

Intercultural Policies

The case of Tallinn (Estonia)

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Content

- 1 Introduction..... 4**
- 2 Background information on the country 5**
 - 2.1 History of migration and composition of the migrant populations 5
 - 2.2 National policy context..... 8
- 3 Background information on the city 10**
 - 3.1 Brief description of the city..... 10
 - 3.2 The city’s migrant population and its characteristics/main groups..... 13
 - 3.3 The city’s Muslim population and its characteristics 16
- 4 Local intercultural policies in general 16**
 - 4.1 General approach and responsibility for relations to ethnic and religious organizations in the city 16
 - 4.2 Issues, demands and interests 17
 - 4.3 Forms of relations and dialogue 18
 - 4.4 Relationship between different ethnic groups in the city..... 19
 - 4.5 Public communication..... 19
 - 4.6 Summary and lessons learnt 20
- 5 Intergroup relations and radicalisation 20**
 - 5.1 Radicalisation within the majority population 21
 - 5.1.1 Radicalisation tendencies: who and what..... 21
 - 5.1.2 General approach, policies and measures towards these groups..... 21
 - 5.1.3 Relations between groups 22
 - 5.2 Radicalisation within the migrant and/or minority population..... 22
 - 5.2.1 Radicalisation tendencies: who and what..... 22
 - 5.2.2 General approach, policies and measures towards these groups..... 23
 - 5.2.3 Relations between groups 23
 - 5.3 Communication strategy concerning radicalization 23
 - 5.4 Radicalisation: Summary and lessons learnt..... 24
- 6 Conclusion: Key challenges, lessons and learning for CLIP 24**
- 7 References 25**
- 8 Interviewpartner 26**

Foreword

This report is a part of the Eurofound project „Cities for Local Integration Policy“ (CLIP) launched in 2006. Tallinn is one of the 30 European cities that cooperate in the European network on exchanging information on their Integration Policies. The network implements thematic modules for its research. The first module concentrated on the issue of housing, the second focused on diversity, whereas the third one (in which this report has been written) analyses intercultural policies.

The project aims at collecting and analyzing innovative policies and their successful implementation at the local level, supporting the exchange of experiences between cities and at encouraging a learning process within the network of cities. It addresses the role of social partners: NGOs, companies and voluntary associations in supporting successful integration policies. It aims at providing objective assessment of current practice and initiatives as well as discussing their transferability, communicating good practice to other cities in Europe, leading to guidelines to help the cities to cope more effectively with the challenge of integrating migrants. Another objective is to support the further development of a European integration policy by communicating the policy relevant experiences and outputs of the network to: European organizations of cities and local, regional authorities, the European and national organizations of social partners, the Council of Europe and various institutions of the European Union.

The CLIP network is also a cooperation endeavour between cities and research institutes. Six research institutes (EFMS Bamberg, IMES Amsterdam, Austrian Academy of Science, FIERI Turin, CMPR Swansea, Institute of International Studies Wrocław) are implementing the research of the CLIP project. The researchers of the Institute of International Studies are responsible for this report on Tallinn. Together with the contact person of the municipality of Tallinn, Mr Jaan Urvet, a considerable effort has been undertaken to find necessary data for this report. I would like to thank all the interviewed persons for the time they have accorded me.

The issue of migration policy is prominent among Western European cities with a large population of foreign migrants. The immigration to the new member states is still a marginal issue and thus this report is based on the policies towards ethnic groups stemming mainly from national minorities. The case studies from Eastern European cities are not directly comparable to the Western European cities. The author is fully responsible for the content of this report. The copyright of the report remains with Eurofound.

Patrycja Matusz Protasiewicz

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1 Introduction

The topic of module 3 of CLIP has to do with intergroup relations and intercultural policies in two dimensions: the relations between different groups living in the city and the local authority policy towards these groups. Since CLIP network is based on cities of a different population structure, group in this project is defined broadly as an ethnic, religious, immigrant or national minority group. This kind of understanding of a group is of importance, particularly in case of Eastern European countries where the presence of immigrant groups is still marginal. But in place of immigrants we can talk about national minorities with different cultural, religious and linguistic heritage, included into the state territory as a result of conflicts, wars or border changes. As Heckmann pointed out in the concept paper for the 3rd Module of CLIP: “in *intergroup relation* we have to do with both meanings (of a group): for example, relations between a migrant association and a local branch of a political party or between a religious community and a department of the city administration. When, however, a mayor in a city, for example, wants to improve relations between natives and immigrants, between Christians and Muslims, between natives and a national minority present in the city, he is referring to categories and images of *group*, often to relations of stereotypes that exist in the communication of the urban public.” (Heckmann 2008) There are many actors involved in the process of an intercultural dialogue; this project encompasses the city administration, the city council, political parties, churches, labour unions, welfare organizations, local media etc. In Western European cities the particular attention is paid to the Muslim community and its relations with the local community. Where Muslims are not the most relevant group, the researchers are interested in other faith-based communities.

As a lack of knowledge about one another in the group relations might be influential in provoking of conflicts, therefore another important aspect of this project is understanding of a radicalization process in urban populations and the analysis of intercultural policies striving to avoid or solve the group conflict at the local level.

The case studies in these projects are based on two sources of information: an input by the cities in the Common Reporting Scheme (CRS) and a field visit carried out by the researchers in the cities. CRS was sent to all cities in order to collect the basic information relevant to the module. That is a very important tool for the cities where the intercultural policies had a long tradition. But in some cities, particularly those located in the Eastern Europe, the field visit and interviews with actors involved were of high importance in order to learn the informal practices and actions.

The analysis of the existing documents focused on the programs and activities taken by the city and is placed in the national context of the existing policy. As regards Eastern European cities, not only the existing practices in the field of intercultural dialogue must be taken into consideration but also the question why there are ‘no policies’ or how influential the informal activities are.

Each report is organized in the same manner to facilitate the comparison of the individual cases. In order to provide a high quality case study quality assurance was implemented in the project. One of the important goals of this project is to open a discussion and frequent contacts with different actors involved, which might lead to new projects in the future.

The structure of the report of Tallinn was change due to the specific situation in Estonia and the city itself. The biggest ethnic community in Estonia are Russian speakers it is why the author decided to focus on this group. Other important information is related to the structure of the report. The integration policy in Estonia was in the last 20 years managed on the national level, the first attempts in creation of the local/city integration program has been taken recently but does not give enough empirical materials to fulfill all the chapters of the CLIP module 3 report. The intention of the author was to give a possibly broad picture of the relations in the Estonian society.

2 Background information on the country

2.1 History of migration and composition of the migrant populations

The Republic of Estonia (Eesti or Eesti Vabariik) is the state in the Baltic Region, located in the northeastern part of the Baltic Sea, on the coast of the Gulf of Finland. The territory of Estonia covers 45 227 km² and is inhabited by 1 342 000 people. The Estonian language is similar to Finish, both coming from the Ugro-Finnish language group.

Figure 1. The location of the Republic of Estonia.

United Nations (Cartographic Section)

During its long history, Estonians were subjected to Danish, Teutonic, Swedish and Russian rule. There were two very important moments in the history of Estonia in the 20th century. Firstly, the Estonian Declaration of Independence of 1918 followed by the Estonian War of Independence (1918-1920). In the very short time after this Estonia lost its independence and was occupied by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) from 1940 to 1991 when the state was restored on the basis of the legal continuity of statehood. The Russian occupation deprived Estonia of sovereignty and changed its population structure due to the internal migration of the Russian citizens into the territory of Estonia. Many of Russian immigrants came with the military troops and the other group was formed by the economic immigrants from the destroyed cities as Novogrod or Leningrad. The occupation has been influencing the political, social and cultural internal and external relations. This issue will be discussed in the subsequent part of the report.

Estonia is a diverse society in terms of ethnicity and is comprised of more than one hundred different ethnic groups. According to the data obtained from the Statistical Office and Ministry of Interior in October 2008, the total number of registered population of Estonia was 1 346 456 and a part of this figure, that is 1 144 601 accounts for the number of Estonian citizens. In addition, 50 839 Estonians live abroad. The number of residents of undetermined citizenship comes to 108 383 and the number of residents with the citizenship of another state amounts to 111 475 (divided into the respective nations such as: 92 600 citizens of Russian Federation, 4 921 Ukrainians, 2 647 Finns, 1 832 Latvians, 1 510 Lithuanians, 1 386 Byelorussians)

From the figures it seems very interesting to see both the dynamics in the population structure changing due to the occupation of Russia and the inflow of Russian citizens into the territory of Estonia. Let us examine this in more detail in the table below.

Table 1. The number of minorities living in Estonia (based on nationality).

Ethnicity	1934	1989	2000	2006
Estonians	993 000 (88%)	963 000 (61%)	930 000 (68%)	921 900 (69%)
Russians	93 000 (8%)	475 000 (30%)	351 000 (26%)	345 200 (26%)
Germans	16 000 (2%)	3 000 (0,2%)	2 000 (0,1%)	1 900 (0,1%)
Swedes	8 000 (0,7%)	300 (0,02%)	-----	-----
Jews	4 000 (0,4%)	500 (0,3%)	2 000 (0,1%)	1 900 (0,1%)
Finns	-----	17 000 (1%)	12 000 (1%)	11 200 (1%)
Ukrainians	-----	48 000 (3%)	29 000 (2%)	28 300 (2%)
Byelarusians	-----	28 000 (2%)	17 000 (1%)	16 300 (1%)
Others	13 000 (1%)	30 000 (2%)	27 000 (2%)	18 000 (1%)
Total	1 127 000 (100%)	1 564 800 (100%)	1 370 000 (100%)	1 344 700 (100%)

Source: Statistical Office of Estonia

In Estonia 31% of citizens are not ethnic Estonians by origin. A vast majority of this group are Russian speakers (mainly Russians but also representatives of other former republics of the USSR). During the Russian occupation due to the economic growth and political decisions many Russians migrated into the territory of Estonia. After the reestablishment of its independence in 1991, all the settlers from the occupation time were legally regarded as immigrants. Due to this decision a huge part of the former citizens of Estonia changed its status into citizens of another country or became stateless persons. During the time, some of them were naturalized or took out the citizenship of another country. According to the statistics, 6,3% of population are Russian citizens, 0,7% nationals of other countries and 12,4% remain stateless. Most of the non-citizens are holders of long-term residence permits giving them the same rights in the socio-economic sphere, but their political rights are limited to the passive vote on the municipal level; also, they are not allowed to hold certain public offices.

2.2 National policy context

The population of Estonia is very diverse and the existence of different minority groups requires implementation of laws considering the European Union and international regulations. The discussions on the cultural policy and relations between the majority and minorities were undergoing various stages after 1991. It is understandable, though that after the ending of the Soviet regime and gaining independence Estonia faced the problem of citizens of Russian origin as a significant group of society. In the studies carried out by numerous organizations, there are certain opinions of Estonians, who expected the Russian speakers living for years in their country to be assimilated rapidly. An example of such opinion, based on the research carried out by Amnesty International, is presented below:

“I don’t mind them, they have a right to live here as well, but they have to understand that this is Estonia now. If they want to live here, be Estonian citizens and work here, they should learn Estonian and learn about Estonian culture. For so long, we had been under Russian influence, forced to learn Russian. It is important that we assert our national identity now in order for our culture and our language, to survive and develop.”

Johannes, an ethnic Estonian man in his mid-20s, living in Tallinn.¹

This statement was very typical of the discussion, especially in the mid 90s. It shows how emotional the question of nationality, identity and language for both sides was. Estonians who gained their independence after the long Soviet occupation, are willing to return to their language, culture, as the symbols of the state and nation. For Russian speakers who had lived here for years or were born here, the Russian language was a part of their identity and with the political change in the country they were confronted with the question of their identity.

The debate was focused primarily on issues such as the status of non-Estonians, citizenship policy, integration of minorities and language and cultural policy. All the solutions in this field were obscured by the memory of the Russian occupation, Stalin’s deportations and the process of Russification of Estonia still living in the elderly and middle-aged generation.

In addition, the law on which the minority issues are based should be mentioned as well. The definition of a minority group is contained in the *Law on the Cultural Autonomy of National Minorities*. To be a part of a minority, its members must:

- Be citizens of Estonia;
- Reside in Estonia;
- Have long-term, stable and strong links with Estonia;

¹ Estonia. Linguistic minorities. Discrimination must end, Amnesty International 51/002/2006

- Differ from ethnic Estonians on the basis of their ethnic affiliation, cultural, religious traditions or linguistic characteristics;
- Be guided by the desire to conserve, by joint efforts their cultural traditions, religion and language, underlying their common identity.

The law allows the minorities to constitute themselves as autonomous communities. The law limits the rights of such groups as Finns or Danes who are living in the territory of Estonia and do not have the Estonian citizenship. It is possible to form cultural or religious communities such as Jewish communities did from the beginning of the 90s.

There are some important documents related to the intergroup relation policy and minority policy in Estonia. The Ministry of Culture is one of the main institutions dealing with minority issues. The Ministry has numerous duties, one of them being: "to support the cultural autonomy of ethnic minority living in Estonia". In the *Development Plan for 2009-2012* the priority was also given to promoting of the diversity of Estonian culture. Estonians and other cultural institutions, organizations, NGOs and clubs are financed from the public sources based on the documents mentioned above.

The main goals for the integration policy in the future are formulated in the *State Integration Programme 2008- 2013*, prepared by the academics and practitioners pursuant to the commission of the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Estonia.² There were 6 main fields defined for the Integration Program:

- Education (incl. teaching the language to adults and pupils, teaching history and social studies, citizenship education)
- Tolerance and intercultural dialogue, media
- Naturalization, political identity
- Social risk groups
- Labour market
- Study of local governments

The New Integration Programme has replaced the previous one from the year 2000-2007. Under many symbolic and practical issues connected with the relations between Estonians and non-Estonians there are two aspects which continue to be debated: the sense of citizenship, education and language. During the last 15 years, the number of naturalized people increased, but the question whether naturalization and the Estonian citizenship automatically translate into complete

² Public Procurement No 034118, State Integration Programme Development, 2008-2013, PRAXIS, University of Tartu, Institute of Baltic States, HILL&KNOWLTON, Geomedia

integration remains open. On the other hand, the knowledge and use of the Estonian language among non-Estonians remains a hot issue. Estonian is the official language of the country, however, the state and local governments provide some information in Russian, in the places where the majority of inhabitants are Russian (eastern part of the country, close to the Russian border but also in the city of Tallinn) the local authority is obliged to offer the services in both languages. The comparison of proportions of the Russian speakers in the population of some cities is shown in the table below.

Table 2. The national minority percentage in 3 Estonian cities.

City	Minority percentage
Tallinn	46%
Narva	95%
Kohtla-Järve	82%

Source: Statistical Office of Estonia 2007

On the other hand, the knowledge of the Estonian language is helpful in the intergroup relations and to the majority of Estonians it is a symbol of the willingness to integrate. At the same time there is still Russian–language education parallel to the Estonian system. Under the law implemented in 2007, Russian language secondary schools should adopt the Estonian language of instructions of at least 60% of the lessons.

Concluding, some institutions should be mentioned: The Integration Foundation – quasi governmental institution established in 1998 and responsible for the state program *Integration in Estonian Society*, which is based on two principles: the social harmonization of society and the opportunity to maintain ethnic differences. Another institution supporting the integration process is the Estonian Union of National Minorities. It is a non-governmental, non-profit organization representing about 50 various organizations nationwide. The other body is the *President of the Republic’s Roundtable on National Minorities* founded in 1993 as a consultative organ where the representatives of the important groups were invited to discuss the important issues. All the institutions are working in the field of integration of different ethnic, cultural, religious and language groups living in Estonia.

3 Background information on the city

3.1 Brief description of the city

Tallinn is the capital and the largest city of the Republic of Estonia. It is located in the north-eastern part of the country, covers the area of 159km², with 399 096 inhabitants. For local

government's purposes, Tallinn is subdivided into 8 administrative districts (Estonian: *linnaosad*, sg. - *linnaosa*). The district governments are city institutions that fulfill, in the territory of their district, the functions assigned to them by Tallinn legislation and statutes. Each district government is managed by an Alderman (Estonian: *linnaosavanem*).

Table 3. General data of Tallinn

General data of Tallinn	Year 2006
Population	399 096
Area, km ²	159,2
Population density per 1 km ²	2 507
Natural increase	659
Unemployment rate (relation between unemployed and the labour force) %	4,5
Average monthly gross wages	703
Average monthly retirement pension EUR	194
Internet users, %	61
Higher education institutions	27

According to Eurostat, the statistical agency of the European Union, of all EU member states' capital cities, Tallinn has the largest number of non-EU nationals: 27.8% of its population are non- EU citizens. This is because the Soviet occupation (1944-1991) brought large numbers of non-Estonians, mostly Russians, to Tallinn and other areas of Northern Estonia, and while those people and their descendants have been steadily naturalizing, many -- by some estimates, around half of Tallinn's current ethnic Russian population -- have still not taken the route to citizenship. Figure 2 shows the changes in the percentage of the people with different citizenship in Estonia from 1992 to 2007. It is clear that the number of people with underdetermined citizenship has been reduced significantly.

Figure 2. The percentage of people with different citizenship in Estonia.

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

The economic situation of Tallinn has been changed in the last years as a result of foreign direct investments and growth of new branches of industry. In addition to its longtime functions as a seaport, Tallinn has seen the development of an information technology sector in recent years. The economic growth resulted from foreign direct investments, mainly in the field of finance, real estate and business services and manufacturing industry. (Bank of Estonia 2008) The table below shows the main socio-economic indicators in Tallinn in the year 2007.

Table 4. The socio-economic indicators in Tallinn (per month).

Average gross wages	828
Average net wages of household per capita	396
Average old-age pension	246
Subsistence level	150
Subsistence minimum	64
Minimum expenditure on foodstuffs	56
Minimum wage	278

Source: Statistical Office of Estonia

Due to the convenient geographic location and the proximity to Scandinavia and Russia, Tallinn has attracted foreign direct investments as well as tourists, owing to those, tourism has become an important branch of the Estonian economy. It is worth mentioning that since 1997 Tallinn's Old Town has been on the UNESCO's World Heritage List, which is the pull factor for the tourists.

3.2 The city's migrant population and its characteristics/main groups

As it was already mentioned, the population of Estonia due to the political and historical changes, is very diverse in terms of ethnicity. The figures show that 54,9% of Tallinn's population are Estonians, followed by Russians with 36,5% and other Russian speakers coming from other former republics of the Soviet Union.

Table 5. The percentage of minorities in Tallinn.

Nationality	Percentage
Estonians	54,9
Russians	36,5
Ukrainians	3,6
Byelorussians	1,9
Finns	0,9
Others	3,1

Source: Tallinn. Facts&Figurs

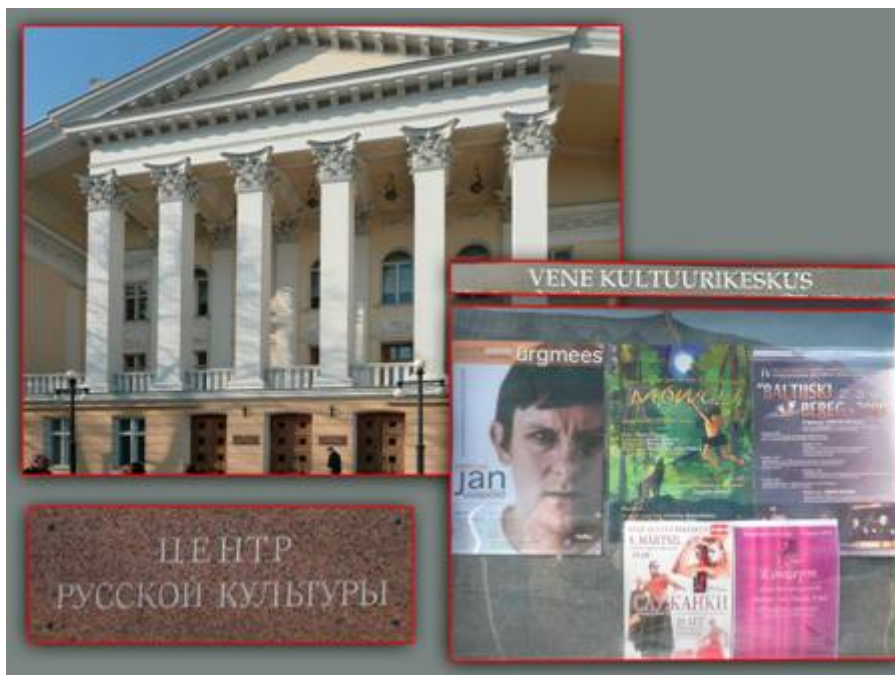
Most members of the Russian - speaking community were living in Estonia where it gained independence in 1991 so they have arrived to Estonia during the Soviet time or were born there. In 1991, the government decided that only those people who had been Estonian citizens until 1940 and their descendants would be automatically recognized as citizens of Estonia. This meant that people who internally migrated there in the USSR or were born there were from this moment on perceived as stateless. The question of citizenship was broadly discussed during the 90s' and the pre-accession time. Estonia was obliged by the EU to regulate the rights of the Russian speakers. The persons without the Estonian citizenship can live in Estonia pursuant to the European Union Council Directive 2003/109/EC principle of a "long -term resident"; such status gives these persons the right to live and work in the EU countries.

While analyzing the situation of the minorities in Tallinn, it ought to be clarified that the pictures of minorities are rather simple in terms of policy and a dialogue. The biggest group is formed by Russian speakers, however the structure of this group is very diverse in terms of its members' status (Russian speaking citizens of Estonia, citizens of other countries, such as Russia, Byelorussia, Ukraine, stateless persons) and socio-economic position. The Russian speakers are organized in the city in different organizations based on the common interest. It is important to add that at present, there are over 200 registered societies and unions of minorities in Estonia. The majority of creative groups belong to 17 umbrella organisations. One of those is: The International Association of National and Cultural Societies Lüüra (this is the umbrella organization for many smaller association: Angola-Estonia Friendship Society, Armenian National Union of South

Estonia , Art Studio *Buta* , Byelorussia Culture Society *Ljos Byliina*, Caucasian Estonians, Chinese Association in Estonia, Creative Society *Melodia*, National Minorities' Culture and Sports Union *Lüüra*, Estonian Tatar Culture Society *Idel*, Estonian-Turkmen Culture Society *AK Maija* , Estonian-Ukrainian Cultural Centre *Kolos* , Estonian-Uzbek Culture Union *Nargiza* , Folk Dance Ensemble *Ariran* , Folklore Ensemble *Žurba*, Georgian Culture Society *Adžaaaria*, Georgian National Ensemble *Mamuli* , Georgian Society in Estonia, Humanities Centre *Prosha* , Jewish Fraternity in Estonia, Kabardinia Culture Society *Elbrus* , Kabardian Ensemble *Terek*, Korean Culture Society in Estonia, Lezghin Culture Society in Estonia, National Georgian Society *Iveria* of Tallinn, National Minorities Artists's Creative Society *Art Master* , National Minorities' Culture and Sports Union *Lüüra*, Ossetia National Culture Society *IR Pölvkond* , Seto Song Society *Sõsarõ* , Slavic Society *Läte*, Society of North Estonia Gypsies, Society of Visual Arts *Tšarõ*, Women's Club *Lüüra Naised*). Russkij Dom is the other example of such organization (the part of it are: Art Studio *Exclusive*, Childhood Academy, Cultural- Publishing Centre *Zlata*, Estonian- Russian Entrepreneurs Chamber, *Rubiin*, Russian Youth Theatre, Russian speaking Students Society *Ros*, *Sofiit* – Club, *Virumaa* Student Union, Youth Society *Kraski Zemli*, *Zion Club*). The main directions in the activities of ethnic minorities' cultural societies involve choral and vocal singing, choreography, amateur theatre, visual and media arts, literature and publishing, educational activities, decorative and applied art as well as work in clubs and hobby groups. They are both national and local funds available for the activities. The ethnic organizations are expect to apply for grants for their project.

The city of Tallinn has supported the activities taken by the minority organizations thus contributing to the development of Estonian culture or the cooperation between different groups living in the city. An outstanding example of the financial support obtained by the Russian speaker community is renovation of the Russian House and sponsorship of its activities. This prestigious building is located in the centre of the city and after its restoration it appears to be the most renowned concert hall. According to the city authorities, this is the only Russian culture centre outside Russia entirely sponsored by local authorities. The centre hosts concerts, theatrical performances, workshops for children, etc.

Picture 1. The centre of Russian culture.



Source: photograph taken by the author.

Apart of the cultural organization there are as well NGO's working in the field of ethnic relations and discrimination issues. One of them is LICHR legal information centre which is dealing with "the provision of legal aid to human rights violations' victims and the processing and collection of relevant information on the situation in Estonia." LICHR is focussing on the minorities' issues and the challenges of migration policies.

Applications to LICHR by problems, 2002

Family reunification	23 %
Resident permits	21 %
Legalization of residence, illegal residents	15 %
State language requirements	12 %
Access to citizenship	8 %
Identification documents	4 %
Human trafficking	6 %
Freedom of movement, visas	2 %
Applications to international institutions	2 %
Other	7 %

Source: LICHR, 2002

This kind of organizations assist mainly the Russian speakers by dealing with the public administration.

3.3 The city's Muslim population and its characteristics

In Tallinn there is no Muslim community active at present. There are members of the Tatar community who belong to the Islam faith, they are mainly Russian speakers. The Tatars living in Estonia are not organized as a community that is why they do not play the role of an actor within the public space. The situation of Tatar community in Tallinn is comparable to the other Eastern European countries where they are present. They are mainly well- assimilated with the society, knowing the language and culture. In some countries, such as Poland, they are cultivating their religious and cultural life. The Tatars do not have any organization as a religious community. In the process of integration in Estonia, two sides are involved, namely: non – Estonians and Estonians. Non – Estonians, according to the figures, are understood as the Russian speakers. This group was the target group for the purposes of this research.

4 Local intercultural policies in general

4.1 General approach and responsibility for relations to ethnic and religious organizations in the city

The city of Tallinn is governed by the City Mayor, the City Council (*Linnavolikogu*) and the City Government (*Linnavalitsus*). The City Council is directly elected by the citizens and has 63 members. The City Council Office, 11 Committees and separate City District Council are affiliated to the City Council due to the administrative division of Tallinn into 8 districts (*Haabersti, Centre, Krisinne, Lasnamäe, Mustamäe, Nõmme, Pirita, Northern Tallinn*). The City Government is the executive body and is composed of the City Mayor and six Deputy Mayors who are responsible for up to three of the twelve municipal departments. The Department of Cultural Affairs and Department of Development are in charge of intergroup relations and intercultural relations, however, all other units are interconnected over different issues of the city population. The City Mayor of Tallinn is the leader of the Council of Minorities, the platform for discussions and the consultative body for the decisions on minority issues. The City Office of Tallinn is responsible for the diversity policy. The main person responsible in this field is the City Secretary who is appointed by the City Mayor of Tallinn. In the City Council 20 seats, out of 61, belong to the representatives coming from national minorities. They are actively working in the committees in the areas of culture, education and social affairs, but they are much more represent the parties

point of view than the the Russian speaker minority's interest. As various studies show, the minority community is very heterogeneous by their opinions and interests. According to Valeria Jacobson "the minority interests" on the level of the city are not really formulated clearly. Many of the politicians from Russian speakers community follow the "general line of the party" and not the interest of the group.

4.2 Issues, demands and interests

Integration policy in Estonia, initiated in the late 90s, was addressed mainly to the non-Estonian Russian-speaking population defined as a target group in the process of integration. In some programs, Russian speakers were divided into such target groups as e.g. in the educational program- or labour market-oriented activities, but in general, the non-Estonian community has been perceived as a homogeneous body.

In the initial phase of integration policy, the activities were implemented nationwide. An Estonian model of integration assumed that minorities would gain equal opportunities as Estonians and simultaneously they would preserve their ethnic heritage. This assumption located this program in the multicultural model. On the other hand, from the very beginning, the minorities were expected to acquire the Estonian language and to accept the rules in the new Estonian state.

According to the Estonian Open Society Institute research of 2007, $\frac{3}{4}$ of the residents of Tallinn considered the integration process unsuccessful. These results were a stimulus for the city of Tallinn to develop its own integration activities. The local policy is based on the state integration program and is addressed to all minorities living in Tallinn. On the basis of the data from the City of Tallinn, the activities should ensure the minorities equal opportunities.

The program *Kodurahu* – Peace in the Community has been currently developed with the aim of improving the relations between Estonians and non-Estonians living in Tallinn. The objective of the program, according to its leaders, "is the peaceful co-existence in the community". But having analyzed the structure of the program it appears to be focused on the development of inter-group relations and interactions between both communities. In all the activities the authorities strive for the common interest of the groups in order to bring them closer and to reduce the division between two communities in one society. The program covers the following activities:

- Working group of 15 leaders of minority organizations (5 groups: media, education, culture, politics, economics)
- The Home Peace Forums
- The training trips for the NGO leaders
- Media scholarships for the journalist writing about integration process

- Information Centre for Minorities
- Mentor Program
- Unemployment Club
- Funds for entrepreneurs
- Training program for non-Estonians³

All the activities taken up by the Tallinn's authorities are focused on building up the dialogue platform through different forms of communication in the local community. The city authority strongly supports all the activities of NGOs of Estonians as well as non- Estonians in various spheres of the social life. According to the representatives of NGOs there is no cooperation between the organizations of both communities. The Russian organizations are more distrustful of contacts with the officials; they seem to be less prone to participate in programs and activities of the local community and more closed in their own interest group. So is the case with Estonian organizations which do not seek contacts with „Russian” organizations. The situation of NGOs and other Estonian organizations appears to be more favourable though, due to the obvious knowledge of the language or e.g. the regulations on fund raising for its activities.

The persons working for NGOs interviewed by the author emphasized the fact that in the programs addressed to both groups, the cultural differences are clearly seen in their works as well as means of expression (Estonian Amateur Theater Association, Children Organization). Madli Parts, the leader of the program called: „*The Capital of Culture 2011* stressed that "it is hard to get through to the Russian –speaking community and include it into the program, even though it is so comprehensive and multidimensional. It took a year to get to know one another."

All statements concerning the cooperation between Estonians and non-Estonians, as well as the research referred to above about the little effectiveness of the national integration program indicate that in the local programs the emphasis should be placed on cooperation and getting to know each other, which could prevent tensions and a lack of understanding and promote one Estonian society instead of two parallel societies. The elements hindering this process are not only cultural differences, but above all the language.

4.3 Forms of relations and dialogue

As it was mentioned before, in the city of Tallinn, the City Office and one of the City Mayors are directly responsible for integration activities, including diversity policy and intercultural policy. The city authority has been using its formal and informal relations to gain knowledge about minority

³ As the program is in its initial stage of development its website is not available in English www.kodurahu.eu

issues. The minority organizations and its leaders have been invited to participate in the consultative body as part of the *Kodurahu* program, whereas minority representatives are members of the Minority Council and on many occasions are invited to the debate on integration issues. The city authority is a publisher of a free newspaper as a tool in the communication process with the Russian-speaking community. On the website of the European Commission there are information about the use of both Estonian and Russian language in the official contacts of the administration with the citizens even though Russian is not the official language of the country. The development of the local integration policy of the City of Tallinn is a good example of the attempts at creating inter-group relations in the society where the term “Two Estonias” is still used in the public debate.

4.4 Relationship between different ethnic groups in the city

There is no evidence in favour of close cooperation of different ethnic groups co-existing in Tallinn but at the same time there are neither conflicts nor competition in fund rising. As mentioned previously, both communities, namely Estonians and Russian speakers, are living in two separated worlds, using different educational systems, media and obviously different languages.

All persons interviewed by the author put stress on the fact that both communities are not cooperating mutually of their own free will, and the project leaders have been facing the challenge to get these groups together. However, according to Madli Parts, the leader of the program *The Capital of Culture 2011* “there are some fields where mostly young people are able to cooperate with each other, for example: hip-hop culture, jazz music, modern art etc.” The role of the city authority is not only to support both communities separately but to pay more attention to the common projects as a means of better communication and integration of both communities.

4.5 Public communication

In the field of public communication it is important to mention that the city of Tallinn is aware of the existence of two main languages in its territory and has been trying to get through to both communities with the important information about the city life. The city has been publishing a free newspaper *Capital* in both Estonian and Russian. This newspaper is a means of communication with both communities and is significant, particularly in relation to communication with the Russian community. The city publishes current information about all spheres of the public life, the decisions taken by the authorities, cultural events and the like. Both versions vary also in terms of contents, as they are not merely translations of one newspaper. Such perception of both communities by the city authorities reflects the opinion referred to by both parties that the groups differ very much. Undoubtedly, providing information in the Russian language is a good gesture on the part of the City.

This is not the only example of communicating information by the authorities to the Russian minority in the language of the minority. In the district of Mustamäe, a district newspaper has been prepared in two language versions so that, as Nikolai Degtjarenko, Deputy Mayor of Mustamäe, put it: information was conveyed to the Russian-speaking inhabitants accounting for a substantial part of the district population.

As for the role of the media for both groups, it ought to be stressed that Russian speakers use both local and Russian media in the Russian language. The survey carried out by the Legal Information Centre for Human Rights “shows that practically all Russian speaking citizens of the city watch constantly the programs of Russian TV stations. Regarding the Estonian and Russian printed press, the reciprocal negative assessment shows rather that Estonians do not read the local Russian language dailies and magazines, nor do Russians read the same in Estonian.” These results show that both groups are influenced by different media and as regards non-Estonians, the situation is even more complex because they are influenced by another state media system, where the media are serving as a tool in the political system.

4.6 Summary and lessons learnt

In the end, it is important to note that in relation to the inter-group relations and intercultural policy at the local level in Tallinn, the city authority is trying to develop its own strategy in the area of integration of all citizens of the city. The strategy is based on the principles of state integration program modified in the local way. The biggest challenge to the persons developing the program, both on the national and state levels is to bring both groups closer, to build mutual communication, thus creating one combined, although extremely ethnically-diverse Estonian society out of two parallel ones. Getting through to both groups is even more difficult for according to the survey „Estonia: Interethnic relations and the issue of discrimination in Tallinn” as many as 63.1 % Estonians and 59,2 % Non- Estonians believe that ethnic groups are isolated from each other. It was also found that the minorities are poorly informed about the activities of the official institutions working in the field of integration (Legal Information Centre for Human Rights, 2006)

5 Intergroup relations and radicalisation

In the case of Tallinn we cannot talk about radicalization of attitudes towards minorities living in the city. There is rather a kind of incomprehension, the process of parallel communities living in one territory. The use of two different languages and divided education, but most of all the different assessment of the history of Estonia, may lead to tensions between Estonians and non-Estonians. The relations between both groups should be perceived in the broader perspective,

including the geopolitical context, the relations between the EU and Russia. It is important to add that the Russian speaking community in Estonia might be influenced by the Kremlin's points of view through the media. Russians speakers in Estonia feel attached to the territory and history of the place but not exactly to the state of Estonia; using the Russian language and living in its culture they seem to be close to Russia as well.

5.1 Radicalisation within the majority population

5.1.1 Radicalisation tendencies: who and what

The public discussion about integration in Estonia and relations between Estonians and non-Estonians appeared on the front pages of newspapers many times in the last years but doubtlessly the year 2007 opened a new chapter in this debate. Definitely, the monuments and memorial sites were the subject of much controversy in Estonia as to Estonians they were/are the symbol of Russian occupation, but to Russian speakers in Estonia they constituted a part of the community history. In April 2007, the Soviet war memorial was relocated to the Military Cemetery from the centre of the city. The decision was taken by the Government. This relocation led to demonstrations and riots in Tallinn on a large scale. The Bronze Soldier was a symbol of history mainly to the older generation of Russian speakers but the relocation was interpreted by all Russians as an act against this minority.

This event was interpreted differently by both parties involved. Despite double interpretation there were achievements, namely: the public debate about integration and the media interest in this issue. The majority of the Estonian respondents (59%) and the large population of the non-Estonians (40%) held the opinion that the integration policy should be continued and should be made more effective.⁴

5.1.2 General approach, policies and measures towards these groups

There is no special, explicitly defined policy or strategy against radicalization or radical attitudes towards any group constituting a part of Estonian society. But the Estonian government has been putting emphasis on the issues connected with the intergroup relations and integration in the Estonian society. The document, survey and research, such as the Foundation for the Integration Programme are very in-depth and interdisciplinary, touching all the spheres of social life. The State Integration Programme pays attention to the development of equal opportunity for all citizens living in Estonia and the improvement of the situation of the Russian speakers in education, the labour market and public life. As a member of the European Union and other

⁴ State Integration Programme 2008-2013. Final Report on Needs and Feasibility Research, ISBN 978-9985-9939-5-8

international organizations, such as for example NATO, Estonia is responsible for prevention of any kind of violence and radicalization in order to guarantee the international security.

5.1.3 Relations between groups

In Tallinn we may refer to relations between two groups: Estonians and non-Estonians understood as the Russian speakers. At the beginning of the report the author quoted the statement of the young Estonian about the position of the Russian speakers in the Estonian society. Since the beginning of the 90s, the debate has been extremely emotional. Yet at present, from all the interviews made in connection with the research as well as informal conversations during the author's visit in Tallinn, there emerges a picture of acceptance of existence of a large group of Russian speakers in the society and the issues pertaining to integration are treated very seriously. The authorities are sensible to the potential discrimination of Russian speakers and are trying make the relations as good as possible. In all the opinions given by Estonians and Russians one view is recurrent: "We are so different". This difference comes down to the language and culture issues. Estonian culture is much closer to Scandinavia, whereas Russian culture is more Slavic. In personal relations Estonians are much more close and reserved and the Russians are very emotional, open to the new people, much more attached to their families. All the differences were manifested in the interviews. The awareness of the differences influence the development of common relations because both groups are not trying to bridge to other. The existence of two parallel communities living in one society may be observed. Such division is additionally strengthened by the divided system of education, watching different media and reading different newspapers. When we consider the example of Capitol newspaper published by the City of Tallinn in two language versions, we can see that they are not identical, but they cover different information, as both the city as well as the editorial staff treat both groups in a different manner.

If we take the number of mixed marriages as an indicator for intergroup relations, it seems clear that the communities exist next to each other and the interactions are correct but limited because only 3% of all marriages are interethnic, between Estonians and non – Estonians.

5.2 Radicalisation within the migrant and/or minority population

5.2.1 Radicalisation tendencies: who and what

In such ethnically varied society as the Estonian society some kind of tensions between different communities are difficult to avoid. As mentioned previously, the Bronze Soldier incident has recently been the most radical confrontation between Estonians and non- Estonians based on the differences in the perception of historical memory. In everyday life in Estonia the tensions between both groups are not perceptible. But according to the research done in Estonia by one sociologist, a new term was coined, namely "Estonian Russians" as opposed to the criticized

“Russian speakers” or “non-Estonians”. The new phrase is justified in surveys. Estonian Russians do not identify themselves with Russia; the majority claims that both groups, that is Estonian Russians and Russian Russians differ significantly. Estonian Russians have their territorial identification, a sense of belonging to the place they live in.. They do not show a tendency to defiance or a lack of acceptance of the institution of the Estonian state and at the same time they are aware of their otherness . To the question „Who do you think you are in the first place?” the most popular answer for non-Estonians was “Russians” (31%), followed by “Estonian residents” (25%), “Tallinn residents” (23%) and “Estonian citizens” (16%), respectively. It is important to remember that more than half of non-Estonians could not select the last option because formally they are not Estonian citizens (Legal Information Centre for Human Rights 2006). There is some evidence to suggest that there are no radical tendencies in the non-Estonian community against the Estonians or the state. The members of the non-Estonian community are loyal to the state and its institutions but they would like to have an influence on the policy of the country same as the Estonians have. On the other hand, as it was mentioned before, they want to preserve their language and culture.

5.2.2 General approach, policies and measures towards these groups

Radical attitudes within the minority group towards the majority or other groups seem to be absent and there is no evidence for acts of violence for ethnic reasons. The city of Tallinn has not developed any special policy or measures against radicalisation.

5.2.3 Relations between groups

The integration process and inter-group relations in Tallin, as it was already explained, are rather narrowed to two ethnically different groups: Estonians and non- Estonians (mainly Russian speakers). The relations between both groups have been analyzed in the previous parts of this report.

5.3 Communication strategy concerning radicalization

One may not identify a special communication strategy pertaining to radicalization, for as it was stated previously, such radicalization, attitude or behavior of minority groups or the majority of society against each other is not observable. The only exception referred to the unrest connected with the Bronze Soldier which triggered off a public debate on the effectiveness of the integration policy of the state. As a result of the survey on public feelings, changes have been introduced in the new State Integration Program for the years 2008-2013.

5.4 Radicalisation: Summary and lessons learnt

The Estonian society appears to be very diverse and the structure of minorities in the city of Tallinn is very complex, but as various studies show, the communities are rather separated from one another and the interethnic contacts did not improve in the last year despite the pursued integration policy. It is remarkable that in spite of limited contacts and isolation of both groups there is no evidence of radical attitudes towards each other. However, the Russian speakers feel discriminated in their access to some institutional or political positions due to the ethnic background. Owing to the differences in the perception of history, the aims of the integration process as well as limited interethnic contacts leading to mistrust and stereotypes, there is space for potential conflicts. Such a threat was seen by the authorities in connection with the events associated with the Bronze Soldier. Even though no tendencies towards defiance of the minorities in relation to the state or its institutions or the majority are perceptible, the lack of contacts between them and knowledge about each other seems to be quite worrying. These phenomena as a result of provocation, changes of the geopolitical situation (relations between EU Russia, Estonia –Russia) or even a crisis might lead to exacerbation of radical national views, which might be taken advantage of by the extreme right parties or organizations.

6 Conclusion: Key challenges, lessons and learning for CLIP

The issue of interethnic relations and integration of immigrants was widely debated in Estonia at the time of restoration of Estonia's independence at the beginning of the 90s. The problems were related to the issues of citizenship, identity, feelings of belonging to the new state among the minorities. Some of the problems remained unsolved and the discussions are revived following occasional tensions. Lately, the Bronze Soldier event, described in the report, has triggered off the public debate about the results of the state integration program. Public opinion surveys show that the process of integration has been perceived by Estonian inhabitants as unsatisfactory. The society is divided in two communities: Estonians and non-Estonians, mainly Russian speakers, and the term "two Estonias" is present in the public life.

The State Integration Program has been affected by two processes: equalizing socio-economic opportunities for minorities, giving them equal opportunities and education of Estonian language and basic values of the Estonian culture and state. The field of culture was understood as a private sphere and the minorities were given the right to preserve their own language and culture.

Not much attention was paid to cooperation between both communities and the process of creation of an interethnic dialogue. The city of Tallinn, where the minorities constitute almost half of the population, has initiated its own activities in the field of diversity and intergroup relations.

Since the program is quite new, it is difficult to present any concrete evaluation. In the program called Kodurahu - Peace in the Community, the city authorities have been striving for the activities which based on the common interest and values could bring both communities together. It seems to be very complicated due to the mistrust and difficulties in communication but the young generation focused mostly on their future and living their life here and now may hopefully make it feasible. The activation of both groups for their mutual cooperation is the most challenging task for the local integration policy. The dialogue of both groups in the case of Tallinn is crucial for avoidance of potential tensions or conflicts in the future and for building the one, diverse and multiethnic Estonian society.

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Ms. Yana Toom, coeditor of magazine "Capital" in Russian and Estonian language

Mr. Nikolai Degtjarenko Deputy Mayor of the Mustamäe (Citypart of Tallinn)

Ms. Madli Parts, leader of the program The Capital of Culture 2011

The remainder of the national culture societies is mostly assembled in 7 associations and alliances of national culture societies:

- LÜÜRA International Association of Alliances of National Culture (31 societies);
- Alliance of Nationalities of Estonia (20 societies);
- Association of Slavic Educational and Charitable Societies in Estonia (42 societies and 33 collectives);
- Ida-Viru County Round Table of National Culture Societies, an umbrella organisation of national culture societies operating in Ida-Viru County (18 societies);
- Alliance of Russian National Culture Organisations in Estonia (30 societies);
- Congress of Ukrainians in Estonia (10 societies), and
- Association of Ukrainian Organisations in Estonia (9 societies).