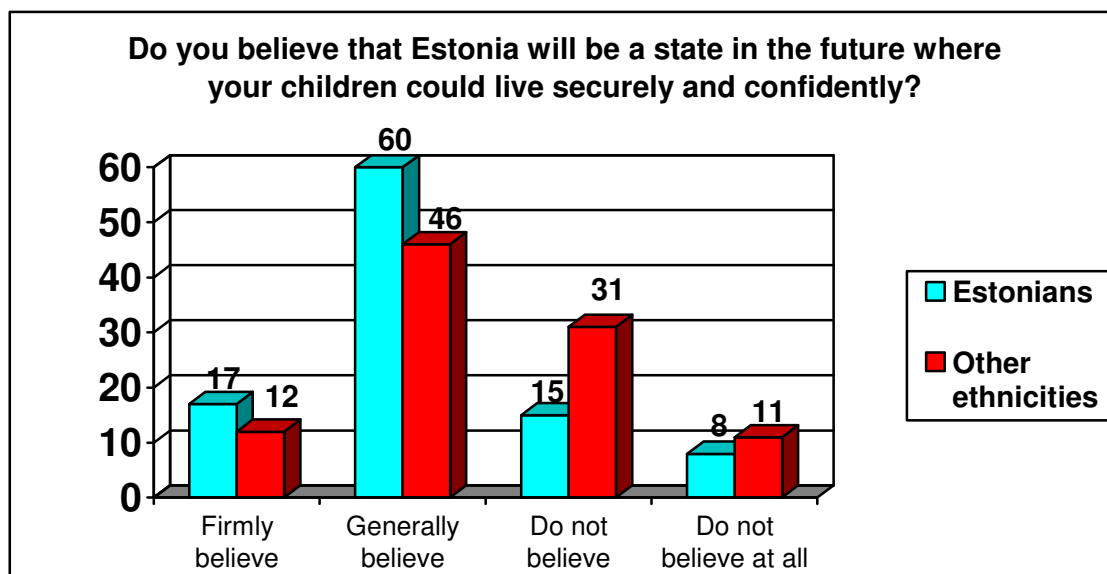


TABLE 19. Confidence in Estonia's future (Do you believe that Estonia will be a state in the future where your children could live securely and confidently). Responses of young non-Estonians in 2008.

(Assessments in %)

	15-19 years	20-29 years	30-39 years	40-74 years	Average assessment
Firmly believe	28	16	6	9	12
Generally believe	37	52	51	45	46
Generally do not believe	19	17	31	25	24
Do not believe at all	6	7	7	7	7
Cannot answer	10	8	5	14	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society, 2008

Young Russian-speakers are more optimistic about Estonia's future than their older compatriots. Yet optimistic non-Estonians significantly dominate in all age groups compared to pessimists.

As a summary we can state that the optimism of non-Estonians towards the future of Estonia are influenced by...

The respondents' **age** – the youths' optimism is greater, optimists dominate in all age groups

15-19 a **65%** - 25% optimism towards future – pessimism towards future

20-29 a **68%** - 24%

30-39 a **57%** - 38%

40-74 a **54%** - 32%

Citizenship – Estonian citizenship results in more optimistic expectations of future

Estonian citizens 67% - 26% feel secure – feel insecure

Without citizenship 52% - 32%

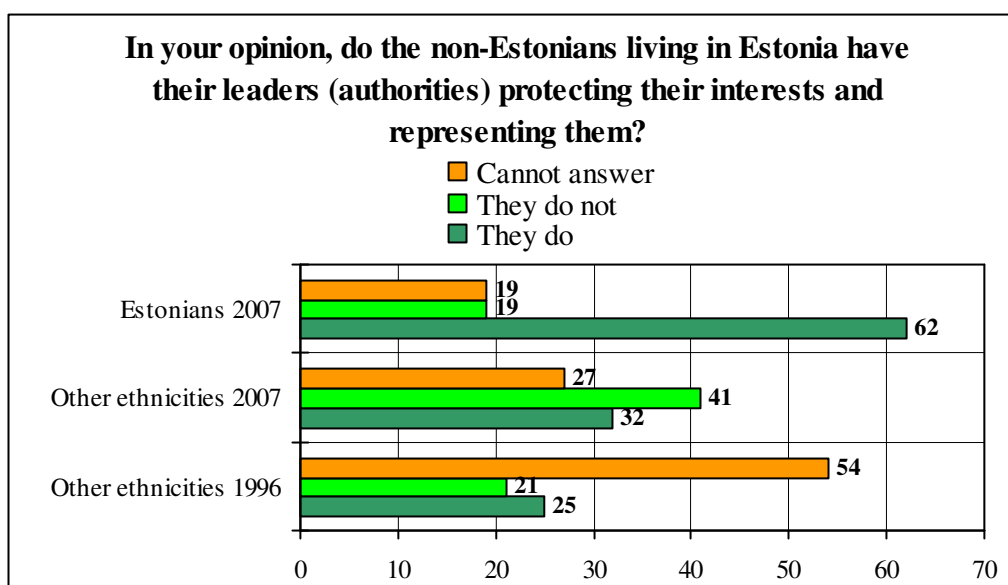
Russian citizens 45% - 38%

Born in Estonia – Being born in Estonia grants certainty in the future

Born in Estonia 66% - 26% feel secure – feel insecure

Born outside Estonia 48% - 38%

One possible cause of the Russian-speaking population feeling insecure in Estonia is certainly the shortage of authoritative leaders, who would clearly and unequivocally represent the interests of non-Estonians. We studied the problem of the Russian-speaking leaders in a nationwide survey carried out in 2007¹. Non-Estonians as well as Estonians gave their assessment of leaders representing the Russians-speaking population.



The survey outcome showed that barely one third (32%) of the Russians-speaking respondents believes that the non-Estonian population is represented by definite leaders. Forty-one percent of respondents find that the non-Estonians have no definite leaders or authorities and more than one quarter (27%) of respondents are incapable of answering to the question. The scarcity of leaders and authoritative champions, which was revealed by the survey, also hints at the non-Estonians' feeling that their interests and positions are not adequately represented at the state level. This could be one of the possible reasons why the Russian-speaking population is so critical towards the governance of the Estonian state.

¹ Rahvussuhted ja integratsiooni perspektiivid Eestis, Sotsioloogilise uurimuse materjalid, Tallinn, 2007, <http://www.tallinn.ee/est/g2402s32123>

The scarcity of the non-Estonians' leaders was pointed out by the 1996 survey as well, where only every fourth (25%) local Russian believed that Russian-speakers have leaders, who represent them and protect their interests.

The hesitant attitude towards their leaders shows that the Russians-speaking community in Estonia is not politically ambitious. The individuals, who consider themselves the representatives of the Russians-speaking population, have apparently failed so far to win the trust of dominant part of non-Estonians and have not become generally recognised leaders, who would represent the interests of the local Russians.

In a curious way, Estonians consider the Russian-speaking community politically much more united and concentrated around leaders. According to the 2007 survey, 62% of Estonians believed that the Russian-speaking population has definite leaders, who represent its interests. The large difference in opinions of Estonian and non-Estonian respondents certainly also shows how weak is the Estonians' idea and comprehension of the Russian-speaking population's political ambitions.

9. Mobility, willingness to leave current residence

The respondents of the survey judged their mobility by answering the question: „Do you want to leave your present residence“. The respondents willing to leave could choose from two options „intend to leave in the near future“ and „intend to leave, but currently lack the opportunity“. The first answer or the intent to leave in the near future can be assessed as a plan to leave, which could have real meaning. The second answer can be viewed as a dream, because the respondent currently lacks opportunities for realising the intent.

Out of all adults residing in Estonia 22% intend to leave their current residence with 8% intending to do it in the near future and 14% of respondents having a desire to leave, but currently lacking resources to do so. Seventy-four percent of respondents have no plan to leave and 4% have no opinion of the issue.

Estonians:

- 74% do not want to leave their current residence
- 21% want to leave
 - 9% want to leave in the near future
 - 12% want to leave, but currently lack opportunity

Non-Estonians:

- 73% do not want to leave their current residence
- 25% want to leave
 - 7% want to leave in the near future
 - 18% want to leave, but currently lack opportunity

The young are understandably more mobile and more frequently willing to change their current residence.

Estonians. The strongest desire to leave is expressed by the 15-19-year-olds, out of who 34% intend to leave their current residence and out of these 18% want to do so in the near future. Out of the 20-29-year-old Estonians 32% want to leave and 21% hope to leave in the near future. Out of the 30-39-year-old Estonians 25% want to leave and 9% intend to do so in the near future.

Non-Estonians. Among the Russian-speaking youths the youngest group, the 15-19-year olds, is the most mobile or the most strongly oriented to leaving. Russian-speaking youths are even more mobile than their Estonian counterparts. Forty percent of young Russians-speakers have a plan of leaving and 13% intend to leave in the near future. At the same time 27% of the young non-Estonians claim to lack the opportunity to realise their plan in the near future. The plans of leaving of the following age group, the 20-29-year-olds, are weaker than those of the younger ones. Thirty-two percent of respondents want to leave their present residence and 8% plan to leave in the near future.

Trends. Among the 15-29-year-old Estonian youths there were 33% of mobile ones, incl. 20% of those intending to leave and 13% of those dreaming about it. Among the Russian-speaking youths of the same age group there were 35% of mobile respondents, 10% planning to leave and 25% dreaming about it.

The difference between the assessments of the Estonian and non-Estonian youths is that the departure plans of the Estonians could be more realistic. The percentage of Estonians youths planning to leave in the near future is relatively higher.

The respondents also provided more specific answers concerning their plans. We identified two directions of mobility, first domestic mobility or changing residence within Estonia, and secondly leaving Estonia.

Estonians:

- 15-29-year-olds
 - 33% wanted to leave residence
 - 27% intended to change residence in Estonia
 - 6% intended to leave for abroad

Non-Estonians:

- 15-29-year-olds
 - 35% wanted to leave residence
 - 15% intended to change residence in Estonia
 - 20% intended to leave for abroad

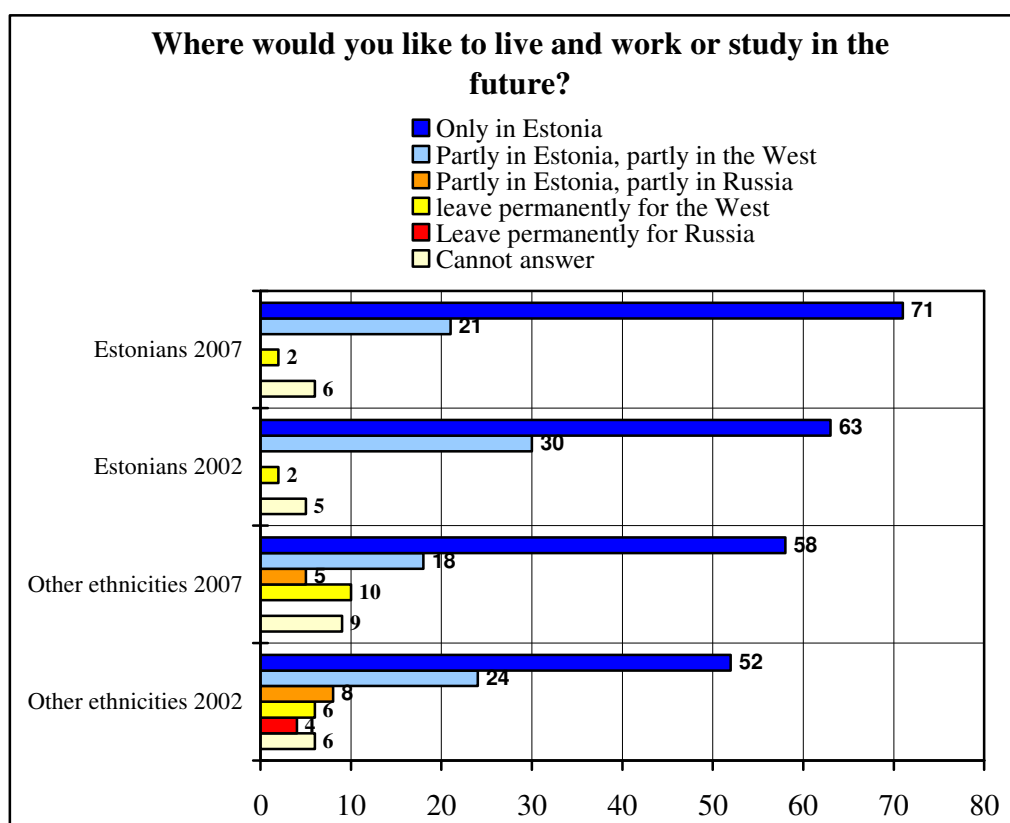
Attraction of the West. The 2007 survey also addressed the issue of mobility and analysed to which extent Estonia's residents want to live and work in Estonia, the Western countries or Russia.

TABLE 20. Where would you like to live and work or study in the future?

(Assessments in %)

	Estonians		Other ethnicities	
	2002	2007	2002	2007
Only in Estonia	63	71	52	58
Partly in Estonia, partly in the West	30	21	24	18
Partly in Estonia, partly in Russia	0	0	8	5
Leave permanently for the West	2	2	6	10
Leave permanently for Russia	0	0	4	0
Cannot answer	5	6	6	9
Total	100	100	100	100

Sources: *Institute for International and Social Studies 2002*
Estonian Institute for Open Society 2007



The outcomes showed the same tendency as those of the 2008 survey. The first preference of the 15-29-years-old non-Estonians is the so-called mixed model. Forty percent of young non-Estonians would like to live and operate (work or study) simultaneously in Estonia and the West. Twenty-three percent of non-Estonian youths want to bind their life and work only with Estonia and 19% of the Russians-speaking youths would permanently leave for the West to live and work there. Russia is preferred by 5% of non-Estonian youths, who would like to live and work simultaneously in Estonia and Russia. None of the respondents was willing to bind his/her future permanently to Russia. This is a very clear trend of the Russian-speakers that they do not see their future in Russia nor do they wish their children to have future in Russia.

A similar scale of preferences prevailed among young Estonians, but the attraction of the West was weaker among Estonians as compared to the young Russians-speakers.

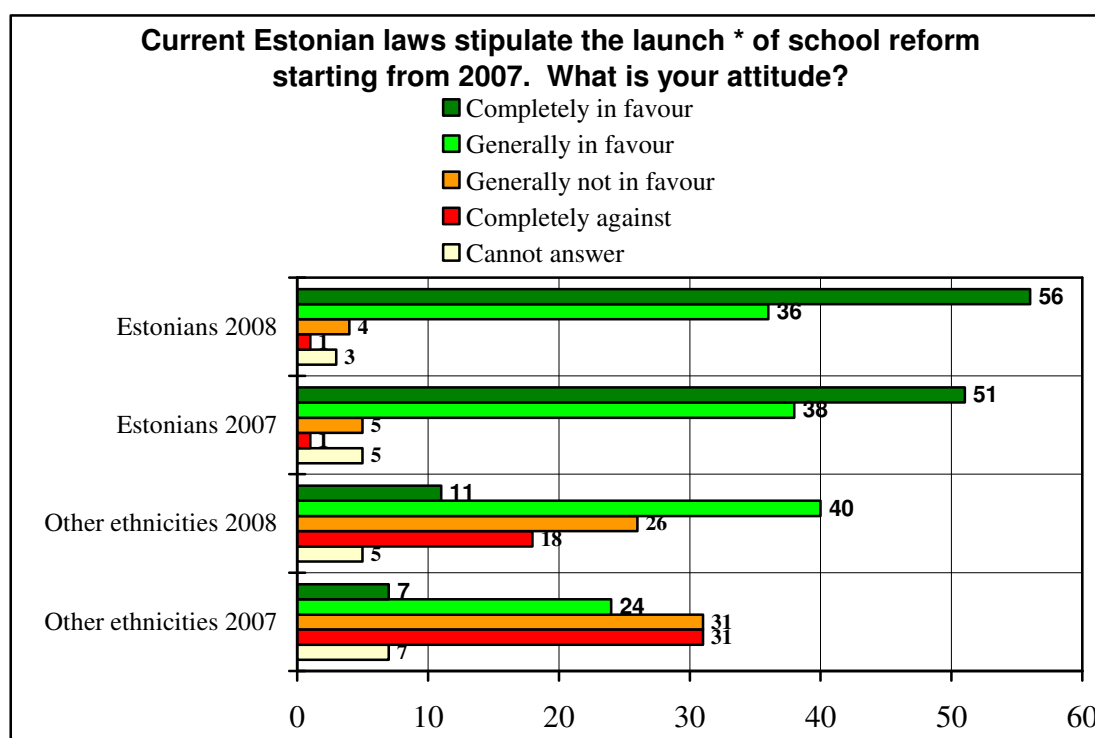
Grammar school reform in Russians-language schools. It can be presumed that studying in Estonia (especially in universities) would become more important for non-Estonian youths as their command of Estonian would improve. The grammar school reform, which was started during past school year (2007/2008) and the preference of late language immersion should create new premises for improving the command of Estonian.

TABLE 21. Current Estonian laws stipulate the launch* of school reform starting from 2007. Russians-language grammar schools would teach subjects in Estonian. The goal calls for teaching 60 % of the subjects in Estonian. What is your attitude?

Assessments in %

	Estonians		Other ethnicities	
	2008	2007	2008	2007
Completely in favour	56	51	11	7
Generally in favour	36	38	40	24
Generally not in favour	4	5	26	31
Completely against	1	1	18	31
Cannot answer	3	5	5	7
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society 2007 and 2008



* The first school year for Russian-language schools was already ending during the 2008 survey; therefore we worded the question of the grammar school reform in the past tense, „the grammar school reform started in 2007“ and included an explanation, „a transition is to take place within six years, resulting in 60% of subjects being taught in Estonian “

An important tendency to be pointed out is the change of the Russian-speaking residents towards more positive. In 2008, 55% of non-Estonian respondents judged the reform of the Russian-language grammar schools as positive („in favour of the reform“), while 44% were negative about the reform. The situation was opposite in the 2007 poll, when only 31% of respondents supported the reform and 62% of non-Estonians opposed it.

A significant change in the attitudes of non-Estonian residents has taken place in one year. The attitudes have become significantly more positive. This certainly shows that the meaning of the reform of the Russian-language grammar schools has become more comprehensible. This understanding has also spread to the Russians, whose children are not directly affected by the reform. The improving of awareness of the Russian-speaking residents has apparently been effective. The fears of the reform and negative prejudice, which prevailed in 2007, have significantly declined.

10. On the meaning of Russia

Marina Kaljurand, who had spent three years as Estonia's ambassador to Moscow, said in a recent interview that Russia should not be feared. The ambassador added that the present Russia cannot be characterised in a few words. Russia is colourful, varied and full of contradictions².

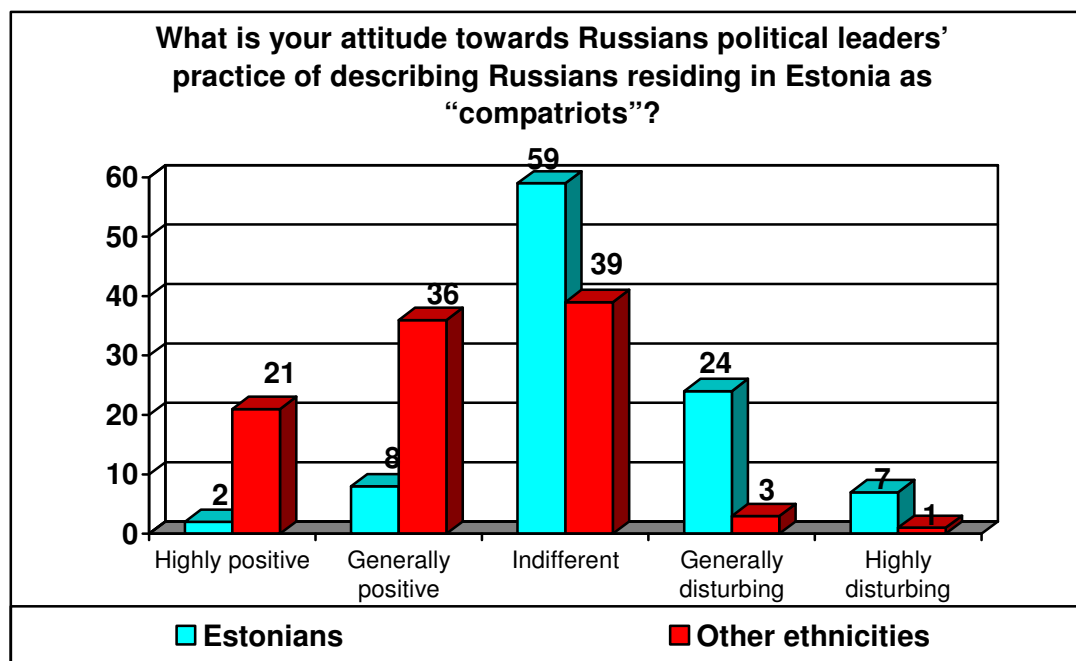
Russia is important for Estonia and not just as a neighbouring country. Russia's attitude and rhetoric have a clear effect on the integration process in Estonia. No survey addressing inter-ethnic relations in Estonia can avoid the analysing of the meaning of Russia. This survey studied the meaning of the term „compatriot” for local Russians and Estonians. Russia's political leaders describe Russians residing in neighbouring countries as compatriots, attempting to use this rhetoric to build an emotional bridge between Russia and Russian-speakers in these neighbouring countries.

TABLE 22. Assessments of Russia's rhetoric about “compatriots” (What is your attitude towards Russians political leaders' practice of describing Russians residing in Estonia as “compatriots”) 2008.a.

(Assessments in %)			
	Estonians	Other ethnicities	Average
Highly positive	2	21	8
Generally positive	8	36	17
Indifferent	59	39	52
Generally disturbing	24	3	18
Highly disturbing	7	1	5
Total	100	100	100

Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society, 2008

² Eesti Päevaleht, 21.06.2008



Russia's "compatriots" rhetoric has a positive meaning for 57% of local Russians. More than half of the Russians-speakers in Estonia like to feel as compatriots of Russia, which shows that the "compatriots" line of Russian propaganda is effective. On the other hand, this rhetoric leaves 39% of local Russians indifferent. Being a compatriot has no significance for them. Only a marginal share (4%) of local Russians is disturbed by the use of this terminology.

Younger local Russians are more indifferent towards the "compatriots" propaganda. Among 15-19-year-old Russians-speaking youths 45% consider the term pleasant and 51% are indifferent. Among 20-29-year-olds 47% like the "compatriot" rhetoric, while 51% remain indifferent. The meaning of the attitudes of the young non-Estonians is significant. The "emotional bridges" advanced by Russian politicians towards young "compatriots" in Estonia are almost as efficient as those used on their older counterparts. If these emotional bridges have an effect, channels are open for influencing the Russian-speaking youths in Estonia.

The compatriot-rhetoric has the greatest effect on the Estonia-based respondents with Russian citizenship. Seventy-four percent of local Russian citizens feel positive about the compatriot term and 22% are indifferent. The positions of Russian-speakers with Estonian citizenship are more passive, 48% like to be a "compatriot", while 46% are indifferent.

The education level of local Russians has no influence on the attitude towards the "compatriot" rhetoric.

A majority of Estonians (59%) is not affected by Russia's "compatriot" rhetoric and it leaves them indifferent. Yet nearly one third (31%) of Estonians feel disturbed by Russian politicians describing local Russians as compatriots.

One of Russia's leading opinion research centres, the Levada Centre, carried out a representative survey in Russia in June 2008. It studied how Russia should respond to ethnic conflicts in the territories, which formerly belonged to the USSR. Most of the respondents

(49%) believed that Russia should interfere with the conflicts by using diplomatic methods. This position was mainly favoured by residents with higher education and higher income level. A smaller share of respondents (39%) believed that Russia should not interfere with ethnic conflicts. This opinion was favoured more by rural residents and individuals with lower income. Six percent of respondents supported the position that Russian should directly and resolutely interfere with ethnic conflicts³.

TABLE 23. Assessment of Russia (Shall Russia become weaker or stronger after Medvedyev took over as president from Putin). 2008.

(Assessments in %)

	Estonians	Other ethnicities	Average
Becomes stronger	11	41	20
Becomes weaker	10	6	9
Would not change	40	35	38
This has no significance	15	10	14
Cannot answer	24	8	19
Total	100	100	100

Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society, 2008

The international media mostly expresses the position that Russia's new president Dmitri Medvedyev is a less hard-line leader with smaller influence compared to ex-president Vladimir Putin. The local Russians' assessments are clearly dominated by positive expectations towards the developments in Russia. A major part of local Russians believe that Russia's strength under the new president would increase or remain as it is.

Attitude towards Russia remains a major factor of difference between Estonians and local Russians. Therefore the analysis and assessment of integration processes in Estonia and the shaping of ideas about inter-ethnic relations cannot avoid discussing Russia's influence on these relations.

The opinions of Estonians and non-Estonians of Russia as Estonia's neighbouring country are diametrically different.

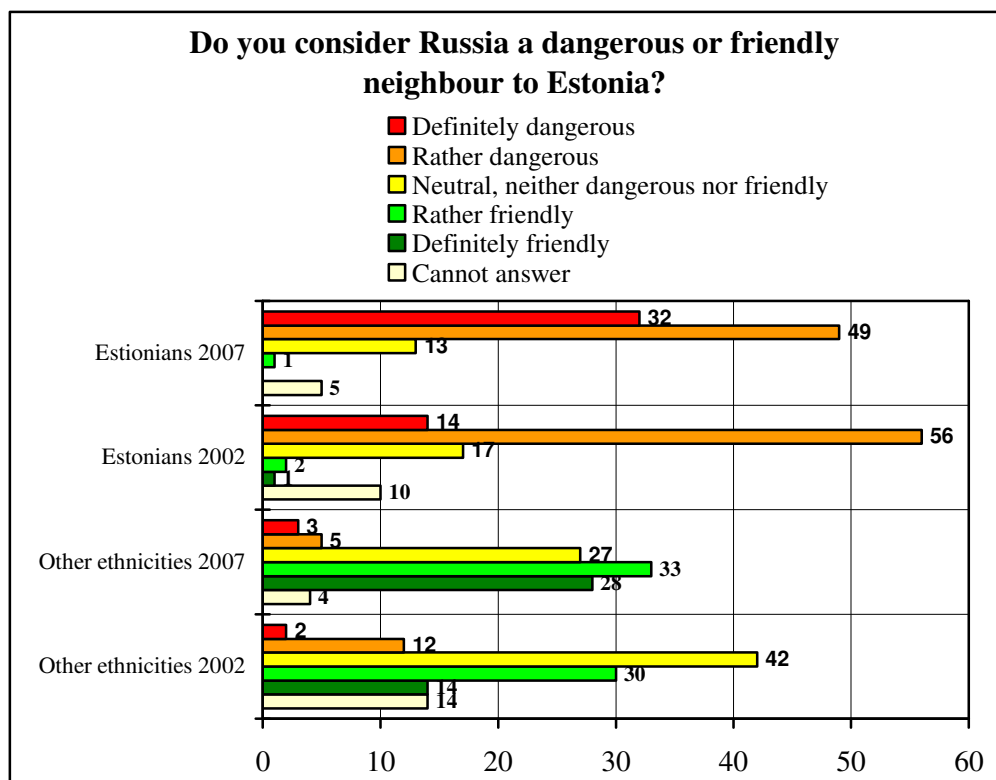
TABLE 24. Do you consider Russia a dangerous or friendly neighbour to Estonia?

Assessments %s

	Estonians		Other ethnicities	
	2002	2007	2002	2007
Definitely dangerous	14	32	2	3
Rather dangerous	56	49	12	5
Neutral, neither dangerous nor friendly	17	13	42	27
Rather friendly	2	1	30	33
Definitely friendly	1	0	14	28
Cannot answer	10	5	14	4
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Estonian Institute for Open Society 2002 and 2007

³ <http://www.levada.ru/press/2008060601.html>



Attitude towards Russia is an important watershed in the ideas and attitudes of Estonians and local Russians. Attitudes of Estonians and non-Estonians towards Russia have somewhat changed in the past five years. The Russians-speakers positions regarding Russia have become more confident and positive. In 2007, 61% of Russians-speaking respondents considered Russia a friendly neighbour for Estonia. Five years earlier, in 2002, 44% of Russian-speakers considered Russia a friendly neighbour. The Russian-speakers, who rated Russia neutral („neither friendly not unfriendly“) in 2002, tended towards a more positive judgement five years later. The local Russians' positive attitude towards Russia was certainly influenced by a sense of disappointment in the Estonian state following the April unrest.

Estonians' attitude towards Russia in 2007 was strongly negative. Nearly one third of Estonians (32%) considered Russia a highly dangerous neighbour in 2007 (14% in 2002 and a further 49% of Estonians rated Russia as a dangerous neighbour in 2007 (56% in 2002).