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**EMERGENCE OF BICULTURAL MINORITY IDENTITY IN ESTONIA AND
SUGGESTIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF ESTONIAN OPEN IDENTITY**

Master's thesis

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Abstract

Current study explores the nature of ethnic and national identification in different cultural groups in Estonia and probability of emergence of Estonian Russian bicultural identity in Russian minority in Estonia. Through detailed analysis of uniting and dividing elements in Estonian state-level identity the study proposes possibility of constructing Estonian Open Identity – a civic identity that might unite different ethnic groups in Estonia, while allowing preservation of their ethnic identities and not threatening the distinctiveness of any existing identities. The empirical study included 1592 participants, who according to their self identification were assigned to Estonian, Russian and Estonian Russian groups. Results confirm the distinctiveness of Estonian Russian group and give support to possibility of development of Estonian Open identity and ground for further research of different aspects that such identity could encompass, and may suggest useful knowledge for more successful direction of acculturation process in Estonia.

Keywords: acculturation, bicultural identity, ethnic identity, national identity, psychological wellbeing.

KAKSKULTUURSE VÄHEMUSE IDENTITEEDI KUJUNEMINE EESTIS JA ETTEPANEKUD EESTI AVATUD IDENTITEEDI KUJUNEMISEKS

Kokkuvõte

Antud uurimus käsitleb erinevate Eestis elivate rahvusgruppide etnilise ja riikliku identiteedi olemust ning selle võimalikkust, et Eestis on tekkimas Eesti venelaste kaks-kultuurne identiteet. Läbi üksikasjaliku analüüsi ja Eesti riikliku identiteedi eri osade liitmise ja lahutamise uurimus pakub välja võimaluse luua Eesti Avatud Identiteet – riiklik identiteet, mis võiks ühendada erinevaid Eesti etnilisi gruppe, võimaldades neil seejuures säilitada oma etnilist identiteeti, ning seadmata ohtu nende olemasolevate identiteetide püsijäämist. Empiiriline uurimus sisaldas

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1592 osalejat, keda vastavalt nende enesemääratlusele jaotati kolme gruppi – eestlased, venelased, ja Eesti venelased. Tulemused kinnitavad Eesti venelaste grupi erisust ning toetavad Eesti Avatud Identiteedi tekitamise võimalikkust, luues aluse edasiseks sellist tüüpi identiteedi uurimiseks; lisaks tulemused võivad pakkuda kasulikku teadmist edukaks akkultuuratsiooni protsessi juhtimiseks Eestis.

Võtmesõnad: akkultuuratsioon, kaks-kultuurne identiteet, etniline identiteet, riiklik identiteet, psühholoogiline heaolu.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----------|
| ABSTRACT | 2 |
| TABLE OF CONTENTS | 4 |
| 1. INTRODUCTION | 5 |
| 2. THE THEORETICAL OVERVIEW | 7 |
| 2.1. COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES | 7 |
| 2.2. ETHNIC AND NATIONAL IDENTITY | 9 |
| 2.3. DIFFERENTIATION AND OPENNESS OF IDENTITY | 13 |
| 2.4. ACCULTURATION AND BICULTURAL IDENTITY | 15 |
| 2.5. ACCULTURATION AND WELL-BEING | 19 |
| 2.6. ESTONIAN CULTURAL GROUPS AND IDENTITIES | 21 |
| 2.7. CURRENT STUDY AND HYPOTHESES | 24 |
| 3. METHOD | 25 |
| 3.1. PROCEDURE | 25 |
| 3.2. PARTICIPANTS | 26 |
| 3.3. MEASURES | 26 |
| 4. RESULTS | 28 |
| 4.1. ESTONIAN MINORITY CULTURAL GROUPS AND IDENTITIES: DEFINING DIFFERENCES | 29 |
| 4.1.1. BASIC STATISTICS AND FREQUENCIES | 29 |
| 4.2. ETHNIC AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN ESTONIA: EXPLORING THE GROUND | 32 |
| 4.2.1. ESTONIAN OPEN IDENTITY CONSTRUCT AND STRUCTURE | 32 |
| 4.2.2. ETHNIC AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN ESTONIA: GENERAL TRENDS | 33 |
| 4.2.3. ETHNIC AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN RUSSIAN MINORITY GROUPS IN ESTONIA | 36 |
| 4.2.4. RELATION BETWEEN ETHNIC AND NATIONAL IDENTITY | 40 |
| 4.2.5. SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING IN MINORITY ETHNIC GROUPS | 41 |
| 4.3. DEFINING IDEAL ESTONIAN OPEN IDENTITY | 42 |
| 5. DISCUSSION | 47 |
| 5.1. ESTONIAN MINORITY CULTURAL GROUPS AND IDENTITIES | 48 |
| 5.1.1. WHICH ACCULTURATION MODEL RULES? | 51 |
| 5.1.2. WHAT IS THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN BICULTURAL IDENTITY? | 53 |
| 5.1.3. SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING IN MINORITY ETHNIC GROUPS | 55 |
| 5.2. IDEAL CONSTRUCT OF ESTONIAN OPEN IDENTITY | 57 |
| 5.3. CONCLUSION | 59 |
| 6. REFERENCES | 59 |

1. INTRODUCTION

“There can be no society which does not feel the need of upholding and reaffirming at regular intervals the collective sentiments and the collective ideas which make its unity and its personality.”

Emile Durkheim

All major contemporary social and economical issues involve questions of power, social positioning, identity and social knowledge construction. If you consider such examples as immigration and international relations, marketing and branding, fashion and music industry – they all in some aspect depend on defining self and others, understanding how values and perception bias influence creation of attitude of acceptance or rejection, preference or distrust.

Identity is never a static concept, but is influenced by economic and political change, globalization, and migration and state-level international relations, within a certain cultural and territorial context (Marshall, 2009); therefore continuous study of these dynamics gives an insight and opportunity to influence this change to benefit the society.

Estonia is a very interesting example of a post-Soviet country – one of a Baltic states, balancing on economical, cultural and political border between Western Europe and Russian Federation – that in a short period changed dramatically towards westernized society. This transition has demanded an enormous flexibility to adjust to fast changing environment, economically, politically and culturally, and has shaped to large extent the new generation of inhabitants of Estonia, creating multiple social groups, defined by their language, national and ethnic identification, and other criteria.

The population of Estonia may be described as relatively diverse by several indicators, including ethnic background and language use – mainly Estonian or Russian – and many others. Despite small size and population, Estonia is culturally diverse country, there are 142 different

nationalities/ethnic groups represented in the country (Statistics Estonia, 2000), and by 32% the population of Estonia is comprised of representatives of other nationalities but Estonian; in addition a number of ethnic subcultures (Võro, Seto) may be defined within the mainstream Estonian culture.

This diversity inevitably influences self-perception and identification, as well as effectiveness of cooperation and interaction between different groups, which makes research into the nature of these phenomena very significant, for only through understanding social and political processes taking place, is it possible to influence them in order to create and uphold positive and harmonious society.

Estonian national heritage, Estonian culture and language, among other aspects, have so far played a very important role in forming Estonian identity as a country, both on international scale and internally. However, recent historical events of April 2007 produced a significant resonance in largest ethnic groups, questioning the effectiveness of integration process (Lauristin, Vihalemm, 2008) and suggesting that existing concept of Estonian national identity might not be most effective for creating a common identity for all inhabitants of Estonia. A question arises, what would be possible alternative, that would both include different ethnic groups living here, but still retain the uniqueness of this small Baltic country – a new concept of Estonian Open Identity (explained further).

Current Master's thesis is a part of a larger project "Perspectives of music in development of Estonian Open identity" (SF0030068s08) conducted in ethnomusicology department of Estonian Literary Museum. The main aim of this paper is to research existence of Estonian open national identity, its connections with ethnic identity and explain factors that support its emergence. Estonian open identity signifies state identity with wide range of meaning, for which characteristic are low ethnic differentiation and high sense of belonging in connection with

Estonian state, land and culture. EOI offers wide enough bases for creation of feeling of belonging, to be acceptable for different groups connected with Estonia. Accepting the Estonian Open Identity means tolerant attitude towards multiculturalism.

Current study thus explores the nature of identification in different cultural groups in Estonia, and possibilities of development of common identity for all population of Estonia as a country – through understanding the interrelation of different aspects of ethnic and national identity and their influence on the success of co-existence of different groups within the society – we try to find possibilities for redefining common identity – and find the recipe for developing harmonious open society.

2. THE THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

2.1. Collective identities

The term identity is used in many fields of scientific research, in various ways; its' theoretical and empirical development continues as academics apply and dispute the concept. Therefore to continue current discussion, we must lay foundation by defining, what social representations we have in mind when use the concept of identity.

Our definition of identity is based on Tajfel's definition of social identity (Tajfel, 2010 [1981]), and collective identity (Taylor & Whittier, 1992), or the sense of group belonging. Social identity may be seen as a component of the self (Carter, 2007), with the shift of focus from the individual as the point of reference to identity as a relationship between individuals and society (Moloney, Walker 2007). Tajfel (2010 [1981], p.255) defined social identity as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from [his] knowledge of [his] membership of a social

group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership”.

We define identity not as a given attribute of a person or group (as opposed to kinship, for example), but as a result of interaction among and between people, as well as the institutions that provide structure and definition of society (Wagner, Valencia & Elejabarrieta, 1996). Identity thus defines people in social terms; it is based on common understanding and defines social inter-relations of people and groups who share a common identity, defines the meanings of the focus of identification and expectation associated with it, as well as locates an individual within socially constructed sets of relations (Vryan, Adler & Adler, 2003). Identity not only influences how the identified person sees himself and other internal psychological structures, it also influences behavior, attitude and life choices, and as well as affects how others will perceive, interpret, and act in relation to the person who is identified in certain way (Carter, 2007).

Despite the differences between cultural, ethnic and national identity – they are different examples of collective identities, differentiated by the base for identification; therefore to understand their nature and dynamics – we start by focusing on nature of collective identity. Here we zoom into some of the themes, identified in relation to group (or collective) (Ashmore, Deaux & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004) identity and ethnic (Phinney & Ong, 2007) identity, in an extensive review of various theoretical and empirical data, and focus on the aspects, which will be most relevant for our study.

- (1) *Self-categorization* - identifying oneself as a member of a particular social group is considered by Ashmore et al. (2004) to be a foundational component of group identity; according to Gellner (1984) belonging to a group requires that a person defines himself as member of the group and carrier of its identity and the group members accept him as a member.

- (2) *Attachment or affective commitment* according to both Phinney & Ong (2007) and Ashmore et al. (2004), is one of the most important component of ethnic identity (Phinney & Ong, 2007), relating to the strength of identification. In research it has been shown that affective commitment may uniquely predict in-group bias (Ellemers, Kortekaas & Ouwerkerk, 1999)
- (3) *Differentiation and openness* – the strength and rigidity of boundaries forming the group – defining the degree to which the group is closed or open to outside influences or inclusion of new members, which are different according to some category (McCallion, 2007);
- (4) *Multiple identities*, pertaining to the possibility of co-existence of many identities without mutual conflict, which may dominate in different context. The Self thus becomes a product of social interaction that is being projected outside through different identities that are selected according to specific situations (Carter, 2007).

These components carry special importance for current study and we focus on them in more detail in following chapters. In our study we explore the different definitions of ethnic groups - Russians and Estonian Russians, also mentioned in previous research on minority identity in Estonia (e.g. Vihalemm & Masso, 2007) and explore, whether this difference in self-identification by group members identifies significant difference between the two groups, related with the nature of ethnic and national identification, and allows us to define two distinct groups.

2.2. Ethnic and national identity

In this chapter we aim to understand nature and distinction between ethnic and national identity, to define these terms for the purpose of our study and discussion, also touching upon sub-question of language identity. Although several concepts that we discuss here focus on collective identity, they are valid also for discussion on ethnic and national identity.

Social or group identity is often studied in reference to culture (Stryker & Burke, 2000), and often narrowed down to focus on ethnicity and nationality in particular. As defined by Thomas Hylland Eriksen (2001), while culture refers first of all to shared representations, norms and practices, ethnicity and ethnic identity is also related to perceived common heritage, “fictional kinship” (Eriksen, 2001, p.43). Fictional because the actual blood-line heritage in most cases is impossible to trace, and defining in ethnic identification is the psychological factor. According to Eriksen, culture and ethnicity do not completely overlap, but cut across each other, thus “the nature of ethnicity and ethnic identity is “based on socially sanctioned notions of cultural differences, not “real” ones” (Eriksen, 2001, p. 43), meaning a group with common ethnic roots may be divided by different cultural practices (example of Christian and Muslim Bosnians), at the same time as ethnically very diverse groups may share a comparatively common cultural practices (example of India) (Eriksen, 2001).

Common ethnic identity is a basis for definition as an ethnic group, which according to Stone & Piya (2007) are “fundamental units of social organization which consist of members who define themselves or are defined, by a sense of common historical origins that may include religious beliefs, a similar language, or a shared culture” (Stone & Piya, 2007, p. 1457). Another definition of ethnic groups by Max Weber names them as “human groups (other than kinship groups) which cherish a belief in their common origin of such a kind that it provides the basis for the creation of a community” (Weber & Runciman, 1978 [1922], p. 364).

Valk & Karu-Kletter (2001) in their formulation of ethnic identity concept define two relatively independent facets of ethnic identity: ethnic pride and belonging (EP) and ethnic differentiation (ED). (1) EP is a feeling of pride for the in-group a person belongs to, it describes emotional attachment and response to ethnic group; feeling of belonging, one’s attitudes connected with being a member of the group, as well as interest in the shared culture, history, traditions and customs of the ethnic group. This facet may be related to commitment and attachment, among

components of ethnic identity described by both Phinney & Ong (2007) and Ashmore, Deaux & McLaughlin-Volpe (2004). (2) ED refers to desire to stress the difference between own ethnic group and the out-group, both on general level and in detail. When a person is high in ED, judgment and attitude towards others, as well as preferences in communication and social network – become largely influenced by knowledge of their ethnic identity; such individuals prefer to build relationships and interact within their ethnic group, including building friendships and choosing a spouse among representatives of the same ethnic group (Valk & Karu-Kletter, 2001). This two-dimensional model is further explored in next chapter in discussion of openness of identity within the concept of Estonian Open Identity.

Ethnic identity is sometimes confused with national identity in discussions about identity, or the two are used as one concept (Raney, 2009). Still, there is a considerable difference between the two, in representation and consecutively the meaning of each concept (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Here we would like to stress this distinction.

The term nation originally derives from Latin verb *nasci* (to be born) and its noun form *natio* (connoting breed or race). But because a term “nation-state” has been extensively used – it has lead to its diffusion, until the term “nation” became in many context a substitute for term “state” (Connor, 2007). Subsequently, “national identity” by this definition would carry the meaning of state-related identity. In research, the important differentiator of ethnic group from national group, as in case of the nation – is existence of common territory or at least memory of such, as well as common political system and shared economical structures (Smith, 1991). The term national identity is often referred to the majority or host culture identity, while ethnic identity is used in case of minority group (e.g. Phinney & Ong, 2007), as well as national identity might be a name for state identity – and being a citizen of the state, while ethnic identity – associated with heritage of own group. In a way nation may be defined as a politically mature ethnic group (Smith, 1991); with the main distinction being the political dimension (Valk, 2007).

This is the approach we choose in current study, defining as national identity foremost as the feeling of connectedness and identification with Estonia as a state and country, and in case of ethnic identity – focusing on belonging to own ethnic or heritage group, with which there is real or perceived kinship.

The concept of national identity lies in the core of Estonian Open Identity concept – as an identity which is foremost related with Estonia as a whole country, and is open enough to unite the different ethnic groups living on the territory of Estonia, able to successfully co-exist with the different ethnic identities, while providing their members a common basis of identification, without creating conflict or differentiation.

Language as an important tool for cultural learning and preservation, as well as tool for communication with both in-group and out-group, therefore it has an important influence on formation of social identity (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). Language may be an effective basis of group differentiation (Kyyn, 2008), and in case of Estonia it plays an important role in formation of self-identification of minority groups, along with ethnic and national identification. Ethnic and linguistic identity do not always coincide (Kyyn, 2008); members of same ethnic groups may speak different languages, as well as representatives of very different ethnic groups may share the same language (Vahtin, 2004), which is only natural in case of Estonia with the presence of 142 ethnic minority groups and two main language-groups. Due to Russian being most widespread minority language used also by representatives of other ethnic groups but Russians (Asari, 2009), in current study we focus on this minority language exclusively.

Previous studies suggest that there might be evolving a new separate identity – Estonian Russian (Vihalemm & Masso, 2007), for which Russian-Estonian bilingualism is one of characteristic traits (Kyyn, 2008). Rannut (2005) has also shown that ethnic and also linguistic self-concept of young non-Estonians is influenced by their skills of the Estonian language and the frequency of

communication with the speakers of the majority language, therefore language variable is considered important in current study.

2.3. Differentiation and openness of identity

The foundation of groups and group membership comes from the specific identity that is defined by specific context (Verkuyten, 2006). Turner's self-categorization theory (SCT) (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987) helps to understand the role of context in defining how individuals and groups come to understand who are they and others. According to SCT people categorize themselves as individuals as well as members of social groups, and consequently internalize the perceived characteristics/stereotypes connected with applied social category (Turner et al, 1987). In a situation or context that causes the individual to see him/herself primarily as member of a group, the person starts behaving according to the norms and beliefs characteristic for that group (Verkuyten, 2006).

Self-categorization as a certain group member thus becomes a basis for defining the in-group for this individual – a social unit an individual belongs to and identifies with and shares the sense of “we-ness”. Definition of an in-group that does not encompass the whole of humankind consecutively defines the out-group – a social group of people that an individual neither belongs to nor identifies with. The perception of and interaction between own and other group have been found to influence the success of process of acculturation. In a study of acculturation attitudes among Israeli host culture representatives, the respondents who felt secure personally, culturally, and militarily and were tolerant towards ethnic diversity - showed tendency for higher openness towards immigrants (Bourhis & Dayan, 2004).

The shared narrative, traditions and rituals, social practices, but also language, religion etc provide the bases for in-group identification and boundaries – understanding where the in-group ends and out-group starts. These boundaries may be open or inclusive, which dictates how easily

a new member can join the group. Considering the multiplicity of different-level self-categories (Turner et al, 1987) and in-groups associated with them, it is only natural that groups do not fully overlap – e.g. members of different ethnic groups may share the same religion, or people sharing the same ethnic origin may be divided by some other important grouping criteria. This criteria may be clear and objective, such as territory, in case of Russians living in Russia or in Estonia; or more subjective, such as strength and importance of identification (e.g. identification primarily with own region, country, or Europe or world in general). Roccas & Brewer (2002) in their analysis of complexity of social identity point out three aspects related to multiple non-overlapping identities: (1) acknowledged cross-cutting between different in-groups reduces the magnitude of ingroup-outgroup differentiation; (2) partial overlapping of in-groups reduces importance of group evaluation in definition of the self, thus reducing motivation to compare between groups and (3) membership in multiple groups reduces the importance of one social group in providing the feeling of belonging, again reducing motivation for inter-group differentiation (for overview, see Roccas & Brewer, 2002). This suggests that presence and identification with multiple in-groups may be an important condition for creating open and inclusive group identity. Considering this on society level, Victoria Johnson (2009) in her study of inclusion strategies used in ports of San Francisco and Portland, USA, presents interesting case studies, describing how increasing the importance of different identity practices – age, religion, and class – helped to suppress previously dominating racial division and implement racially inclusive strategies (Johnson, 2009).

A study conducted by Anneli Veisson (2006), exploring the possibility to apply the previously discussed two-dimensional model of ethnic identity developed by Valk and Karu-Kletter (2001), may also provide certain insight on the question of development of Estonian Open Identity. Using EP and ED as two measurable parameters to define attitude towards own in-group and respective out-group, Veisson (2006) defined four main ways to describe ethnic identity: open

(high EP and low ED), closed (low EP and high ED), diffuse (low EP and low ED) and protective (high EP and high ED). According to Veisson (2006), people belonging to open and diffuse group are more likely to be successful in the process of acculturation (Veisson, 2006). In current study we explore whether this model is related also to the development of Estonian Open Identity.

For current study this aspect of open – closed dimension of existing groups – related primarily to national identity – is important, considering that development of common Estonian Open Identity requires creation of a new in-group that unites all population of Estonia, regardless of their ethnic origin.

2.4. Acculturation and bicultural identity

Group identity by its nature is dynamic – it changes depending on situation and context, which may either stress the importance of identity for defining attitude, choices and behavior, or suppress its defining influence; therefore the question of identity should be considered with reference to its development and change (Phinney, 2003; Eccles, 2009). In the context when two or more cultures or ethnic groups, usually a host majority and a group of immigrants, or minority ethnic groups – come into contact or co-exist on the same territory or state – the nature of ethnic identity change is most often explained by the dynamics of acculturation (Cavazos-Rehg, & DeLucia-Waack, 2009; Mana, Orr & Mana, 2009), mainly considered from the point of acculturation of minority group to the host culture context, and its psychological adjustment to the new environment (Chen, Benet-Martínez & Harris Bond, 2008).

Acculturation may be described as a contact of previously separated and disconnected cultures (Foster, 1962) or the “exchange of cultural features that results when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact; the original cultural patterns of either or both groups may be altered, but the groups remain distinct” (Kottak, 2005).

Acculturation involves at least two groups and influences them both; however the minority group and its members are usually influenced more strongly by the contact experience (Berry, 2001). In this chapter we present a number of approaches to understanding the process and dynamics of acculturation that will be used in discussion of current study.

Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder (2006) define acculturation from the point of view of minority group being immersed into new culture, proposing two main factors defining strategy and result of acculturation: (1) the degree to which people wish to maintain their heritage culture and identity; and (2) the degree to which people seek involvement with the larger society (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006). Based on inter-relations of these two parameters there are four different acculturation strategies or attitudes, identified as (1) assimilation (identification mostly with the receiving culture), (2) integration (high identification with both cultures), (3) separation (identification mostly with the culture of origin), or (4) marginalization (low identification with both cultures). Individuals who adopt the integration strategy incline toward biculturalism—that is, they endorse both their culture of origin and that of the host culture. Other authors (e.g. Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Sene'cal 1997) use similar categorization patterns, where strategies may be named slightly different, but the basic underlying understanding is.

There are several other models explaining cultural exchange and interaction between the host and home culture in the process of acculturation, and its influence on development of members' identification (for review see LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). Based on the dominating view of inter-relations between cultures in contact, different models explaining acculturation may be characterized as (1) bipolar or linear, (2) multidimensional and (3) fusion models (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; LaFromboise et al, 1993).

- (1) Bipolar perspective perceived cultures to be two opposites of a continuum, where an individual has a choice to either reject the mainstream culture focusing on their minority culture, or give up the culture of origin and assimilate into mainstream (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, (1997), thus successful acculturation happens through weakening or altogether substitution of original cultural identity. The most known example of an bipolar model is assimilation theory by Gordon (1964), which assumes that acquiring a new culture signifies assimilation into this new culture, and endangers preservation of the original cultural identity (Gordon, 1964). Bipolar models have been criticized for being outdated and invalid in present-day society, for increasingly immigrants prefer other options but complete adjustment in new culture, and in many multi-ethnic societies minority groups (e.g. Hispanic in USA) have developed strong enough infrastructure to provide culturally vital institutions for education, religion and healthcare (Fons, van der Vijver, Phalet, 2004).
- (2) Multidimensional approach supposes that the two cultural identities are not mutually exclusive; where acculturation neither requires substitution one cultural identity with another nor provokes cultural conflict. An example of a multidimensional model is Alternation model of acculturation (Berry, 1980) that assumes that an individual may equally belong to two or more cultures, altering his or her identity and behavior to fit a particular context or situation and as a result developing bicultural competence (LaFramboise et al, 1993). This model has been compared with the code-switching theory used in research on bilingualism, in particular Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Harris Bond (2008) discuss “cultural frame-switching” behavior, or in case of bicultural person shift between the cultures he identifies with, according to context and different cultural stimuli, also influencing either positive response or opposition to the situation (Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Harris Bond 2008). Empirical evidence supports this approach, e.g.

study by Hong, Morris, Chiu & Benet-Martinez (2000) of Hong Kong and Chinese American biculturals have two cultural frames – East Asian and Western – that may be activated according to situation and context. According to alternation model it is possible to maintain positive relationship with both cultures without the need to choose dominating one, or need to lose contact with either of cultures (LaFromboise et al, 1993).

- (3) Third classification - the fusion approach proposed by LaFromboise et al (1993) – has a few examples, but some elements of fusion are suggested in other models. Fusion model is the philosophy behind the melting pot strategy and signifies complete overlapping of two cultures until they fuse together, creating completely new unique culture and identity on basis of cultures in contact (LaFromboise et al, 1993).

Number of other theories that do not fall directly in one of these categories, as an example – such theoretical construct as the Bicultural Identity Integration (BII), formulated by Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee, & Morris (2002, p.495) proposing that “perceptions of compatibility (vs. opposition) between the two cultures affect biculturals’ frame-switching behavior”, explaining why the cultures by some bicultural individuals are perceived as complementary up to creation of a hyphenated identity, while by others in the same circumstances as oppositional and distant (Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002). According to BII model a hyphenated identity may develop in biculturals, which may be a result of fusion of the two original identities. An example may be Mexican American and African American identities described in study by Phinney & Devich-Navarro (1997), where they present an example of blended and alternating bicultural identity in the framework of BII model (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997).

Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) formulated by Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Sene’cal (1997) proposes another alternative - individualist approach, assuming that identification with host majority or minority ethnic group is not the only option, but identification with neither of mentioned cultural is also possible (Bourhis et al. 1997). Another theoretical concept important

for current study is the multicultural or ethnic pluralism perspective (Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin & Pratto, 1997), suggesting such different levels of national or political, and ethnic identification, that they do not conflict with each other, so that different ethnic groups living within the same territory and political structure “rather than dissolving into a unitary ethnicity of nationhood, ethnic subgroups continue to maintain their distinctiveness... ..individuals can simultaneously maintain a positive commitment both to ethnic particularism and to the larger political community” (Sidanius et al, 1997, p.104). This model to be effective assumes equal status of different ethnic identities, as well as drawing a clear distinction between the national (state) identity and ethnic identity of a particular group present in the society.

In our current research we focus on exploring the inter-relationship between ethnic and national identity within majority and minority groups in Estonia, expecting to find support to the multidimensional model with possible elements of fusion model, which is suggested by the name of emerging group – Estonian Russians, which contains both elements of majority and minority group identification.

2.5. Acculturation and well-being

The process of acculturation may pose a number of challenges for the individual who finds himself between two or more different cultures, with a task of forming a stable positive identity and relationship with the cultural groups he comes in contact with. The speed and ease of acculturation depends on a number of factors, some of which are more global, for example the cultural distance and societal differences between the cultures coming into contact (Stroink and Lalonde, 2008; Ward & Kennedy, 1993), others more related to context and circumstances of each individual, for example the time spent in a new culture (Ward & Kennedy, 1993) or individual-difference cognitive, affective, and motivational variables (Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee & Morris, 2002). Yet while some factors may be manageable by the person himself, such as

language acquisition (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997), social interaction and contact orientation (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 1998), number of host-culture friends (Mok, Morris, Benet-Martinez, Karakitapog'lu-Aygün, 2007; Alreshoud & Koeske, 1997) or by closely related interest groups, e.g. parental support (Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti & Solheim, 2004), influencing other factors on individual level may pose a considerable challenge, e.g. attitude of receiving host group towards the immigrants (Bourhis & Dayan, 2004).

The quality of life is a relatively new concept, which is continually changing and for which there is not yet a wholly satisfactory definition or uniform measurement strategy. The main challenge in assessment of quality of life is the confusion between objective and material conditions, such as standard of living, but also social status and political influence, and subjective quality of life – such as psychological well-being (Skevington, 2009).

The result of successful acculturation – emergence of strong secure ethnic identity, acquisition of bilingual competence and perceiving the two cultural identities as integrated in the self without emergence of cultural conflict. All these factors have important implications on psychological wellbeing (Chen, Benet-Martínez & Harris Bond, 2008; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind & Vedder, 2001). Well-being may be referred to as general psychological well-being, satisfaction, contentment with and accommodation to new environment (Ruben and Kealey, 1979). Ward & Kennedy (1993) divide the concept of well-being in two categories: psychological – referring to the feeling of wellbeing and satisfaction; and socio-cultural – referring to the “ability to “fit in”, or negotiate interactive aspects of the host culture” (Ward & Kennedy, 1993, p.131). Diener (2000, p.34) identified following components of subjective well-being (SWB): “life satisfaction (global judgment of one’s life), satisfaction with important domains (e.g. work satisfaction), positive affect (experiencing many pleasant emotions and moods), and low levels of negative affect (experiencing few unpleasant emotions and moods)”.

Self-esteem has also been identified as a very important component of psychological well-being. Lyubomirsky, Tkach & Dimatteo (2006) found a high correlation between the measure of self-esteem and happiness, supporting importance of this measure in assessment of psychological well-being (Lyubomirsky et al, 2006). Rosenberg (1986) developed one of the most used constructs in psychology for measuring self-esteem – Global self-esteem Scale – and it has become the basis of considerable theoretical and applied research (Rosenberg (1986) in Marsh, Scalas, Hagengast, 2010).

In current study we focus on life satisfaction and self-esteem, with only some background questions reflecting such socio-economic factors as education, citizenship, living in urban or rural area. In following analysis we review implications the interaction between strength of ethnic and national identification cultural identities has on the reported psychological well-being. Previous empirical studies have shown various effects, from very positive ones, such as positive correlation between strong identification with the cultures, and reported subjective wellbeing (Abu-Rayya, 2006), up to very negative ones, such as bicultural conflict appearing in case of need to choose between the cultures (Stroink & Lalonde, 2008).

2.6. Estonian cultural groups and identities

The population of Estonia is by 32% comprised of representatives of various ethnic minority groups. According to the last Estonian Population and Housing Census (Statistics Estonia, 2000) there are 142 different ethnic groups represented in the country. Twenty four per cent of Estonian population may be defined as immigrants, based on international definition of immigrants as people living in the country whose parents were born in a foreign state (Krusell, 2009). To large extent immigrant population and minority population overlap, but not completely: over half of Estonian minority population members were born in Estonia, 15% of

total Estonian population was born outside Estonia; 60% of minority population has both parents born outside Estonia, and 23% have at least one parent born in Estonia (Asari, 2009).

The ethnic diversity of minority groups has posed a certain challenge for finding common identification of Estonian minorities. Russian language, being the most wide-spread language of communication within minority groups in Estonia – over 80% of minority representatives use Russian as first language (Asari, 2009) – has for a long time been the dominating instrumental basis for minority group identification in Estonia as Russian-speaking, and the focus of research on minority issues (e.g. Berg, 2001; Vihalemm, 1999; Korts & Vihalemm, 2008), language integration was as well an important priority of previous integration program in Estonia - State Integration Program for 2000 – 2007 (Integration and Migration Foundation, 2006). Minority groups were referred to as collective “Russian-speaking minority”, in a way imposing a common language-based identity, which was criticized by representatives of distinct ethnic groups themselves, what suggested that this term was purely instrumental and did not provide a uniting factor for different ethnic groups that would allow it to become a basis of common identification.

Recently, with the stronger shift of focus from language towards more psychological aspects of ethnic identification, different terms signifying ethnic minorities started to emerge more strongly, along with somewhat ethnic-based term non-Estonians (e.g. Kruusvall, 2008), a new term Estonian Russian appeared (e.g. Vetik, 2008) or even Russian-speaking Estonians (Vihalemm & Masso, 2007). This new identification of the largest ethnic minority in Estonia has not yet been formulated clearly or received an official acclaim and its nature is unclear, thus research on its nature and viability to become a basis for functional and inclusive version of self-identification of Russian-origin minority in Estonia is welcome. Integration priorities in Estonia according to the new 2008 – 2013 are also shifting towards more socio-economic integration, as well as creation of stronger national identity, involving different ethnic groups living in Estonia (Vetik, 2008).

Another positive development in discourses about ethnic minorities in Estonia is shift from perception of Russian-speaking minority as a “homogenous mass” (Lauristin & Vihalemm, 2008, p.16) that needs to be integrated into Estonian society, but based on a number of indicators – Integration index - may be defined according to their level of integration (Lauristin & Vihalemm, 2008). Integration indicators, among others, also include such variables as proficiency in Estonian language, identification with Estonian nation, frequent communication between ethnic Estonians and Russians, trust in the Estonian state (Lauristin & Vihalemm, 2008), which are consistent with the factors influencing successful acculturation, presented above. The results of survey conducted in July 2007 involving non-Estonian sample of 15 – 74 years old respondents, showed distribution in four groups according to level of integration, from respondents with almost no positive association with Estonian society (7.5%) to almost completely integrated individuals, high on almost all indicators (27.5 %).

Raivo Vetik (2008) in *Integration monitoring 2008* presents a concept of multi-level identification in the context of Estonia. According to Vetik, three levels of identification exist: (1) personal identification with own ethnic group, (2) identification with Estonian state, or Estonian national identity and (3) global identification with international political bodies. In a study analyzing the second dimension of this taxonomy, Vetik (2008) presents interesting observations of relations between national identity and attitudes. While the general trend was towards weaker national identity, people with stronger Estonian national identity were more likely to have Estonian citizenship and higher Estonian language proficiency. A significant direct relation was noted between the strength of State/National identity and perception of possibility to influence processes in society (higher ID – more positive perception), which considering the importance of socio-political participation for wellbeing, may suggest relation with well-being, which can be controlled in current study. Important findings related to our current study appeared also in relation to ethnic differentiation – the measured extent of feeling of being

disturbed by culturally different behavior of other groups was significantly higher for Estonians with significant territorial variations, higher for Tallinn region (Vetik, 2008), which was in accordance with findings by Lauristin & Vihalemm (2008) and suggests influence from historical political events on formation of identity and out-group attitude (Lauristin, Vihalemm, 2008).

2.7. Current study and hypotheses

The aim of the current study is to analyze the current identity realities among Estonians and Russians living in Estonia while searching ways for development of EOI – a civic identity that might unite different ethnic groups in Estonia, while allowing preservation of their ethnic identities and thus not threatening the distinctiveness of any of the existing identities.

First, we focus on analyzing the distinctiveness of subgroup of Estonian Russians, that appeared based on self-identification of Russian participants in the study. We aim to:

- (1) understand the nature of ethnic and national identification of Russian minority population in Estonia, and identify whether there is ground to suggest emergence of bicultural Estonian-Russian identity.
- (2) identify the key factors important for successful acculturation in the context of Russian minority in Estonia based on current sample, and define their relation to subjective wellbeing

In second part of the study we focus on exploration of the concept of Estonian Open Identity – idealized construct representing shared identity of different cultural groups in Estonia. Following the above-cited bi-dimensional acculturation model, bicultural identity integration (BII) (Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002); mutual intergroup differentiation model (Hewstone & Brown, 1986) and multicultural or ethnic pluralism perspective (Sidanius et al 1997), we aim to

find these aspects of Estonian national identity that are equally compatible with Estonian and Russian ethnic identity.

More concrete hypotheses are as follows:

1. Expect to identify a number of objective variables related to ethnic and national identification allowing to consider Estonian Russians as a distinctive group, and give support to possibility of emerging bicultural identity. In addition, we expect to draw implications to the character of acculturation process, based on presented models of acculturation.
2. We expect to find important differences in the level of wellbeing (particularly life satisfaction that in previous studies (Ward, Kennedy, 1993) have been related to integration strategies) among representatives of Estonian Russian group compared to Russian group.
3. We aim to find aspects within state identity that are (almost) equally acceptable by different groups. The joint aspects should include neutral topics like nature, economy, present and future successes while support for topics related to language and history most probably divide groups. Support for multicultural identity may vary according to the particular topic. The criterion of EOI is its almost equal strength as well as correlation to ethnic identity among different groups.

3. METHOD

3.1. Procedure

The data for this project was collected in within the project “Perspectives of music in development of Estonian Open identity” in 2009 with the web-based as well as paper-based

questionnaire. Younger participants were contacted in 21 high-schools in Tartu and Tartu county, Tallinn and Harjumaa and East-Virumaa. The rest of the sample was contacted by the project team members electronically but also in buses, trains, libraries, shops and other public places all over Estonia. Part of the adult sample was also contacted via high-school students who were asked to hand over the questionnaires to their parents to be filled by parents. The author of the current paper was mainly responsible for data collection of Russian participants. The questionnaire included the guarantee that collected data will remain confidential and will be analyzed only within current research by the research group members. Participation in the survey was voluntary and participants could always refuse to stand by their given answers, without any further explanation. The questionnaires were filled in Estonian and Russian language.

3.2. Participants

The sample included participants of Estonian, Russian and mixed origin, of different age groups, geographically covering most Estonian counties and larger cities. There were altogether 1592 participants, 694 men and 872 women, 26-gender data missing, age range 15 – 83 years, M age = 27.3 years, SD age = 12.7 years.

Based on self-reported identification participants were divided in two main groups: Estonian – 978 participants (373 men, 593 women, 12 gender data missing, age range = 15 – 83 years, M age = 28.8 years, SD age = 13.75); and Russian – 614 participants, (321 men, 279 women, 14 gender data missing, age range = 15 – 74 years, M age = 24.5 years, SD age = 10.21).

3.3. Measures

The questionnaire is comprised of 4 parts, targeted to define four main subjects for current research: ethnic identity (EI), national identity or Estonian Open Identity (EOI), wellbeing, and other ungrouped questions and background information.

- (1) Ethnic Identity Scale (EIS) is a shortened 12-statement version of the questionnaire Ethnic Identity Scale, developed by Valk & Karu-Kletter (2001) that originally included 20 statements describing different components of ethnic identity. The questions in this scale help to determine strength of identity along two key measures: ethnic pride (EP) and ethnic differentiation (ED). EP describes one's feeling of attachment to his or her ethnic group as a whole; one's emotions and attitudes connected to belonging to the group; and one's interest in the culture, history, and customs of the group. The statements in this subscale are e.g. as follows: "*I am interested in the history of my ethnic group*", "*I am proud of my ethnic group*". ED describes one's desire to distinguish among ethnic groups on both abstract and concrete level. Examples of items include: "*I do not find a person's ethnic background important.*", "*Ethnic background does not matter in choosing a spouse*". *Internal reliability* ;
- (2) Estonian Open Identity (EOI) Scale was developed in 2007-2008 in a pilot study conducted among 117 Estonians and Russians living in Estonia during which from 90 questions dealing with different aspects of national identity (NI) were selected 21 statements, that most effectively expressed a variety of aspects related to Estonian national identity (openness of Estonian identity: connecting being Estonian and European, openness of Estonian identity: multiethnic Estonia, dividing Estonian identity: biculturalism, uniting Estonian identity: connection with Estonian Diaspora, history, economy, symbols, land and nature, holidays, music). The items are presented in results section.
- (3) Psychological well-being consist of two scales: 5 statements of a 12-statement Estonian and Russian versions (Pullmann, 1997, 2007) of Rosenberg global self-esteem (RSE) scale (see Rosenberg, 1986); and 5 statements from Diener satisfaction with life scale (E. Diener, R. A. Emmons, R. J. Larsen, S. Griffin, 1985) that measures subjective quality

of life of the individual and has been translated to Estonian (Realo, 2007) and Russian languages. Example of questions: *I think I am in all respects a respectable person, at least not less than others. Up until now, I have achieved everything I ever wanted in life.*

- (4) Background information about participants (demographic information, experience living abroad, citizenship, language proficiency, ethnic origin of parents etc), but also individual questions such as “*In Your mind, is it possible to belong at the same time to several ethnic groups?*” and “*Could one be Estonian while being not fluent in Estonian language but wanting to be Estonian?*” that help to identify perception of borders between ethnic groups, as well as attitude towards possibility of out-group members to be identified as a certain in-group (Estonians) members.

The program Statistica 8.0 was used to analyze data gathered during current study.

4. RESULTS

Results of current study are presented in three parts. In the first part we focus on defining the Estonian Russian minority group and understanding its nature and characteristic traits and attitudes that provide its distinctiveness.

In the second part we focus on analysis along EIS and EOI measures on two levels – to set the stage we first conduct a number of analyses on wider Estonian scale, including Estonian respondents, then we zoom into subgroups of Russian minority in Estonia, where we analyze implications for the character of process of acculturation in Estonia and also review a number of individual significant questions.

In the third part we focus on defining the key common traits in Estonian national identity, which are acceptable to different ethnic groups and may serve as key conditions necessary for developing Estonian Open Identity.

4.1. Estonian minority cultural groups and identities: defining differences

At the start of questionnaire each participant was asked to identify his/her ethnic group, having a choice between four main options: Estonian, Russian, Estonian Russian, or other ethnic group (asked to specify). An option to choose more than one identity was also available; with request in this case to specify the group (or several groups) a participant has in mind as his identity, when responding to questionnaire. The results showed a clear division of Russian minority group in three subgroups, based on self-reported identification of participants: Russian (R) group 377 participants – 61.4% of total Russian sample (192 men, 175 women, 10 gender data missing, age range = 15 – 74 years, M age = 23.3 years, SD age = 10.24), Estonian Russian (ER) group 205 participants – 33.4% of total Russian sample (115 men, 87 women, 4 gender data missing, age range = 15 – 68 years, M age = 25.9 years, SD age = 9.9) and 32 participants – 5.2% of Russian sample identified themselves as some other nationality, or Russian and other nationality. Only first two sub-groups were further used in current analysis, because third sub-group had too little respondents for viable comparison, but potentially too different to be added to any subgroup.

In the first part we concentrate on showing the differences between two emerged groups, to understand what can identification with one or another group mean in light of current study.

4.1.1. Basic statistics and frequencies

To understand how the two groups R and ER are distinctive from each other along different demographic and socio-economic variables available within this study, we compared mean scores for the two groups. Statistically significant differences ($p \leq 0.05$) appeared in case of respondents' age, level of education, and proficiency in Estonian language, also ethnicity of parents. Other measures, for which data was collected, such as gender, citizenship, place of birth, ethnic origin of spouse, living in urban/rural area or experience living abroad for at least 6 months during last 10 years, did not produce significant differences.

EMERGENCE OF BICULTURAL MINORITY IDENTITY IN ESTONIA AND SUGGESTION FOR DEVELOPMENT OF ESTONIAN OPEN IDENTITY

By age we divided participants into four groups – younger: under 20 years ($N=250$), middle: 20 – 39 years ($N=242$), older: 40 – 59 years ($N=62$) and the group over 60 years ($N=6$); in 23 cases age data was missing. Since the fourth age group (age over 60) had too little respondents, only three first groups were used in following analysis and the last group was excluded. Comparison between the R and ER groups along the three age groups (Table 1) suggest that youngest generation of Russian respondents within current sample were more likely to identify themselves as R and not ER compared to two older generations; the middle generations (age 20 – 39) were most likely to identify themselves as ER. Comparison within age groups (Table 1) confirmed this observation.

Table 1: The distribution of R and ER respondents in within three age groups of Russian sample.

| Age | Russians | Estonian Russians | Other | Total |
|----------------------|----------|-------------------|-------|-------|
| Under 20 ($n=267$) | 67.4% | 26.2% | 6.4% | 100% |
| 20 - 39 ($n=249$) | 55.8% | 41.4% | 2.8% | 100% |
| 40 – 59 ($n=64$) | 60.9% | 35.9% | 3.2% | 100% |
| Average % | 61,4% | 33,4% | 5,2% | 100% |

Comparison across education variable showed that respondents with secondary education are most likely to identify themselves as R (70.5%), while respondents with university education are more likely (43%) to choose ER for self identification compared to other education groups. Education level variation which may be related to previously presented age variations, since most of participants under 20 years of age do not have completed secondary education.

Table 2: The distribution between R and ER within groups based on level of education.

| | Russians | Estonian Russians | Other | Total |
|--|----------|-------------------|-------|-------|
|--|----------|-------------------|-------|-------|

EMERGENCE OF BICULTURAL MINORITY IDENTITY IN ESTONIA AND SUGGESTION FOR DEVELOPMENT OF ESTONIAN OPEN IDENTITY

| | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------|-------|------|------|
| Primary education $n=193$ | 62.2% | 32.6% | 5.2% | 100% |
| Secondary education $n=153$ | 70.6% | 22.9% | 6.5% | 100% |
| Vocational secondary education $n=62$ | 66.1% | 32.3% | 1.6% | 100% |
| Higher education $n=193$ | 51.8% | 43% | 5.2% | 100% |

Since age and education groups are not representative sample, both due to the size of sample and distribution between groups (e.g. too low number of respondents from 40 – 59 years age group) these findings have to be considered with reservation.

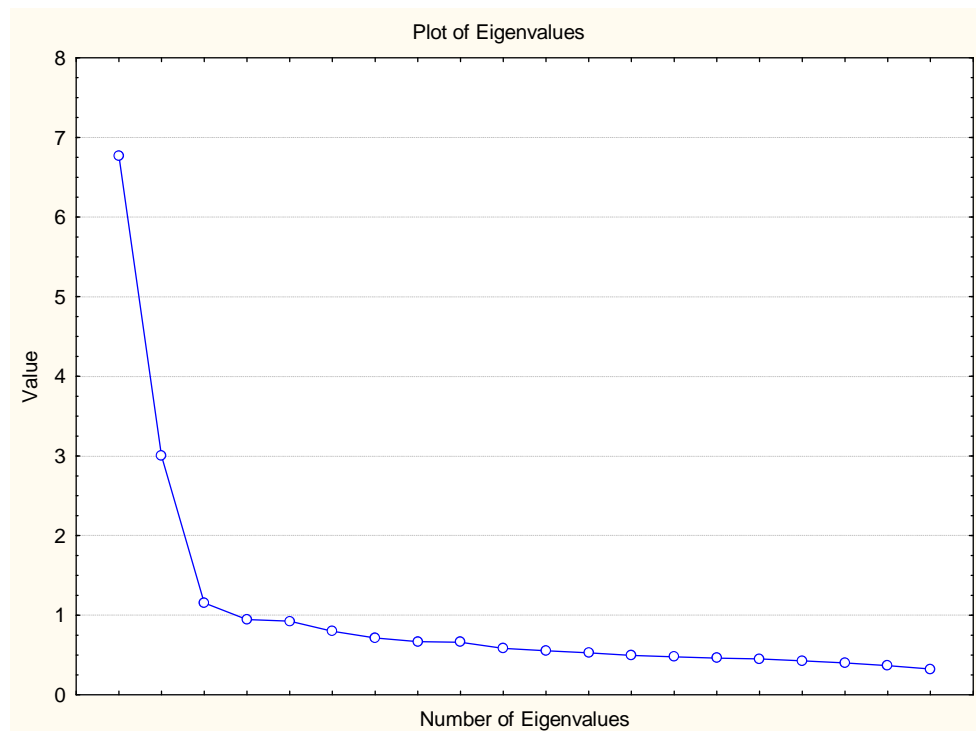
Another measure that produced significant difference was command of Estonian language (level of command for R group $M = 3.37$, $SD = 1.0$; and for ER group $M = 3.9$, $SD = 1.0$), thus respondents in ER group evaluated their command of Estonian language significantly ($p \leq 0.000$, $t = -6.55$) higher. During data collection language measure was identified through self-report of participants, who rated their Estonian language proficiency on 5-point Likert scale, where 1 signified “I do not speak Estonian at all” and 5 signified “I am fluent in Estonian”. For comparison, level of proficiency of English/other language, which participants evaluated on the same principle, did not produce significant difference between groups. Significant difference was also found between the belonging in mixed family of origin (meaning parents have different ethnic background) and identification as ER: 55% of ER group members reported their parents to be of different ethnic origin, while in R group only 27% of respondents reported the same; suggesting that family background may play an important role in creating basis for identification as Estonian Russian.

4.2. Ethnic and national identity in Estonia: exploring the ground

4.2.1. Estonian Open Identity construct and structure

Within the scale of Estonian Open Identity participants gave their responses to 21 questions covering a wide range of themes. In order to identify the main components of national identity that might be valid across different ethnic and age groups and used in following analysis we used a principal axis factor analysis with a varimax rotation. First all 1593 respondents were taken as if they came from one sample, later on we checked the validity of the factor structure separately in different subsamples. Three factors had eigenvalues larger than 1, but the shape of the screeplot, suggested a two-factor solution. The two factors focus on two main themes that are relevant to our research questions: (1) “national identity” (NI) which describes the feelings of national pride and attachment to Estonia as a state. Second factor was called (2) “multicultural identity” (MCI) that describes a supportive attitude towards openness of Estonian identity. The three factor model initially differentiated in addition to national pride between two aspects of multicultural identity: (2a) support for multiculturalism on personal and (2b) state level but in case of some items the loadings in different factors were almost equal. Due to the screeplot and overlap between two multiculturalism factors, we chose two-factor solution for further analyses.

There were some values that loaded almost equally on both factors and one item that caused confusion due to the different emphasis put by different respondents, as several Russian respondents expressed being disturbed by wording “... AS LONG AS they respect Estonian laws”, suggesting this as reference that someone might not respect Estonian laws. We decided to drop 6 items, and kept 15 items that loaded strongly on only one of the two factors (i.e., more than |.60|) for further analysis. The resultant scale accounted for 53.2% of the total variance (NI subscale = 36.9 % and MI subscale = 16.3%).



Graph 1. Plot of eigenvalues of Estonian Open Identity items

The overall reliability of the 16 items was .79. Cronbach alphas for the NI and MCI subscales were .91 and .75, respectively. We use the identified two factors in following analysis.

4.2.2. Ethnic and national identity in Estonia: general trends

First we analyzed whether there are any significant demographic – gender and age – influences that are related to measures of EIS and EOI, across the whole pool of respondents, and zooming in with some question to Estonian and Russian group. Significant ($p \leq 0.001$) relation appeared with gender of respondents, both on Estonian-wide scale when sample ($N=1577$) that included both Estonian and Russian participants, and in subgroups. Women were significantly higher than men on EP, NI and MCI scale and significantly lower on ED scale. Similar significant ($p \leq 0.001$) trend appeared within Russian group ($N=600$), with only exception that there was no significant relation between gender and NI.

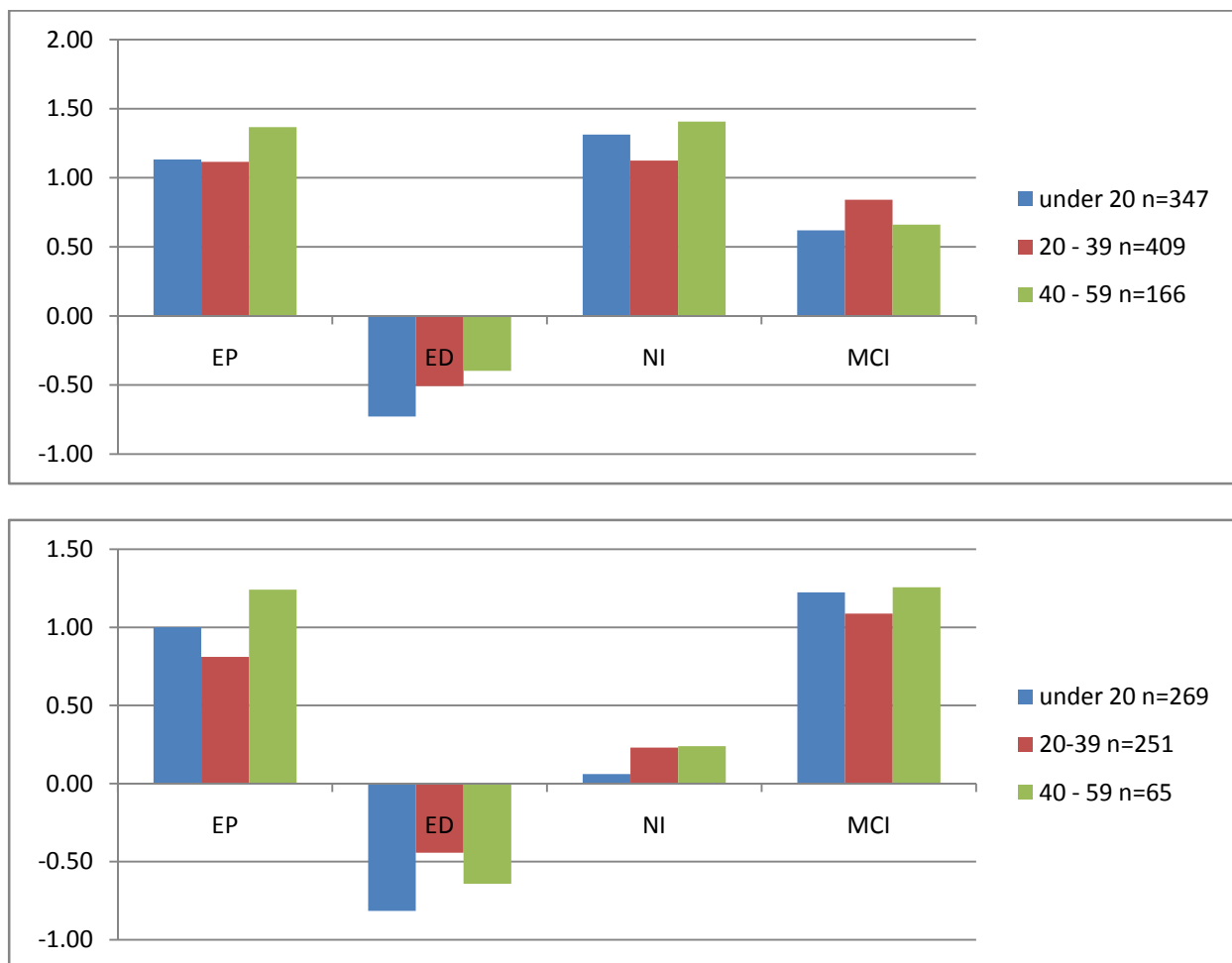
EMERGENCE OF BICULTURAL MINORITY IDENTITY IN ESTONIA AND SUGGESTION FOR DEVELOPMENT OF ESTONIAN OPEN IDENTITY

Table 3. Mean scores for gender differences between EIS and EOI subscales in complete pool of respondents.

| | Women n=694 | Men n=872 | t-value |
|-----|----------------|-------------|------------|
| EP | 1.23(0.61) | 0.91(0.70) | 9.61233*** |
| ED | -0.67(0.75) | -0.48(0.75) | -4.83020* |
| NI | 0.97(0.86) | 0.65(0.89) | 7.34746*** |
| MCI | 0.96(0.72) | 0.81(0.73) | 4.01630*** |

Note. * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$

Correlation analysis ($N=1551$) with age of respondents produced significant ($p \leq 0.05$) positive correlation for $EP=0.22$, $ED=0.14$ and $NI=0.18$ and negative correlation for $MCI=-0.05$. In case of Russian ($N=591$) subgroup significant ($p \leq 0.05$) relation remained only with $EP=0.15$ and $NI=0.10$. In Estonian ($N=959$) sample age correlated significantly ($p \leq 0.05$) with $EP=0.23$, $ED=0.19$, and $NI=0.1$.



Graph 2. Mean scores of EIS and EOI subscales between three main age groups within complete Estonian (top) and Russian (bottom) sample

When comparing the means for the four variables along different age and cultural groups, in case of Estonian sample ($N=922$) statistically most significant ($p \leq 0.001$) difference appeared in EP between the older group 40 – 59 years and both two younger generations, while ED produced significant differences only between younger and middle age groups. In case of NI an interesting pattern appeared – the strength of NI was very close between youngest and oldest generations, and in both cases significantly lower comparing to the middle generation 20 – 39 age. MCI measure repeated this trend in direct opposite – youngest and oldest generations were close to each other and significantly lower on MCI than middle age group.

Russian sample produced significant variation between the three groups only on EP measure, where EP decreased in middle group compared to younger, and increased in older compared to middle. Other measures produced significant differences in comparing younger group to middle and older generation, with this group being less likely to differentiate, weaker on NI and stronger on MCI. The results show interesting pattern of relations between belonging to certain age group and ethnic and national identification.

Moving to analysis of general trends along the main variables of our study – EIS and EOI scale, we compared mean scores of these variables between Estonian respondents and total Russian minority respondents, and between R and ER subgroups (Table 4). Estonian group had the strongest EP of all, followed by R subgroup. EP of ER subgroup was significantly lower than R group. ED measure elicited almost equally high level of ethnic differentiation in Estonian group and R subgroup, ER subgroup had the lowest ED. NI measure showed the highest mean score among Estonian respondents group which was also the strongest mean score for this group.

Table 4: Mean scores EIS and EOI and subscales between Estonian respondents, group of total Russian minority and R and ER subgroups

| | Estonians (n=978) | Russian (all) n=614) | | Russian (R) n=377 | Russian (ER) n=205 | |
|------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------|----------------------|-----------------------|---------|
| | Mean | Mean | t-value | Mean | Mean | t-value |
| Ethnic pride | 1.18(0.64) | 0.94(0.69) | 7.16 | 1.01(0.68) | 0.80(0.70) | 3.55 |
| Ethnic differentiation | -0.55(0.75) | -0.65(0.76) | 2.62 | -0.53(0.75) | -0.83(0.72) | 4.64 |
| EI | 0.31(0.50) | 0.16(0.59) | 5.36 | 0.24(0.45) | 0.02(0.75) | 4.36 |
| National identity | 1.25(0.61) | 0.15(0.85) | 29.97 | -0.03(0.80) | 0.50(0.79) | -7.68 |
| Multicultural Identity | 0.71(0.74) | 1.17(0.63) | -12.82 | 1.05(0.65) | 1.38(0.56) | -6.19 |
| EOI | 0.98(0.47) | 0.66(0.58) | 11.98 | 0.51(0.56) | 0.94(0.49) | -9.27 |

Note: All results significant at $p \leq 0.001$; Results obtained on 5-point Likert scale from -2 to 2

On the measure of MCI Estonian group had was the lowest of mean score of the four groups, and closest to R group, while ER mean score was the highest of all groups.

4.2.3. Ethnic and national identity in Russian minority groups in Estonia

Moving closer to our hypothesis about the emergence of bicultural identity in ER group, in order to understand how identification as R or ER is related to ethnic and national identification of respondents, we compared the two groups based on EIS scale and along EP and ED variables using T-test for independent groups. Results suggested significant difference ($p \leq 0.001$) between means for R and ER groups on all variables (Table 4).

To better understand the source of differences in strength of ethnic identification, we analyzed which questions contributed most to differences in this measure, and which questions produced closest results. For this purpose we compared means for all the questions between the two groups. Results (Table 3) showed the strongest difference in responses to questions like “All my close friends belong to the same ethnic group as I do” ($\Delta = 0.66$) suggesting much higher probability of interactions with representatives of other nationalities among ER group

EMERGENCE OF BICULTURAL MINORITY IDENTITY IN ESTONIA AND SUGGESTION FOR DEVELOPMENT OF ESTONIAN OPEN IDENTITY

respondents than R group, it was consistent with significant ($p \leq 0.01$) difference in mean score of question “It is nicer to communicate with somebody from my own ethnic group” ($\Delta=0.33$). The second largest difference ($\Delta = 0.43$) in mean scores between groups produced the question “I am proud of my ethnic group”, which had the third highest mean score for the EIS scale in R group ($M = 1.18$), while in ER group it was significantly lower ($\Delta = 0.43$).

Table 5: Mean scores on EIS and standard deviations (in brackets) in R and ER groups, sorted by the size of differences between groups' scores.

| | R n=377 | ER n=205 | t-value | AD |
|---|-------------|-------------|---------|------|
| All my close friends belong to the same ethnic group as I do | 0.68(5.19) | 0.02(1.35) | 5.56*** | 0.66 |
| I am proud of my ethnic group | 1.18(0.79) | 0.76(0.96) | 5.27*** | 0.43 |
| Spouses / partners should belong to the same ethnic group | -0.64(1.31) | -1.04(1.19) | 3.86*** | 0.4 |
| It is nicer to communicate with somebody from my own ethnic group | 0.73(1.01) | 0.40(0.98) | 3.05** | 0.33 |
| I feel strong inner connection with my ethnic group | 0.67(1.03) | 0.37(0.95) | 3.31*** | 0.3 |
| Ethnic background does not matter in choosing a spouse | 0.52(1.26) | 0.80(1.28) | -2.52* | 0.28 |
| I enjoy taking part in the undertakings of my ethnic group | 0.80(1.27) | 0.60(1.27) | 2.26* | 0.2 |
| I respect the traditions of my ethnic group. | 1.39(0.97) | 1.20(0.99) | 2.60** | 0.19 |
| I do not find a person's ethnic background important | 0.27(1.08) | 0.46(1.02) | -1.72 | 0.19 |
| My music preferences do not depend on its ethnic background | 1.24(1.01) | 1.43(1.09) | -2.02* | 0.19 |
| I am interested in the history of my ethnic group | 0.96(1.08) | 0.82(1.04) | 1.55 | 0.14 |
| Ethnicity should not play any role in evaluating a person | 1.18(1.33) | 1.25(1.47) | -0.74 | 0.07 |
| I like to listen to the music of my ethnic group | 0.68(0.91) | 0.61(0.98) | 0.59 | 0.06 |
| I am conscious of my ethnic background and of what it means to me | 1.06(1.26) | 1.05(1.09) | 0.15 | 0.01 |

*Note. * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$. AD=absolute difference between scores*

The smallest difference in mean scores between the two groups appeared in question “I am conscious of my ethnic background and of what it means to me” ($\Delta = 0.1$), and both R and ER group had quite high mean score on this question, suggesting that for both groups the question of ethnic identification and its meaning has high importance. Very close mean scores in responses

of both groups produced questions “Ethnicity should not play any role in evaluating a person”, showing strong negative attitude towards ethnic differentiation. Remarkable that for ER group this was the second highest mean score in the whole EIS scale.

Comparison of R and ER group along Estonian Open Identity (EOI) scale revealed also significant differences both on the general scale and its subscales National Identity (NI) and Multicultural identity (MCI). NI factor in ER group was considerably higher, showing stronger national identity in ER group. MCI measure produced strong support within both groups with $M = 1.04$ ($SD = 0.65$) for the R group, and $M = 1.37$ ($SD = 0.56$) for the ER group, being again stronger among ER group.

To better understand the source of differences in NI and MCI between groups, we compared the groups along individual questions of EOI scale. Results showed significant differences in mean scores on all questions except four: “*In my opinion only ethnic Estonians should live in Estonia*”, “*In Estonia one should respect different views about history*”, “*It does not disturb me that people of different ethnic origin live in Estonia*”, “*Estonia could be more open to other cultures*”, where opinions of both groups were uniform, and apart from the question related to respect for views on history – other three questions had the strongest positive mean scores for the whole scale. All these questions are also strongly loaded on MI factor, which is in accordance with the overall strong measure of MI in both groups.

Table 6. Mean scores and factor loadings of single items of NI and MCI between R and ER groups, sorted by largest difference between the groups' scores.

| | Russians <i>n</i> = 377 | Estonian Russians <i>n</i> = 205 | | AD | Factor loadings | |
|---|----------------------------|--|----------|------|--------------------|-------|
| | Mean | Mean | t-value | | NI | MCI |
| I feel connected to everybody who speaks Estonian. | -0.22(1.13) | 0.48(1.10) | -7.24*** | 0.70 | 0.79 | -0.06 |
| Seeing the Estonian flag, I have often felt proud. | -0.53(1.11) | 0.17(1.14) | -7.13*** | 0.69 | 0.83 | -0.12 |

EMERGENCE OF BICULTURAL MINORITY IDENTITY IN ESTONIA AND SUGGESTION FOR DEVELOPMENT OF ESTONIAN OPEN IDENTITY

| | | | | | | |
|---|-------------|------------|----------|------|-------------|-------------|
| There is nothing to be proud of in Estonian history. | 0.06(1.34) | 0.73(1.14) | -6.12*** | 0.68 | 0.72 | 0.00 |
| In my opinion someone cannot be simultaneously a representative of Estonian and some other culture. (R) | 0.44(1.25) | 1.11(1.08) | -6.51*** | 0.67 | 0.01 | 0.63 |
| I am proud that Estonia is known as a successful small country. | 0.17(1.28) | 0.81(1.12) | -6.06*** | 0.64 | 0.75 | -0.01 |
| A person may belong simultaneously to different ethnic groups. | 0.65(1.10) | 1.28(0.88) | -7.09*** | 0.63 | 0.17 | 0.69 |
| For me it is / it would be important to be an Estonian citizen. | 0.17(1.18) | 0.71(1.11) | -5.44*** | 0.55 | 0.75 | -0.06 |
| I like to say that I am from Estonia/ of Estonian background. | 0.20(1.14) | 0.73(1.07) | -5.41*** | 0.52 | 0.79 | -0.04 |
| I do not usually celebrate Estonian national holidays and do not miss them either. | 0.02(1.29) | 0.54(1.29) | -4.68*** | 0.52 | 0.69 | -0.08 |
| An opportunity to belong to several cultures at the same time makes one's life richer. | 1.10(0.94) | 1.55(0.75) | -5.83*** | 0.44 | 0.02 | 0.62 |
| I am really satisfied with the achievements of Estonia and Estonian people. | 0.37(1.20) | 0.78(0.96) | -4.23*** | 0.41 | 0.76 | -0.04 |
| Taking part in Estonian music events strengthens my feeling of belonging to Estonia. | -0.11(1.17) | 0.15(1.27) | -2.49* | 0.26 | 0.69 | -0.15 |
| It does not disturb me that people of different ethnic origin live in Estonia. | 1.27(1.14) | 1.41(1.07) | -1.41 | 0.14 | -0.04 | 0.66 |
| In my opinion only ethnic Estonians should live in Estonia.(R) | 1.34(1.09) | 1.46(0.90) | -1.43 | 0.13 | -0.10 | 0.67 |
| Estonia could be more open to other cultures. | 1.48(0.83) | 1.46(0.79) | 0.30 | 0.02 | -0.29 | 0.60 |

Note. (R) denotes reversed items. * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$. Loadings greater than |.30| are boldfaced. Only questions included in 16-item factor model included in the table.

AD=Absolute difference between mean scores

Next in order to understand main distinctions pertaining to national identity between R and ER groups, we analyzed individual questions that produced highest difference, which were all strongly loaded on NI factor. The highest difference was produced by question “*I feel connected to everybody who speaks Estonian*”. Since previously there was strong relation between proficiency in Estonian language and belonging to R and ER group, we checked correlation

between this question and level of Estonian language proficiency and found significant correlation 0.17 at $p \leq 0.001$ in ER group, while no correlation was found for R group. Another question that produced strong difference in mean scores of R and ER was “*Seeing the Estonian flag, I have often felt proud*” which if compared to all other question of EOI scale, elicited strongest disagreement from the R group, according to mean score $M = -0.53$.

4.2.4. Relation between ethnic and national identity

To better understand the inter-relation between ethnic and national identity in the two Russian minority groups, we conducted correlation analysis for the main measures of EOI and EIS. Since self-reported Estonian language proficiency had previously elicited significant relation with belonging to R and ER group and correlation with individual questions, we controlled its correlations with the main variables of current research. Results are presented in Table 6.

Table 7: Correlation for EIS and EOI subscales and language proficiency within R (bottom diagonal) and ER (top diagonal) groups.

| | Estonian Russians n=198 | | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| Russians n=350 | Ethnic pride | Ethnic differentiation | National identity | Multicultural Identity | Estonian language |
| Ethnic pride | | 0.11 | 0.12 | 0.26*** | -0.26*** |
| Ethnic differentiation | -0.18*** | | -0.15* | -0.33*** | -0.05 |
| National identity | 0.02 | -0.25*** | | 0.02 | 0.26*** |
| Multicultural Identity | 0.35*** | -0.47*** | 0.21*** | | -0.04 |
| Estonian language | -0.03 | -0.05 | 0.15** | 0.05 | |

Note: * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$.

Correlation analysis between the four subscales of ethnic and national identity – EP, ED, NI and MCI showed significant positive correlation between MCI and EP and negative correlation between MCI and ED appearing in both R and ER groups (Table 6). NI is significantly correlated with MCI only in R group, in ER group no significant relation was found. In both R and ER Estonian language proficiency significantly correlated with measure of NI, but in ER

results also showed significant ($p \leq 0.05$) negative correlation between EP and language proficiency, suggesting significant relation between decrease of EP and increase in command of Estonian language in Estonian Russians. Since gender had previously shown significant relation with EP and to control for possible interfering variables that may influence this relation, we conducted regression analysis with such variables as language proficiency, age, education and gender and belong to mixed origin family. Results showed that Estonian language proficiency only was significant predictor of EP, $\beta = -0.31$ ($R^2 = 0.10$).

4.2.5. Subjective well-being in minority ethnic groups

Since we use subjective wellbeing as an important measurable criteria for successful acculturation, to better understand relation and possible influence of differences in national and ethnic identification between R and ER groups, we conducted correlation analysis between the main variables of ethnic identification EP and ED, and national identification NI and MI. Comparison of mean scores of the measures of general wellbeing (GWB), as well as its' subscales, Life satisfaction (LS) and Self-esteem (SE) between R and ER group did not produce any significant difference ($p \leq 0.05$). However, correlation of different subscales of wellbeing with measures of ethnic and national identities showed significant results (Table 7).

Table 8: Correlation for EIS and EOI subscales and language proficiency with General wellbeing (GWB) and its subscales in R (left) and ER (right) groups.

| Russian (R) n=350 | | | | Russian (ER) n=201 | | | |
|-------------------|---------|---------|---------|--------------------|----------|---------|---------|
| | LS | SE | GWB | | LS | SE | GWB |
| EP | 0.15** | 0.21*** | 0.20*** | EP | 0.02 | 0.17* | 0.10 |
| ED | -0.02 | 0.04 | 0.01 | ED | -0.28*** | -0.11 | -0.23** |
| NI | 0.21*** | 0.04 | 0.16** | NI | 0.26*** | 0.18* | 0.25*** |
| MCI | 0.12* | 0.09 | 0.12* | MCI | 0.18* | 0.27*** | 0.25*** |
| Estonian. lang. | 0.23*** | 0.20*** | 0.25*** | Estonian lang. | 0.22** | 0.21** | 0.24*** |

*Note: * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$. Life Satisfaction (LS), Self-esteem (SE)*

Results showed remarkable tendency that in R group EP had the most significant relation to all measures of wellbeing, while NI and MCI had significant relation only to LS, but not SE. In ER

group the pattern is much more complicated – while EP has only slight correlation with SE, other variables correlated both with SE and LS. Interesting tendency appeared, that in R group SE is related only to EP, while in ER it is related also to NI and most strongly MCI. Proficiency of Estonian language was strongly related to all measures of wellbeing in both groups, in R slightly stronger.

To better understand the relation of discussed measures with the scales of wellbeing, we conducted a stepwise multiple regression analysis with such independent variables as EP, ED, NI, MCI and Estonian language. Results of analysis confirmed that in ER group most significant predictor for SE was MCI and LS was predicted by ED and NI, while in R group SE was most strongly related to EP and LS was predicted by both EP and NI. Estonian language was a strong predictor in both groups regarding all wellbeing measures.

Table 9. Regression analysis for predicting self-esteem and life-satisfaction among Russians (R) and Estonian Russians (ER)

| | R <i>n</i> =377 | | ER <i>n</i> =205 | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|--------|------------------|--------|
| | SE | LS | SE | LS |
| β (EP) | .21*** | .16** | .14 | .04 |
| β (ED) | .11 | .08 | -.02 | -.22** |
| β (NI) | .04 | .20*** | .09 | .17* |
| β (MCI) | .03 | .04 | .22** | .09 |
| β (Estonian language proficiency) | .20*** | .20*** | .22** | .18* |
| R ² | .09 | .12 | .14 | .16 |

*Note: * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$. Life Satisfaction (LS), Self-esteem (SE)*

4.3. Defining ideal Estonian Open Identity

In order to identify the ideal construct of Estonian Open Identity that would be based on themes and questions, most acceptable by all cultural groups in Estonia, and support common national identification, we conducted detailed analysis of questions of existing Estonian Open Identity

scale, apart from the question previously mentioned as problematic because of ambiguous wording. The comparison thus included 20 questions. Since the sample of Russian minority had clearly identified distinction between R and ER groups, we treated them as two independent ethnically identified groups in current analysis.

First we compared mean scores for the Estonian group with mean scores of R and ER groups, to eliminate from the future model the questions that elicited most differences in opinion and identify the common basis for understanding national identity. As a next step we selected questions that produced smallest difference in importance, as well as importance of which was above average (above 0). In addition a question that was related to multiculturalism in general was left out, while another general multiculturalism question, which elicited most similar responses in groups, was left in the sample. As a result we had a scale with 13 questions.

On the basis of selected 13 statements using a principal axis factor analysis with a varimax rotation, we identified the main components of constructed EOI. There appeared similar two-factor structure but some of the questions (e.g. *“I feel connected to all people living in Estonia, no matter what is their ethnic background”*; *“I like being both an Estonian and a European/related to Estonia and Europe”*) that were previously dropped because of their parallel loadings were now loading clearly on NI factor. We called the factors newNI and newMCI.

Table 10. Factor loadings for newNI and newMCI subscale of constructed EOI scale.

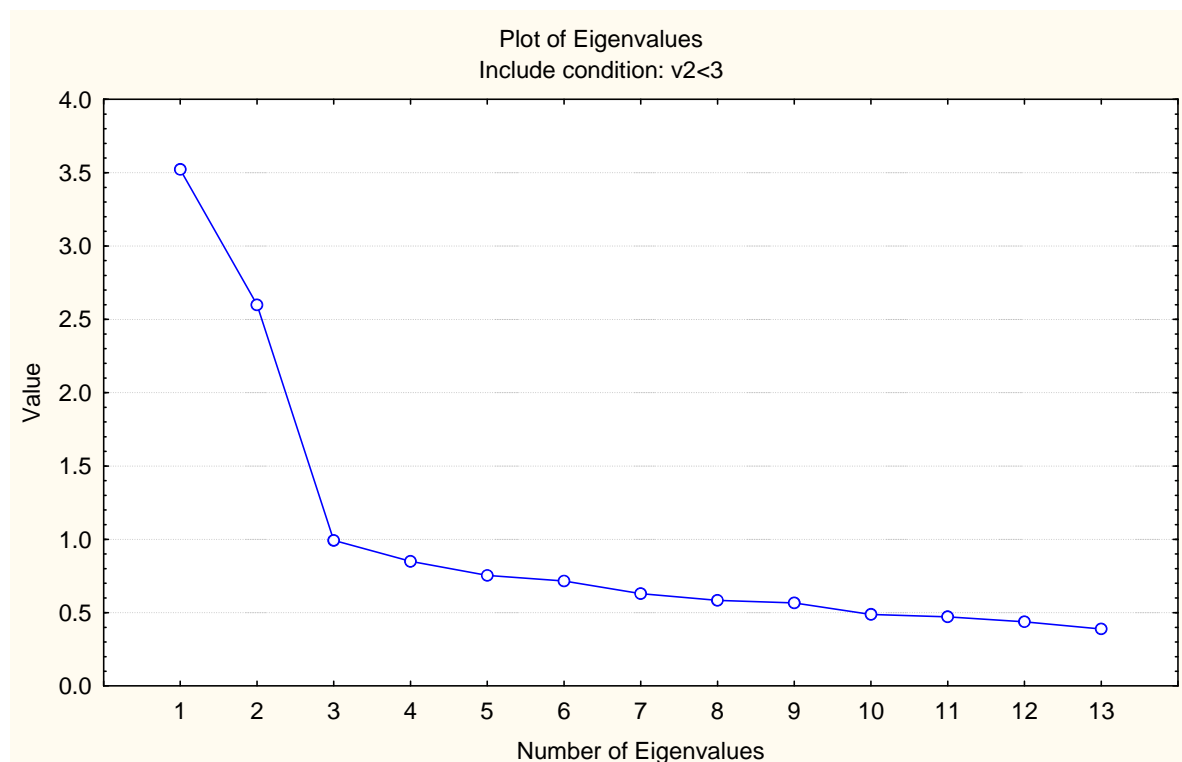
| | newNI | newMCI |
|--|-------|-------------|
| In my opinion only ethnic Estonians should live in Estonia (R) | -0.05 | 0.71 |
| In Estonia one should respect different views about history | -0.05 | 0.44 |
| It does not disturb me that people of different ethnic origin live in Estonia | 0.00 | 0.71 |
| In my opinion someone cannot be simultaneously a representative of Estonian and some other culture | 0.07 | 0.59 |
| An opportunity to belong to several cultures at the same time makes one's life richer | 0.22 | 0.67 |
| Estonia could be more open to other cultures | -0.25 | 0.66 |

EMERGENCE OF BICULTURAL MINORITY IDENTITY IN ESTONIA AND SUGGESTION FOR DEVELOPMENT OF ESTONIAN OPEN IDENTITY

| | | |
|---|-------------|-------|
| I feel connected to all people living in Estonia, no matter what is their ethnic background | 0.49 | 0.27 |
| I do not feel deep connection to Estonian land and nature | 0.68 | -0.01 |
| I am proud that Estonia is known as a successful small country | 0.76 | -0.08 |
| I like being both an Estonian and a European (inhabitant of my continent) | 0.63 | 0.27 |
| For me it is / it would be important to be an Estonian citizen | 0.78 | -0.12 |
| I do not usually celebrate Estonian national holidays and do not miss them either | 0.71 | -0.14 |
| I am really satisfied with the achievements of Estonia and Estonian people | 0.78 | -0.10 |

Note: Factor loadings above .40 are boldfaced

The 13 items chosen for further analysis loaded strongly on one of the two factors (i.e., more than |.40|), the resultant scale accounted for 47.1% of the total variance (newNI subscale = 27.1 % and newMCI subscale = 20%). The overall reliability of the 13 items was .71. Cronbach alphas for the newNI and newMCI subscales were .70 and .82, respectively. We use the identified two factors in following analysis.



Graph 3. Eigenvalues of new constructed newEOI.

To identify how much better the new EOI construct was able to provide a common identification basis for different cultures, we compared means on this scale and its two measures significant cultural and ethnic groups, namely Estonian and Russian, and Russian R and Estonian Russian (ER) (Table 11).

Table 11. Comparison of mean scores for EOI and newEOI scales and subscales between Estonian, Russian, Russian R and Russian ER groups.

| | Estonian n=978 | Russian n=614 | | Russian R n=377 | Russian ER n=205 | |
|--------|-------------------|------------------|-----------|--------------------|---------------------|----------|
| | Mean | Mean | t-value | Mean | Mean | t-value |
| NI | 1.25(0.61) | 0.15(0.85) | 29.97*** | -0.03(0.80) | 0.50(0.79) | -7.68*** |
| MCI | 0.71(0.74) | 1.17(0.63) | -12.82*** | 1.05(0.65) | 1.38(0.56) | -6.19*** |
| EOI | 0.98(0.47) | 0.66(0.58) | 11.98*** | 0.51(0.56) | 0.94(0.49) | -9.27*** |
| newNI | 1.21(0.57) | 0.41(0.82) | 22.96*** | 0.23(0.80) | 0.75(0.74) | -7.73*** |
| newMCI | 0.68(0.70) | 1.16(0.61) | -13.80*** | 1.07(0.62) | 1.30(0.59) | -4.33*** |
| newEOI | 0.97(0.48) | 0.75(0.58) | 7.92*** | 0.62(0.58) | 1.00(0.50) | -8.08*** |

*Note: * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$.*

Previously NI subscale had created the strongest difference between Estonian and Russian sample, and mean score of Russian group was significantly lower. The newNI variable still produced significant difference in mean scores between the groups, the difference was considerably smaller. Mean of newNI in Russian group and both R and ER subgroups has increased strongly. To control whether the change was statistically significant, we compared the mean scores of NI and newNI within Estonian, Russian, R and ER samples. Results showed significant differences at $p \leq 0.001$ both Russian and subgroups R and ER separately, no significant difference for Estonian group.

To understand the inter-relations between the new EOI scale and measures of ethnic identity, we conducted correlation analysis of these measures between main ethno-cultural groups involved in our study (Table 12).

Table 12. Correlations between the newEOI scale and measures of ethnic identity, presented for Estonian (lower diagonal) and Russian sample (upper diagonal).

| | Russian n=608 | | EIS | newNI | newMCI | newEOI |
|----------------|---------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| | EP | ED | | | | |
| Estonian n=878 | | | EIS | newNI | newMCI | newEOI |
| EP | | -0.04 | | | | |
| ED | 0.03 | | 0.58*** | -0.28*** | -0.40*** | -0.40*** |
| EIS | 0.66*** | 0.77*** | | -0.13** | -0.10* | -0.15*** |
| newNI | 0.61*** | -0.05 | 0.35*** | | 0.25*** | 0.88*** |
| newMCI | 0.04 | -0.48*** | -0.34*** | 0.16 | | 0.68*** |
| newEOI | 0.41*** | -0.36*** | -0.01 | 0.74*** | 0.78*** | |

*Note: * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$.*

Within our third hypothesis related to new construct of EOI we expected that correlation of newEOI with both ethnic identities would be positive and similar. Results of the correlation analysis show strong positive correlation between the new EOI construct and both EP and ED measures of ethnic identity. However, analysis of subscales shows that in Russian sample no significant correlation appears between newNI and EP, while newMCI has strong correlation with both EP and ED. In Estonian sample NI is strongly correlated with EP, repeating pattern found in original EOI construct. newMCI does not produce significant relation with the measure of EP in Estonian sample. These results partially confirm our hypothesis on general level of newEOI construct, while leave room for development on subscales.

However, analysis of correlations within Russian R and ER subgroups produce more interesting results. The newEOI construct not only had significant positive correlations with the measures EP and ED of ethnic identity construct, but there appeared significant positive relation between the subscale newNI and EP both for Russian R and Estonian Russian ER groups, confirming our hypothesis.

Table 13. Correlations between the newEOI scale and measures of ethnic identity, presented for Estonian (lower diagonal) and Russian sample.

| | Russian ER n=205 | | | | | |
|--------------------|------------------|----------|----------|---------|----------|----------|
| Russian R n=377 | EP | ED | EIS | newNI | newMCI | newEOI |
| EP | | 0.09 | 0.52*** | 0.19** | 0.30*** | 0.32*** |
| ED | -0.19*** | | 0.44*** | -0.13 | -0.33*** | -0.28*** |
| EIS | 0.58*** | 0.69*** | | -0.02 | -0.12 | -0.08 |
| newNI | 0.10* | -0.31*** | -0.18*** | | 0.07 | 0.83*** |
| newMCI | 0.41*** | -0.42*** | -0.05 | 0.28*** | | 0.61*** |
| newEOI | 0.28*** | -0.44*** | -0.16** | 0.88*** | 0.70*** | |

*Note: * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$.*

5. DISCUSSION

The aim of the current study was to explore current identity realities among Estonians and Russians living in Estonia while searching ways for development of EOI – a civic identity that might unite different ethnic groups in Estonia, while allowing preservation of their ethnic identities and thus not threatening the distinctiveness of any of the existing identities. The study used quantitative methods to explore the different cultural groups along two main themes – ethnic and national identities and their subscales: operating with such concepts as Ethnic Pride and Ethnic Differentiation (Valk, Karu-Kletter, 2001) and also using the construct of Estonian Open Identity, as well measures for exploring subjective wellbeing (Rosenberg, 1986, Diener et al, 1985). The main results of current study:

- (1) First we identified and described the main characteristics of emerging separate identity group – Estonian Russians, which as we suggest is a bicultural identity. With this we

showed that ethnic self-categorization is an important variable related to ethnic and national identity attitudes. This variable is sometimes overlooked in psychological and sociological research, where ethnic identification of participants is defined on the bases of broader categories and in case of studies made in Estonia often based on language of the questionnaire.

- (2) Secondly, we identified the key factors along measures of ethnic and national identity and wellbeing, which are significant in understanding the process of acculturation taking place in Estonia. On this basis we now discuss implications for the emergence of bicultural identity in Estonia, which we suggest these findings may suggest.
- (3) Third, we identified the key parameters along the measure on Estonian Open Identity that are closest for three main cultural groups, and proposed a structure suggesting a construct of national identity open to different ethnic groups.

5.1. Estonian minority cultural groups and identities

The first aim of current study was to understand the nature of ethnic and national identity of Russian minority population in Estonia, and as the first hypothesis we expected to identify that there is ground to consider Estonian Russians as clearly distinctive from the rest of Russian minority group, and define whether there is suggestion that it is an emerging bicultural identity. Results showed considerable number (over 33%) of Russian minority respondents who identified themselves as Estonian Russian. According to Turner (Turner et al, 1987) membership in a group starts from self-categorization as a member of a certain group, and in our case identification by respondents as belonging Estonian Russian ethnic identity is a first sign of emerging bicultural identity. Results of analysis of responses to ethnic identity and national identity scales also showed clear and statistically significant distinction on measures of national and ethnic identity, supporting this claim. Namely, the ER group expressed considerably more

national pride and feeling of belonging to the Estonian host culture (NI) and stronger support for multicultural identity (MCI) compared to control group R, suggesting a greater importance of the second – national identity, along with own ethnic identity, in formation of own identification. These findings suggest strong enough difference between groups, to consider them separate strongly, as well suggest the constructs of bicultural identity combined of two cultures – Estonian and Russian, which we discuss further.

With the purpose to understand what other characteristics of the ER group from other Russians living in Estonia who identify themselves as Russian, we analyzed the demographic data. Current study does not allow us to draw any cause-effect conclusions, but discovered relations may be useful for further study. From demographic factors, higher proficiency in Estonian language was a significant predictor of belonging to ER group and was in its turn positively correlated with measure of NI national identity, feeling of national pride and belonging to Estonia as a country. This correlation was significantly stronger for ER compared to R. This helps to understand the strong difference on EIS individual question “*All my close friends belong to the same ethnic group as I do*”, for high proficiency in language helps to easier build social contacts with the other group (e.g. Estonians), which has been found to be a strong and important predictor of successful acculturation (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, 1998). Relation between proficiency in Estonian language and stronger NI has also clear explanation, with language giving access to wider opportunities in education and labor market, as well as increases influence of Estonian-language media in understanding processes taking place in the country and forming the perception of Estonia and being Estonian national.

Experience of living in multiethnic family with parents belonging to different ethnic groups was also a significant predictor of identifying as Estonian Russian, further analysis also revealed relation between being from bicultural family and significantly lower ethnic differentiation (ED), higher NI and MCI. Weaker ethnic differentiation and also weaker ethnic pride and belonging

compared to the group who identified themselves as purely Russian will be discussed further. These findings provide support to previously noted relation that contact with different culture may be related to lower differentiation (Roccas, Brewer 2002), which is an important factor influencing successful acculturation, as well as give ground to consider the ER group as distinctive and separate.

The differences in age groups distribution, with younger generation and respondents with secondary school education being less likely to identify as Estonian Russian compared to other age and education groups, have been noticed before in studies of attitudes towards integration process (Korts, Vihalemm, 2008), where younger generation displayed more negative attitude and differentiation. One proposed explanation to this tendency may be reaction to historical events of April 2007 which have significantly influenced attitudes of Russians and Estonians on a number of questions (Lauristin, Vihalemm, 2008), and high-school students of that time felt probably the strongest influence of the event of that time and intensive discussion that followed (Korts, Vihalemm, 2008). Interestingly the middle generation of 20 – 39 years, who may be regarded as the most active age group in society was most likely to identify as ER, suggesting relation between cultural integration and high involvement in society.

If we compare the significant differences between Russian and Estonian Russian groups that are compatible with Integration Index evaluation criteria – e.g. higher language proficiency, higher Estonian national pride, positive view of Estonia as a country etc – used to define extent of integration of ethnic minorities (Lauristin, Vihalemm, 2008), we see that results of Integration index survey showed the group with highest measure of integration to be 27.5 % of total pool of respondents, which are by number comparable with 33.4% of Russian respondents in our sample identified themselves as Estonian Russians.

To conclude – the discovered differences suggest a unique and distinctive behavior of the group marked as ER. Based on this analysis, which significantly influences their attitudes along ethnic and national identification scale, we further refer to ER group as having bicultural identity.

5.1.1. Which acculturation model rules?

To better understand, what process of acculturation may lead to results we are witnessing with the emerging ER group, we now analyze the results and trends produced from our study along main acculturation theories. Based on classification of acculturation dynamics of Berry and his colleagues (2006), considering that ER group has significantly higher NI compared to purely Russian counterpart, but produced significantly lower results on EP scale compared to R group, ER may be assigned somewhere between integration group characterized by high identification with both cultures, and assimilation group – suggesting that the process of acculturation may have negative influence on strength of ethnic identification.

The very name of this identity group – Estonian Russian – suggests dual or fused identity, since it includes names of both ethnic groups and their inter-relation is not 100% clear. In the light of model of classification of openness based on EP and ED criteria, proposed by Veisson (2006), the low ED and comparatively low EP would assign ER group somewhere between diffused identity profile (low EP and low ED) – characterized by low interest in own ethnic identification, certain rootlessness and higher probability to move outside Estonia, and open profile – characterized by openness towards cultural diversity, and higher ethnic pride than in diffused group (Veisson, 2006). Based on classification of bicultural identity proposed by Phinney & Devich-Navarro (1997) who differentiated between blended identity – characterized by comparatively equal importance of national and ethnic identity in formation of result, and alternating bicultural identity, characterized by stronger ethnic identity with clear positive regard of host culture identity – our ER group would be closer to alternation biculturalism based on considerably higher NI paired with lower EP displayed in this study. Blended identity does not

assume two identities to simply coexist in the same individual/group, but signifies a unique cultural configuration that appears from the interaction of the two ethnic-cultural groups, reflecting their traits as well as mutual inter-relation (Phinney, Devich-Navarro, 1997). The fact that ER group has a number of similarities and distinctions with both Russian and Estonian sample – e.g. ER is much closer to R on scale of view on multiculturalism, while at the same time is much closer to Estonian group on measures of national identity.

Taking into account the analysis by Roccas & Brewer (2002), that belonging to several in-groups decreases importance of each in-group on providing feeling of belonging, this may, to some extent, explain the decreased EP, for with the accompanying increase in national identification (NI) in the ER group has opportunity to gain feeling of belonging from larger national group, which reduces need for strong ethnic in-group bias. Even though Estonian national identity (NI) in ER group was significantly higher than in R group, it was also significantly lower compared to Estonian sample, which sets ER group somewhere in the middle – not completely integrated with the overall population, but not as separated as Russian R sample. Another possible explanation to the low EP is that Estonian Russian is quite new term and has not been used very extensively, as well as has been intermixed with other terms as Russian-speaking Estonians (Korts, Vihalemm, 2007), non-Estonians, Russian-speaking inhabitants of Estonia (Vetik, ed., 2008) – which according to findings by Korts & Vihalemm (2008) was rated by Russian respondents even higher than “Estonian Russians” as identification group. Absence of strong uniting identification and clear understanding of what it means to be Estonian Russian, naturally reduces the strength of identification. Further research into the meaning of term Estonian Russian for both people identifying themselves with this group, and people belonging to important close out-groups (e.g. Estonians, Russians) is necessary to better provide answer to this question.

Estonian national identity in the eyes of Estonian population is strongly related with ethnic culture and language, which was confirmed by results of our study. In the context of

acculturation, when national identity is strongly loaded with ethnic identity of the majority culture which is different from integrating minority – this may create ground for bicultural identity conflict, and cause bipolar acculturation model. In our case this would be identified by negative correlation between NI and EP, which was not the case. In both R and ER group correlation between EP and NI was statistically insignificant, which suggests that stronger national identification by itself does not influence strength of EP. This in its turn gives support to more two-dimensional model of acculturation, where ethnic and national identities do not directly oppose each other. However, the strength of EP had significantly negatively correlated with the command of Estonian language among ER subgroup, which suggest that this inter-relation is much more complex, and which we discuss in more detail further.

Regarding definition of R group it is more difficult to draw uniform conclusions. On one part, according to low, almost negative strength of National identity, paired with high ethnic pride, this group may be considered more separatist along the dimensions of Berry (Berry et al, 2006). At the same time R group is not a uniform group that can be described by one tendency, which is in accordance with different levels of integration noted by Lauristin and Vihalemm (2008). Current analysis we do not focus on analyzing of all levels of distinction within R group, for this would lead the focus away from main target of our discussion.

5.1.2. What is the role of language in bicultural identity?

Language is an important differentiator in socio-psychological research, sometimes language of a questionnaire becomes the defining factor for considering a respondent Russian or Estonian (e.g. Vihalemm & Masso, 2007). To some extent that would be correct for our study as well – since Estonian language proficiency was a significant predictor of belonging to ER group. But more detailed analysis along ethnic and national identification variables showed that language has much more complex role, showing clearly conflicting results along the language variable. In case of ER group on one part, the strength of EP had significant negative correlation with the

proficiency in Estonian language, which remained after controlling for possible interfering factors with multiple regression analysis. Since language was also strongly positively correlated with NI, significant negative correlation between NI and EP would have explained the decrease of EP by results of acculturation, but that was not our case. NI and EP did not produce significant correlation, suggesting that proficiency of Estonian language has independent relation with an important aspect of ethnic identification – feeling of Pride of own ethnic group.

Being Estonian and speaking Estonian language are very connected condition in the eyes of all people living in Estonia – based on our study more than half of Estonian sample regarded it impossible for someone to be Estonian if he does NOT speak Estonian language, the same tendency, even stronger, appeared in Russian R group, while in ER group there were more respondents who regarded it to be possible to be Estonian without good command of Estonian language. It is an interesting finding, because ER group was significantly higher than R group on the measure of Estonian language proficiency, which suggests that individuals with good command of Estonian language are more likely to identify themselves as Estonian Russians. Estonian language is an important factor in forming Estonian national identification, which is not surprising both based on its functionality as a tool for communication and common info-field, but also considering that for years it has been the focal point of integration process in Estonia (Vetik, ed., 2008).

These results raises the question, whether development of positive Estonian national identification and development of high proficiency in Estonian language are two separate parallel processes of acculturation, one of which (National identity) goes along bi-dimensional model of acculturation, and second (language) causes successful adaptation of Estonian national identity to conflict with retaining high ethnic identification with own culture, suggesting bipolar (uni-dimensional) model of acculturation, leading to weakening ethnic identity in minority representatives who are successful in integration process along its key measures. Previous

studies have shown that strength of ethnic identification positively predicts wellbeing (Phinney et al, 2001).

To conclude this part of discussion, available evidence suggests that the main trend in case of ER is closer to two-dimensional acculturation model, although there are accompanying factors like language, which suggest linear relation. Based on previous analysis of characteristic traits of the group of individuals identifying themselves as Estonian Russians, a following profile of a “typical” Estonian Russian may be formed:

- (1) High proficiency in Estonian language
- (2) Low level of ethnic differentiation and strong support for multicultural identity
- (3) Comparatively low ethnic pride (compared to Russians and Estonians)
- (4) Comparatively low level of national identity compared to Estonians but higher NI than among Russians.

5.1.3. Subjective well-being in minority ethnic groups

Subjective well-being is an important criterion for measuring and understanding success of acculturation process (Chen et al 2008, Phinney et al 2001). In previous part we identified ER group as possible emerging bicultural identity, in this part we focus on analysis, what relation the difference in identification as ER and related difference in ethnic and national identification, may have with the two important measures of wellbeing – Life satisfaction (LS) and Self-esteem (SE). Our hypothesis was that since belonging to ER may be an indication of emergence of bicultural identity and the measure of psychological wellbeing has been known to indicate the influence acculturation experience has on a person, we expected it to find significant relation between belonging to ER and wellbeing. In addition, since the results of comparison of R and ER group corresponded with several important criteria of Integration Index (Lauristin, Vihalemm, 2008), we expected this relation to be positive towards the ER group. However, general comparison of the two groups along measures of wellbeing did not produce significant

results, which suggested that either there really is no relation between identification as Estonian Russian and self-esteem and life satisfaction, or the relation is too complex to be seen on such general level.

Results of cross-correlation of EIS and EOI subscales with the measures of subjective wellbeing showed an interesting tendency that while in R self-esteem was significantly related only with EP of all measures of ethnic and national identification; in case of ER it was significantly related also to NI and MCI, suggesting a very high importance of national identification and importance of “Estonian” part of Estonian Russian identity for evaluating self. This suggests proof to the shift in the basis of source group support and feeling of belonging from one to two groups (Roccas & Brewer, 2002) and the host group becoming an important source of wellbeing and happiness (Lyubomirsky et al 2006), a strong proof that acculturation process is related to wellbeing in our case.

Another result important to our previous discussion about language was that language was a significant predictor of both life satisfaction and self-esteem in both groups. Previously noted negative correlation between EP and proficiency in Estonian language paired with the fact that on average ER participants had significantly higher Estonian language than in R group, this may partially explain why EP predicted much stronger wellbeing in R compared to ER group. Considering that in ER group the response to individual question “All my close friends belong to the same ethnic group as I do” produced the strongest difference from R group, this suggests that ER group respondents have a wider social network outside their ethnic group, which provides them feeling of in-group belonging, thus decreasing the role of ethnic identification for this purpose (Mok et al, 2007).

Thus our second hypothesis found only partial support: while the general wellbeing of R and ER is comparatively the same, the dynamics of reaching this similar result are clearly different.

5.2. Ideal construct of Estonian Open Identity

Creating a harmonious and successful society requires a common foundation, the stronghold that would unite all the people and cultures forming this society, with all their differences and motives, into a cohesive group. This is a challenge for a multicultural society, and discovered evidence of emerging bicultural group may be interpreted as a positive sign of creating a solution to this challenge, while the backlash experienced by Estonia in April 2007 indicates, that this is a topic that requires significant attention. Estonian Open Identity is a guiding theme throughout this research, and in this part we focus specifically on proposing an idealized model for Estonian Open Identity, that would be able to provide common ground for all cultural groups. Many studies focus on defining and describing differences, we decided to focus on similarities and through analyzing them propose an idealistic concept of inclusive national identity, which although may be difficult to achieve in reality, may provide significant guidelines and suggestions on what may serve as an effective basis of common identification.

As discussed previously, one of significant obstacles to successful acculturation is when the two identities – ethnic and national – conflict with each other, suggesting bipolar model of acculturation (Berry et al, 2006), which may happen when national identity is very closely related to ethnic identity of host majority (Sidanius et al, 1997). To avoid this, a clear distinction between the national and ethnic identity has to be drawn, so the two identities coexist independently and individual can retain positive commitment to both. In the context of our study the strength and nature of relation between measures on national and ethnic identity – either supportive or suppressive – helped to suggest, whether the Estonian national identity conflicts or supports the ethnic identity.

Previous analysis of different cultural groups along initial construct of Estonian Open Identity showed the tendency for the two factors to divide – while Estonians supported more national identity NI, the Russian respondents clearly supported more the aspect of multicultural identity

MCI. In this light, most remarkable result in regard of the new construct of national identity was that newNI positively correlated with ethnic pride in minority subgroups, both R and ER, which is a clear sign that Estonian national identity in this form does not have the dividing role, but is positively related to strong ethnic identification of minorities, which is crucial for successful two-dimensional acculturation (LaFromboise et al, 1993).

Initial design of our study and the measure of Estonian Open Identity showed significant differentiation between Estonian and Russian (especially Russian R) group along the measure of national identity (NI): while NI in this form found very strong support from the part of Estonian respondents, the support of the Russian (R) group was close to 0. A significant result in this respect was, that the newNI constructed by our approach, produced significantly more positive response in the Russian group, while the support of Estonian group remained unchanged. The importance of this result is that it suggests that the new construct has succeeded in identifying components that are crucial for positive Estonian national identification for both Estonians and Russians.

To define the questions to be included in the concept of Estonian Open identity we analyzed the original scale that measured Estonian national identity across a number of themes, and selected questions that elicited least, while leaving out the questions that produced most discrepancies. EOI that is almost equally acceptable for all groups was characterized by support and positive regard of diversity, both cultural and ethnic, and respect of different opinions, such as view on history. In addition EOI include identification with the people of Estonia, the land, and through valuing citizenship – the state, and feeling of belonging.

Strengthening these aspects in Estonian identity, should support acculturation and mutual adaptation. Estonian language learning that has until now been in the centre of Estonian integration policy, is very important on practical level as well as supportive factor of well being of Russians living in Estonia. However, in the identity discourse language together with the pride

in history and flag are dividing symbols. These factors clearly require more detailed attention: less usage in public political rhetoric while more consideration in Russian-speaking schools as young Russians had lowest support to national identity.

5.3. Conclusion

Current study was to our knowledge first attempt to analyze in detail uniting and dividing elements in Estonian state-level identity. In addition to language learning that is certainly important factor in acculturation, support for multicultural identity both by Russians and Estonians is equally relevant for successful acculturation – it supports Estonian Russians' self-esteem as well as allows development of more balance state identity for different groups.

These results give ground for further research of different aspects and facets, that such identity could encompass, and may suggest useful knowledge for more successful direction of acculturation process in Estonia.

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