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Political Socialization of Immigrants: A Case Study of Estonia

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Abstract

Learning and acquisition of political behavior are important processes as they affect the way individuals participate in political and civic life of a country. Political socialization is the process of learning and change in attitudes towards politics and political participation. Migration, being an important decision for individuals, changes their status and puts them in a different political environment where the individuals are expected to experience political socialization through learning and adapting to new political environment.

Within the last decade Estonia started to attract high-skilled immigrants resulting in a positive net migration since 2015. This thesis tries to explore how a country which is becoming a newly immigrant destination creates a space for immigrants' political socialization. Interviews with immigrants who have spent less than five years in Estonia revealed that they do not show resistance to change. Transfer of previous political socialization and increased levels of participation through exposure to the host country are observed in conventional and civic participation, whereas no particular effect of exposure on socialization in unconventional forms of participation was observed.

Keywords: political socialization, migration, political participation, immigrant integration, Estonia

Abstrakt

Uczenie się i nabywanie zachowań politycznych jest ważne, ponieważ procesy te wpływają na sposób, w jaki ludzie uczestniczą w życiu politycznym i obywatelskim kraju. Socjalizacja polityczna to proces uczenia się i zmiany postaw wobec polityki i partycypacji politycznej. Migracja, będąc ważną dla ludzi decyzją, zmienia status osoby i stawia ją w innym środowisku politycznym, gdzie oczekuje się, że imigrant doświadczy socjalizacji politycznej, a zatem uczy się i dostosowuje do nowego środowiska politycznego.

W ciągu ostatniej dekady Estonia zaczęła przyciągać wysoko wykwalifikowanych imigrantów, czego wynikiem jest dodatnia migracja netto od 2015 roku. Ta praca ma na celu zbadanie, w jaki sposób kraj, który staje się nowym celem imigrantów, tworzy przestrzeń dla politycznej socjalizacji imigrantów. Wywiady z imigrantami, którzy spędzili w Estonii mniej niż pięć lat, wykazały, że imigranci nie wykazują oporu wobec zmian. Przeniesienie wcześniejszej socjalizacji politycznej i zwiększony poziom uczestnictwa poprzez kontakt z krajem przyjmującym obserwuje się w partycypacji konwencjonalnej i obywatelskiej. Ekspozycja nie miała jednak szczególnego wpływu na socjalizację w niekonwencjonalnych formach uczestnictwa.

Słowa kluczowe: socjalizacja polityczna, migracja, uczestnictwo polityczne, integracja imigrantów, Estonia

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Introduction

Participation in political and civic life of a country is an important aspect of life in democratic states. For years the issue of citizens not being active participants in developed democracies has been a problem and an area of research interest (Bellamy, 2008, p. 16). Particularly, the way individuals learn and acquire political behavior has been an important area of research as these learning processes produce citizens who participate in political and civic life of a country. Scholars of political socialization set out to explore possible reasons affecting political participation and behavior of citizens through socialization process individuals undergo in their lives (Greenberg, 2009; Hyman, 1969).

Political socialization is referred to by scholars as the process of learning and acquiring attitudes and behavior (Almond & Verba, 1989; Greenberg, 2009; Hyman, 1969; Searing, Wright, & Rabinowitz , 1976; Wasburn & Adkins Covert, 2017). Although pioneering work (Hyman, 1969; Searing, Wright, & Rabinowitz , 1976) indicated that socialization later in life, after childhood, is highly unlikely, later research (Marvick, 2009; Sasinska-Klas, 1992; Wasburn & Adkins Covert, 2017) identified political socialization as a life-long process, affected by different events in life as well as knowledge acquired at early stages of life. Immigrant political socialization is thus, a part of the life-long process, as migration is an important event in an individual's life, which might cause changes in political behavior and attitudes. Despite the fact that theories related to political socialization were primarily established and focused on citizens, different scholars pointed out the importance of immigrants' political socialization issues (Bilodeau, 2004, 2008; Finifter & Finiter, 1989; Vargas-Ramos, 2011; White, et al., 2008).

In the last decade migration has become an inevitable truth for the world and particularly for Europe (McAuliffe, et al., 2020, p.5). Estonia is no exception. In recent years it managed to reverse the negative trend of migration (Statistics Estonia, 2021) due to more accommodating policies to attract high-skilled immigrants. As numbers of so-called 'new immigrants' in Estonia are rising, their integration is becoming an important research area.

The issue of successful integration of immigrants into a host society has been researched intensively for years (Kymlicka, 1996; Soysal, 1994). Nevertheless, immigration is still seen as an

issue, a problem to be solved or coped with. While such aspects of immigrant integration as social and economic are given close attention, political and civic aspects of integration need more consideration as they are also key areas of successful integration. Political participation is one of the channels through which immigrants can communicate their needs and expectations and this dialogue between the state and the immigrants is crucial for building a healthy society (Council of the European Union, 2004, p. 23).

It is essential to understand the difference between political socialization and political participation since they might be confused to mean the same process. In this research political socialization is conceptualized as the learning process through which individuals acquire political attitudes and beliefs, which can be observed through the actions individuals do in the form of political participation (Greenberg, 2009; Hyman, 1969; Sasinska-Klas, 1992; Wasburn & Adkins Covert, 2017). Thus, political participation is a form of political socialization manifestation. In this research political socialization of immigrants is analyzed within two main aspects - socialization at a cognitive level, meaning learning and changing attitudes towards politics; and socialization at an action level, where learning and change are observed through political participation. The effect of migration, understood as a change in status and beginning of a new life in a different country, is being studied in this research as a factor affecting political socialization.

Focus of this research is on the process of political socialization of immigrants, analyzed through the case of individuals who have migrated to Estonia from different countries. Research on political socialization of immigrants has mainly been done in such large immigrant destination countries as the United States and Canada (as identified by International Organization for Migration report (2021, p. 24)). Thus, to date, no comprehensive study of immigrant political socialization in new immigrant destination countries has been undertaken. It also can be noticed that political socialization of immigrants in the Baltic region has not been a particular area of research. In case of Estonia, Russian-speaking immigrants, who migrated there during the Soviet Union period, have been the main focus of immigrants' research (Tammaru, et al., 2015, pp. 28-29).

This research focuses on new immigrants in Estonia, particularly those targeted by the Estonian smart immigration policy such as students (Kallas, et al., 2014b, p. 3). Semi-structured interviews conducted with student and recent graduate immigrants, who have lived in Estonia from one to five years, are used to analyze political socialization of immigrants.

The research aims to find out and analyze how immigrants who migrated to Estonia from both European Union (EU) and non-EU states experience a change in their political socialization. The research sets to answer the following research questions:

1. What theories and frameworks are available to explore political socialization of immigrants and how applicable are they to contexts of countries that became destination countries recently?
2. What are the immigrants' views and practices related to their political and civic participation before and after migration, in other words what effect does migration have on political socialization?
3. What barriers do immigrants face in political and civic participation in Estonia?
4. What differences in political socialization can be identified between immigrants from European Union and third country nationals?

Research findings have revealed that immigrants experience a change in their attitudes towards politics after migration, meaning they learn new ways of understanding politics. However, this change is slightly different for political and civic participation. In all forms of participation, majority of immigrants transfer previous political socialization into the context of a new country. As successful political socialization is identified as adaptation to new political environment and participation patterns in host country (Groenendijk, 2008, p. 13), immigrants are seen to adapt to participation patterns in Estonia. The transfer is observed best in volunteering activities followed by activities related to conventional forms of participation. It is also observed that immigrants adapt better through exposure to the new political environment. Surprisingly, exposure has not affected unconventional forms of participation. Participants of the research identified the following barriers to political socialization: legal barriers, language, and unwelcoming attitude to foreigners in Estonian political life. The research has also shown that the country of emigration, a EU or non-EU, did not particularly affect political socialization of immigrants in Estonia.

The thesis is organized in the following way: in chapter one, the contextual background of the case of Estonia is discussed to show the current situation with immigrants in the country and justify why Estonia has been chosen as a country for the case study. Next chapter on theoretical and conceptual framework sets the basis for the research through discussion of theories and concepts such as political socialization, immigrant political socialization and immigrant political participation which form the core of this research. Methodology chapter discusses methods chosen for data collection, framework for data analysis, and limitations and potential problems. Collected data and the results of the research are analyzed in chapters four and five with changes in political attitudes being discussed first, followed by changes in political and civic participation. In the last chapter of the thesis final remarks on the conducted research and further suggestions can be found.

Chapter 1. Contextual Background

1.1 Migration to Estonia

There are two main groups of foreigners living in Estonia: the Russian or Russian speaking minority and stateless people who are mostly Russian speakers as well. The Russian speaking minority, the main group of immigrants in Estonia, was formed due to the Soviet time mobilities (Tammaru, et al., 2015, pp. 10-11). Integration of Soviet time immigrants in Estonia has been a widely researched area (Pettai and Hallik, 2002, p. 505), with different government policies evolving around this issue and ways to deal with it. The importance of this chapter particularly emerges from this special focus on Soviet time immigrants in Estonia. The chapter aims to give an insight into the migration history in Estonia and how Estonia, although slowly, is evolving into an immigrant receiving country. The new immigrants, who started coming after Estonia regained its independence, create an area for research.

The main aim of this study is to understand how political socialization happens in a country with an immigrant profile that is not similar to previous immigrant political socialization research country profiles such as Canada and the US (Bilodeau, 2004; Vargas-Ramos, 2011; White, et al., 2008). The difference between Estonia and the abovementioned countries can be seen in what Tammaru et al. identify as Estonian migration policy being "relatively conservative due to its migration quota and bureaucratic procedures …" (2015, p. 18). It is important to clarify what group of immigrants is being studied in this research and in what context the immigrants are being studied.

Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to introduce the context in which political socialization of immigrants will be studied.

Numbers of immigrants in Estonia are not particularly high when the period after regaining independence is considered. According to the most recent census, there are 1,128,413 Estonian citizens, 21,587 EU citizens, 114,523 citizens of non-EU countries, 66,583 people with undetermined citizenship and 690 unknown country citizens in Estonia (Statistics Estonia, 2021). Due to the low numbers of immigration to Estonia between the years 1991-2015, categorization of Estonia as a non-migrant country by Triandafyllidou et al. (2007, p. 13) could be applicable for that period. However, currently it does not reflect the reality. Particularly, since 2015 immigration numbers exceed emigration numbers, in other words there is a migration turnaround (Ministry of the Interior & European Migration Network Estonian Contact Point, 2018; Statistics Estonia, 2021; Tammaru, et al., 2020; Tammur, Tammaru, & Puur, 2017). Foreigners immigrate to Estonia due to various pull factors such as job opportunities created by highly developed information technology sector and shortage of locals in the employment market, ease of bureaucratic procedures in the country due to digitalization and higher education opportunities (Tammaru, et al., 2015, p. 132).

1.2. Soviet time migration

Migration to Estonia can be broadly divided into two main periods: the first is migration after the Second World War (WW2) and the second is the period that started in 1991 when Estonia regained its independence. These two periods have very distinct political and legal frameworks, which affected the migration policies of later times (Tammaru, et al., 2015, p. 9).

Migrants who immigrated to Estonia after the WW2 were to the most extent citizens of other Soviet Union states. These migrants, who were in most cases forcibly relocated by the state from Russia to other distant parts of the USSR, were mostly Russian people, therefore, creating high numbers of ethnic Russians or Russian speaking immigrants in Estonia. During that time, the share of ethnic Estonians decreased (Tammaru, et al., 2015, p. 10). As a result of Russian speaking immigrants making up the biggest part of foreigners in Estonia, the main ethnic minority is categorized as Russians or Russian speakers (Vihalemm & Kalmus, 2008, p. 906).

High amount of Russian speaking immigrants is also a consequence of the state's decision on how to treat Soviet time immigrants, who became immigrants overnight. After regaining its independence, Estonian government announced that individuals who were residing in Estonia during its independence period between 1918-1940 would be granted Estonian citizenship, while those who did not own Estonian citizenship and moved to Estonia after 1940 would be granted the citizenship only after going through naturalization as any foreigner in Estonia would do to get Estonian citizenship. As a result of this decision, some migrants left for Russia, applied to get Russian citizenship or citizenship of another state they originated from and others became stateless people in Estonia with a special gray passport (Lagerspetz, 2007, pp. 87-88; Tammaru, et al., 2015, p. 11). This migration pattern changed in 1991, which opened the door for the next era of migration in Estonia (Tammaru, et al., 2015, p. 10).

1.3. Migration after 1991 – new era of migration

The period that is important in the context of this research is the period that started after Estonia regained its independence in 1991 and particularly immigrant inflow after 2015. The immigration policies after 1991 have been evolving, therefore being classified into different periods of immigration (Lagerspetz , 2007, p. 89). As Estonia regained its independence, restrictive citizenship requirements as well as restrictive migration policy came into force; for instance, annual immigration quota was established at 0.5 % (there is still a quota for immigrants, but some groups of immigrants are excluded from this quota) (Tammaru, et al., 2015, p. 12). There were various reasons behind these decisions concerning immigration, however, most importantly being a small nation, Estonia wanted to conserve its population of ethnic Estonians and strengthen the state as the country for and of Estonians (Pettai & Hallik, 2002, p.524). It is important to mention that state policies towards immigration in the country are greatly related to what kind of rights immigrants are granted. In the first era of new independent Estonia's migration, immigration to Estonia was low, contrary emigration was on the rise as mainly Soviet Union immigrants returned to their countries of origin and emigration to Western countries increased in general, especially after 2004, with Estonia's accession into the EU (Tammaru, et al., 2015, p. 12).

In the second phase after mid-1990s discussions on more tolerant migration policies started to emerge and with the state program launched in 2000, better integration of immigrants was aimed

at. The discourse on immigration particularly started to change after Estonia became a member of the EU in 2004 (Lagerspetz, 2007, p.89). As Lagerspetz highlights, international organizations such as Organization for Security and Cooperation (OSCE) and the EU played considerable role in policy changes that happened in Estonia after becoming an EU member state (2007, p. 89). This resonates with Soysal (1994, p. 155) pointing out that states give more rights to immigrants due to the influence of supranational organizations.

When trends of net migration in Estonia are analyzed, it can be noticed that until 2015 net migration flow was negative, with emigration numbers being higher than immigration. However, after 2015, net migration was on the rise (Statistics Estonia, 2021). This might be the result of Estonian government taking steps to attract more immigrants through improving pull factors such as ease of bureaucratic procedures for high-skilled immigrants and students (Tammaru, et al., 2015, p.18). Since 2011 the government started to pay more attention to the fact that due to Estonia's demographics there is a lack of labor force to satisfy the growing labor demand in the country. For instance, being an outstanding state in digitalization sector that managed to develop economically within years after regaining its independence, Estonia as one of the Baltic Tigers and a country that is well-known for the highly technological advancement is a home to a lot of tech companies that experience shortage of employees (Włodarska-Frykowska, 2017, p. 72). This prompted Estonian government to join the global talent search and start developing policies, which would attract high skilled workers and make the bureaucratic procedures easier for them (Kallas & Kaldur, 2014), which can be seen in the Government Action Plan for 2011-2015 (Asari, 2013, p. 64). Although Estonian migration policy is viewed as conservative, there is a positive change towards its liberalization such as amendments to Aliens Act made in 2013 (Tammaru, et al., 2015, p. 18) to accommodate more immigrants.

The need for high-skilled workers in the country led Estonian government to design smart migration strategy (Kallas, et al., 2014b, p. 3), particularly focusing on two groups of immigrants: students and high-skilled workers. Estonian universities started looking for students from all around the world. The Archimedes Foundation, for example, works on higher education internationalization and its promotion (Lauren, et al., 2020, p.36). Students who come to the country with student visas are allowed to enter the labor market and encouraged to find a job and stay in Estonia. Thus, immigration policy is creating a focus on the young and skilled immigrants

both from the EU and non-EU countries, particularly for the third country nationals (Asari, 2013, p. 71).

As is mentioned above, the other category that Estonian government started to focus on is highly skilled workers. The procedures were eased to some extent for both third country nationals and the companies hiring them. For instance, there have been improvements regarding family reunification procedures for workers (Asari, 2013, p.70; Tammaru, et al., 2015, p.18). Kallas et al. articulate that in the Government Action Plan for 2011-2015 as well as in the Estonian Competitiveness Plan "Estonia 2020" a great stress is put on the development of favorable conditions for the migration of talented immigrants for working purposes (2014a, p. 7). However, there is still a question if Estonia is ready for accepting immigrants of diverse backgrounds, not only the Russian or Russian speaking ones, into its community and keeping and maintaining their integration in the society, since continuing increase in immigration trend will make integration of immigrants from different countries essential (Pohla, 2020, p. 45). It is also important to highlight that Estonia is usually not seen as a destination or long-term stay country for third country nationals, but seen as a step in immigrants' career (Tammaru, et al., 2015, p. 61).

Immigrants coming to Estonia nowadays can be divided into two broad groups: one group is the immigrants coming from EU with the free movement agreement between EU and Schengen states and the other group is non-EU immigrants, who are not citizens of an EU country and referred to by European Commission as third country nationals (TCN) (European Commission, n.d.; Kallas, et al., 2014a, p.8; Tammaru, et al., 2015, p.13). Most of the TCN immigrants arriving to Estonia are from Russia and Finland, which is the trend caused by the geographical location of the country. Despite the free movement within EU, numbers of TCN immigrants arriving in Estonia remained higher (Tammaru, et al., 2015, p. 13).

Although since 2015 immigration outnumbered emigration in Estonia, due to COVID-19, the net migration decreased from 5371 in 2019 to 3782 in 2020 (Siseministeerium & Euroopa Rändevõrgustiku Eesti Kontaktpunkt, 2021). According to the report of Ministry of Interior and Estonian Contact Point of the European Migration Network, in 2020, 17 389 long term visas were issued and the top five citizenships that received the D-type visa were: Ukrainians, Russians, Belarusians, Moldovans, and Uzbeks. In 2020, first time temporary residence permits were issued

mostly to immigrants from Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, India, and Iran with a total of 4710 permits. In 2020 immigrants from EU mostly migrated from Finland, Latvia, Germany, France, and Italy. Currently there are 32 322 people who hold temporary residence permits in Estonia and this number is the highest when compared to previous years (2021).

The number of first-time residence permits dropped in 2020 because of travel restrictions caused by COVID-19, this particularly affected student immigrants as the rates of their migration dropped (Ministry of Education and Research of Estonia, 2020). The top three reasons for migration are work, family reunion and studies (Siseministeerium & Euroopa Rändevõrgustiku Eesti Kontaktpunkt, 2021). This also aligns with the smart migration policy as workers and students are the ones who are coming to Estonia and bringing their families. In general it can be seen that the smart migration policy has been working effectively as the immigrant population has been increasing in Estonia.

1.4. Political and civic rights of immigrants in Estonia

Migration and integration policy index (MIPEX) gives Estonia 50 out of possible 100 on general immigrant integration. With regards to political participation, Estonia scores 20 out of possible 100 as immigrants from third countries are allowed to vote at local elections after living in Estonia for consecutive five years and obtaining a long-term residence permit. Nevertheless, Estonia ranks among highest in immigrant political participation amid Baltic States and Central and Eastern European states in general (MIPEX, 2020). This is one of the reasons why Estonia was chosen as a case study. Although conventional political rights are mostly taken into account in this index, it is also important to evaluate the possibilities immigrants have regarding unconventional types of participation.

TCN cannot stand as candidates at local elections or become members of political parties. However, besides voting right at local elections, immigrants can participate in protests or join non-governmental and volunteer organizations (Golubeva, 2011b, p.6). EU citizens are eligible to vote at local elections immediately while TCN should get a long-term residence permit to do so (Riigikogu, 2020; Tallin City Administration, 2021). Information about voting at local elections is available both on the city administration websites and on the official Estonian government website,

not only in Estonian but also in English and Russian. This is an important point, which shows openness of government to immigrants, as the information is available in foreign languages.

Immigrants are allowed to join demonstrations and protests, sign petitions, volunteer or establish non-governmental organizations (Tammaru, et al., 2015, p.91). For instance, Estonian government in cooperation with the Liberal party was working on a project to involve new immigrants in volunteering activities (Kaldur, 2020, p. 98).

Another right residents of a particular city get is the right to participate in Participatory Budget projects. As defined by Tallin city administration, participatory budget is a way for residents of the city to submit project ideas for the community they live in to be voted and then implemented through city's budget (2021). Information on participatory budget can be found on city websites such as Tallin and Tartu city websites. It is available not only in Estonian but also in English and Russian languages, therefore making it more accessible to immigrants in the city. Moreover, descriptions of submitted projects are available in English on the same city administration websites (Tallin City Administration, 2021), allowing immigrants to vote for the project they like the most without language barriers.

Chapter 2. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

There are particular rights and freedoms immigrants in Estonia get and it is important to see the effect of these policies on the political socialization of immigrants. When the concept of political socialization first became a popular research area in 1960s, it focused solely on citizens of a country (Greenberg, 2009; Hyman, 1969; Searing, Wright, & Rabinowitz , 1976) and only in later years the focus of research shifted to political socialization of immigrants (Bilodeau, 2004; White, et al., 2008).

One of the main confusions regarding political socialization is that it is considered to be the same with the concept of political participation. It is understandable why such confusion appears as political socialization is usually measured through political participation of individuals. However, in the course of this research it is critical to clarify what political socialization means, particularly

what immigrant political socialization means and how political participation will be used to understand immigrants' socialization process.

This chapter will first start with analysis of the core theories in political socialization research and then focus on the theories developed within immigrant political socialization research. Further on, political participation and immigrant integration will be discussed and conceptualized, as political participation is a concept that faced conceptual stretching. In the final part of this chapter, gaps in immigrant political socialization will be discussed, which will help to explain why undertaking this research is essential and how it will contribute to the wider political socialization and immigrant integration research. Through these the first research question will be answered.

2.1. Political socialization

Interest in political socialization started early in 1950s, however, it did not become a separate area of research until 1959. The initial research was motivated by different disciplines such as psychology, education, and sociology (Hyman, 1969). Before proceeding with the prominent theories in the field, it is essential to define what political socialization means and how it is conceptualized in the context of this thesis. There are various definitions of political socialization. Greenberg defines political socialization as "the process by which the individual acquires attitudes, beliefs, and values relating to the political system of which he is a member and to his own role as citizen within that political system." (2009, p. 3).

Being one of the first formulated definitions of political socialization, it focuses on the acquisition of attitudes, beliefs and values of a citizen who is a member of their country's political system. This definition, although a broad one, is particularly tied to the nation-state view of the world, where a country belongs to one nation and foreigners are not welcome (Brubaker, 1992, p. 28). It would not be correct to claim that all the states moved to a post-national type of state, which according to Soysal (1994) is becoming more widespread. Contrary, the idea of nation state, particularly in Europe after the refugee crisis of 2015 became even a stronger concept (Postelnicescu, 2016, p. 207). However, numbers of mobile people are increasing in the world and the definition by Greenberg does not satisfy the current reality of the world.

Marvick points out that socialization of a person explores how a person "comes to terms" with the local, regional, and national political contexts (2009, p. 152). Sigel stresses that as well as being a learning process, political socialization also means internalizing particular attitudes (2009, p. 19). Furthermore, Marvick claims that "learning about political life, then, is not a simple, static, or finished process. Instead, it is highly complex; it is dynamic and changing; and, at best, it is imperfectly realized." (2009, p. 172). Study of immigrant political socialization is based on this view, as the learning process should continue throughout the whole life.

Sasinska-Klas defines political socialization more broadly, without particularly restricting it to the citizen, as a process through which individual learns politics and formulates "his thinking about political phenomena and processes" and adds that in wide terms political socialization means becoming a "political person" (1992, pp. 5-7). She further stresses importance of political socialization claiming that stability and change of the social and political system is affected by socialization (1992, p. 12). Hyman defines political socialization as the process through which politically appropriate patterns are acquired (1969, p. 10). Fratczak-Rudnicka also gives a similar definition stating that it is "a learning process through which an individual adopts specific values, views and attitudes towards politics" (as cited in Sasinska-Klas, 1992, p.32).

In all the given definitions, learning and acquisition of political attitudes and behavior are the common actions used to describe the concept. Therefore, in this research, political socialization is conceptualized as the learning process through which individuals acquire political attitudes and beliefs, which can be observed through the actions individuals do in the form of political participation.

The research on political socialization can be divided into two broad eras with theories forming within them. Political socialization research was at its peak of interest in the 1960s and 1970s. It was considered to be important because states wanted to ingrain certain behaviors and values in young people, which would aid the political system (Greenberg, 2009, p.4). According to Hepburn, the interest in political socialization research decreased after 80s (1995). However, a decade later Bilodeau claimed it was important to reawaken the interest in research in this field (2004).

Initially, various scholars focused on the political socialization that starts during childhood and claimed that political socialization begins at an early age and is already finished by the beginning of young adulthood (Hyman, 1969; Searing, Wright, & Rabinowitz, 1976). Although scholars, who stressed that socialization occurs mostly during childhood, might not have necessarily asserted that socialization does not happen at all after childhood period, particular focus on childhood years led to a cleavage within the area, where some scholars were suggesting that socialization happens only during childhood and others stated that it was a lifelong process.

Hyman (1969), as several other scholars, considered that political behavior should be learned early and should persist until the end of one's life. His inspiration came from the observations psychologists made in political research. Hyman conceptualized political socialization in three dimensions, which were political participation, radical or conservative involvement, and democratic or authoritarian involvement. The research he drew his conclusions upon was based on evaluation of different survey data gathered from children about their political behavior and learning and another set of data that was gathered from adults. Both showed similar results, which led Hyman to make conclusions that political socialization primarily happens during childhood (1969).

Hyman notes that the studies are not able to directly show the process of political socialization or political learning, but their effects can be observed through totality of experiences in adulthood (Hyman, 1969, p. 35). Furthermore, he discusses various agents of socialization that play an important role in the formation of political behavior in an individual's life. He claims that during childhood family has the greatest effect on formation of political behavior in later life of an individual (1969, p. 55).

The works of Hyman and other pioneering scholars were criticized for several gaps in their theories. Due to several reasons including the time the works were published, Hyman and other scholars mainly focused on white middle class citizens. This is a great barrier for generalizing the findings for all citizens as different subgroups might have distinct types of socialization patterns. Moreover, what can be seen not only from Hyman's work but also from Sigel's (2009) work is that political socialization is seen essentially as a concept contributing to the field of political studies in a way that successful political socialization means that a person becomes a good citizen who does not

show partisan behavior or has sympathy and trust towards the government, which classifies political participation strictly within the boundaries of conventional participation.

Searing and colleagues (1976) agreed with Hyman on the fact that political socialization happens mainly during childhood and further change is either unlikely or not possible and they came up with the primacy principle. Their main argument was that political orientations are learned during childhood. Furthermore, what is learned during childhood highly shapes the subsequent modifications that happen in political orientations and the scale of the later change is not equal to change in earlier years (1976, p. 83). Overall, it is possible to see that Searing and colleagues' study also finds similar results as Hyman. The importance of initial years in one's life is stressed through the argument that the attitudes a person learns during childhood are a great representation of the political orientation the person will have as an adult. Greenberg (2009) further points out that

> "Knowing the end-products of socialization is important, but it is surely not sufficient. Only by understanding the processes, conditions, and influences leading to the development of certain attitude configurations can we hope to deal with future change." (p. 6)

Greenberg makes a crucial point because the end product of socialization, which mostly can be seen through the political participation (of immigrants in our case), although being particularly important is not the only issue to pay attention to. Understanding the process, conditions, and influences that cause certain types of outcomes is helpful in dealing with the problems of political participation and political integration. What Greenberg (2009) highlights is related to citizens and how the outcome in the form of political participation during adulthood can be shaped during childhood. However, it is also relevant to the immigrant political socialization. Although the host country cannot make any changes in the home countries of immigrants, through seeing the adaptation pattern, the host country can adopt policies in accordance with it.

The effect of various agents on political socialization has been a topic of debate as it is difficult to identify which agent (family, social class, education) has the greatest effect on political socialization (Greenberg, 2009, p. 7). Sigel states that the main factors causing political

socialization are family, and then social groups such as school and church (2009, p. 23). Almond and Verba also state that "non-political experiences in childhood may play an important part in later political attitudes and behavior, but the impact of these experiences on politics continues throughout the adolescent and adult years" (1989, p. 267). Milbrath asserts that among different agents, family has the greatest impact on an individual's exposure to stimuli related to political activity. (1981, p. 210). Kornhauser highlights the influence of education in liberalization of the young and its role in causing change through life (as cited in Hyman, 1969, p.113). However, Kaldur found out that classic factors such as gender or socio-economic status previously mentioned by the scholars as affecting political participation do not particularly affect political participation of immigrants, other factors like knowledge of host-country's language contribute to political participation more (2008, p. 56).

Generally speaking, pioneering research (Hyman, 1969) on political socialization focused on the questions why people participate in politics and how to make people participate in politics more so that they become good citizens. The answer that one group of the researchers found was that the main socialization happened during childhood years, so to have good citizens the government should focus on socialization factors such as education or schooling during childhood (Hyman, 1969). On the contrary, the other group of scholars (Wasburn & Adkins Covert, 2017; Sears, 1990 as cited in Wasburn & Adkins Covert, 2017) did not agree with the idea that early years in one's life is the only factor affecting political socialization.

According to some scholars, a great weakness in the field of political socialization research is the lack of theoretical framework within which the research has been conducted so far (Hildebrandt-Wypych, 2018; Sasinska-Klas, 1992; Wasburn & Adkins Covert, 2017). As Sasinska-Klas highlights, there has been a lot of empirical research on the topic of political socialization. However, the scholars did not acknowledge or formulate a theory that can be applied over different empirical research. She states that interest in socialization issues caused two approaches to become crystallized in the study of socialization. The first approach stresses the importance of behavior and the source of that behavior in socialization. The second approach is the one, which focuses on the importance of support for the regime, where the justification of research in political socialization is that "in any system, leaders want the rules to be respected and that the authority has a sense of its strength" (1992, p. 29).

As a result of the weakness caused in the field because there is no common theoretical framework, Wasburn and Adkins Covert proposed the "life-course model". Agreeing with the previous criticisms on the lack of a theoretical model the researchers combined elements of different approaches into their life-course model (2017). The life-course model states that early years in one's life are important, however, this does not eliminate the fact that socialization continues through the whole life and individual's political behavior can change with time. Further on, they acknowledge that life cycles also play a significant role in political socialization of individuals as well as effects of big events such as depression years in the US or Vietnam War effects (2017). As Hildebrandt-Wypych claims, this framework is a good start in forming a theoretical framework in the field (2018, p. 397). Therefore, in the course of this research the life-course model will be the theoretical basis since from immigrant political socialization perspective, effect of both primary years and the ability to socialize throughout one's life are essential.

2.2. Political socialization of immigrants

Moving on to the narrower research area of immigrant political socialization it can be noticed that less research has been conducted in this area. This is mainly because immigrant political socialization was not a particular area of interest but rather immigrants' political integration was studied under political participation research. Two research studies, first one by Bilodeau (2004) and the other one by White and colleagues (2008) are cornerstones in immigrant political socialization research. They inspired this thesis together with the research on sexual resocialization of immigrants done by Mole et al. (2017).

As it was mentioned earlier, there has been a shift from the thought that political socialization is only or primarily shaped during childhood. Various scholars tried to identify factors that affect adults' political socialization after childhood years. According to Hyman attitudes can emerge due to experiences or trauma besides other factors (1969, pp. 39-40). Migration can be put in the category of gaining experience or experiencing trauma. Although this classification can be a starting point, it is difficult to fit migration into one of these categories as it is not just an ordinary experience that any individual goes through and even though it is a stressful process, it cannot be categorized as trauma.

Political socialization was not a field that was frequently combined with the immigration research since it has been considered as a process happening between the citizen and the state, and understanding of how 'good citizens' are created. In this scene, there is no place for the non-citizen, who does not have anything to do with the government of a state that one does not belong to. Therefore, the concept of citizenship is another important term to define when exploring the relationship between a non-citizen and the state.

Citizenship has been regarded as a privilege reserved for people born on the soils of the state or who are related to the state through blood, which acts as a tool of inclusion and exclusion (Brubaker, 1992, p.28). However, as migration started to become more widespread, the concept of citizenship and who and under what conditions can be given access to the title of citizenship started to shift as well (Bellamy, 2008, p. 26). Discussion of citizenship is essential to the immigrant political socialization research, as non-citizens are not given full political rights that citizens enjoy. With the development of supranational organizations and spread of human rights, social rights of immigrants have been guaranteed by developed states, however, political rights, particularly right to vote at national elections, are a distinct privilege reserved for citizens of a state (Soysal, 1994, p. 123).

Immigration is a major decision that individuals take, and it has a profound effect on individuals' lives in general and political socialization is not an exception. As Bilodeau (2004) notes, migration plays a vital role in shaping the political behavior of people. He identifies the process that immigrants go through as 'resocialization' and defines it as

> "the development of new orientations and beliefs after a first set of belief was acquired. It is the process by which a set of initial beliefs changes. In the context of immigration, political resocialization is distinct from political integration. Resocialization is attitudinal whereas integration is behavioral and physical. Integration offers opportunities for resocialization but is not itself resocialization." (p. 3).

As it was mentioned previously the life-course model by Wasburn and Adkins Covert (2017) is the most appropriate framework for the analysis of immigrant political socialization, which also aligns with Bilodeau's (2004, p.3) definition. It is a puzzle to understand how much effect the

initial years and the life after immigration have on a person's socialization process and if an immigrant experiences such a change, which can be classified as political 'resocialization'. In his research, Bilodeau (2004) particularly focuses on how immigrants from non-democratic countries learn and internalize democracy. As he highlights, immigrants might participate because they might feel they have to participate not because they think participation is particularly a good thing (2004, p.4). The question of why political socialization of immigrants is important, especially considering that they are not always granted citizenship or same political rights as citizens, is answered by Bilodeau who claims that immigrant integration should not be only about the social and economic integration but also include political integration and resocialization (2004, p. 12) as through these can immigrants feel more confident in communicating their needs in the host society and building healthier communities. Grestle and Mollenkopf point out that "immigrant political socialization is understood as an encounter between immigrant and host-society political culture or ways of doing politics" (in Landolt & Goldring , 2009, p. 1229).

Bilodeau points out that previous research has shown that pre-migration context influences immigrants' political beliefs in the host-country (2004, p. 21). This background variable becomes particularly interesting in the context of an EU member state, as it can give the opportunity not only to compare socialization of immigrants from democratic and non-democratic countries, but compare the difference in political socialization of immigrants from countries that have a supranational system and identity connecting them as EU and immigrants with a different background. This research will not go after the steps of Bilodeau's (2004) or White and colleague's (2008) research precisely in the way that the democratic or non-democratic background of countries will not be the main focus as it is becoming more complicated to classify which countries can be identified as democratic or not. The focus will be on the difference of EU and non-EU immigrants, as they are the two key distinct groups of immigrants found in Estonia among the new immigrants.

According to Bilodeau the previous research shows that individual's beliefs mostly reflect the dominant context in which socialization occurred (2004, p.21). He further claims that

> "major events or disjunction in life, such as immigration, may constitute an opportunity for people to reevaluate their beliefs and opinions. Consequently, the expectation is that immigrants should develop new political beliefs in the host-country." (2004, p. 27).

The key conclusion that Bilodeau (2004) comes to is that immigrants from non-democratic countries experience political resocialization after migrating to Canada. However, the effect of previous socialization is also notable.

Bilodeau does not offer a particular framework or theory to study the area of immigrant political resocialization. Therefore, it is worth paying attention to the theories of resocialization proposed by White and colleagues. White et al. (2008) base their research on three theories: resistance, exposure, and transferability. The resistance theory is grounded on the classical political socialization theory that was discussed in the above subchapter, which focuses solely on the socialization acquired during childhood, meaning that immigrants are not likely to experience a further socialization. The theory of exposure states that the more an individual is exposed to the new environment, the more they will politically socialize, discarding prior learning. The last theory that they use is the theory of transferability also referred to as translation by Finifter and Finifter (1989), which states that pre-migration experiences help to adapt to the new environment and through transferring the previous behavior and continuing learning process, immigrants adapt to the new system (2008). De Rooij found that the theory of exposure is not only true for immigrants who come from non-democratic countries, but also for the immigrants from more democratic countries (2011, p. 470). In the context of this research, theories of resistance, transferability and exposure will be tested.

Migrants adjust their attitudes and practices to adapt to the host-society; therefore, this adjustment can be called political (re)socialization. The immigrants who are of a grown-up age would have already acquired some political beliefs and values and when entering a new environment, they would assess the new political system and decide if they should adapt to it or not (Sigel & Hoskin, 1977 as cited in Vargas-Ramos, 2011, p. 127).

Vargas-Ramos further poses the important question of whether the immigrants internalize the newly acquired beliefs or simply adapt to them. He claims that "political orientations such as

interest in public or government affairs, efficacy, discussion about politics or public affairs, trust and cynicism in the political system are all associated positively with increased political participation" (2011, p. 128). As Almond and Verba argue, individuals do not need to be always politically active, but they should have the trust that when they have issues or demands to raise, there are public authorities that will listen to them (1989, p. 47). However, measuring if the immigrant internalized certain values and beliefs proves difficult, especially in research that is carried out through national surveys, as those surveys do not allow to evaluate the thoughts behind immigrants' political participation. As was mentioned above, there are two major types of immigrants in Estonia: TCN and those from EU (Tammaru, et al., 2015). EU immigrants share a more or less similar political system and even if they do not share similar systems, there is a supranational political system that unites them all, when the new political environment is similar to the political environment in home-country, less change occurs (Vargas-Ramos, 2011, p. 131). Moreover, as moving within EU states is easier for EU immigrants, therefore making it easier to return to home country when needed, it might also create a difference in political socialization of immigrants from EU and TCN since freedom of movement can strengthen trans territorial ties (Beauchemin & Safi, 2020, p. 258).

In his research Vargas-Ramos assesses the political interest, knowledge, discussion, efficacy, and trust to evaluate immigrants' political socialization. He further points out the importance of involvement in voluntary actions, which increases general levels of political participation (2011, pp. 138-140). Black and colleagues (1987) studied immigrants that migrated to Canada and lived there for less than five years in order to understand better the relationship between age and response to a new set of conditions because living in Canada for less than five years eliminates the exposure variable. They also looked at the fixation model suggesting that "changing conditions will become visible most directly and most quickly in the behavior of young people…" (Black, Niemi, & Powell, 1987, p. 74).

Cho argues that socioeconomic status variables are not enough to explain the political socialization of immigrants. Therefore, she claims that socio-economic variables are only sources of skills that are important for political activity in a suitable political context (1999, p. 1140). Cho identified that immigrant socialization is affected by foreign-born status and host country language proficiency (1999, pp. 1151-1152).

As Milbrath states, people who are well integrated feel closer to the center of community as a result of which they might be more likely to be politically active. This can be proved by the fact that the longer an individual lives at a place the more they feel they belong to the community and start to participate more, although it is more related to activities other than voting (1981, p. 227). Milbrath further claims that people who are not eligible to vote are less likely to participate in other types of activities, however, it should be noted that just because someone is eligible to vote does not mean they will participate (1981, p. 232). However, in the current world political participation is not merely linked to conventional forms of participation such as voting, especially with younger people other forms of participation such as demonstrations or petitions are quite popular (Belmonte, et al., 2020).

2.3. Political participation

This research will particularly look at political socialization from the perspectives of change in political attitudes and political participation. It is possible to see whether political socialization happens or not through analyzing the outcome of the cognitive change that happens in the form of political participation. In the studies that have been conducted so far, scholars focused on various aspects of political participation, because what is meant by political participation constitutes a wide range of activities. Therefore, in order to narrow down the focus of this research how political socialization is operationalized through political participation and what political participation means in the context of this work will be discussed here.

The sample of this research consists of immigrants who migrated to Estonia in the last five years. So, the most they can do in the form of conventional political participation is voting at the local elections for EU citizens and for TCN (after getting a long-term residence permit) (Golubeva, 2011b, p.6). It is also important to discuss the civic participation of immigrants and discuss the difference between civic and political participation. There is one particular problem when it comes to defining both concepts of political and civic participation, which is that both concepts are subject to conceptual stretching (Ekman & Amnå, 2012, p. 284).

Van Deth defines political participation in broad terms as “citizens’ activities affecting politics.” (2014, p. 351). Other scholars define political participation (Almond & Verba, 1989; Ekman &

Amnå, 2012; Verba et al., 1993) as the actions by "ordinary people aimed at influencing directly or indirectly" government officials or social and public issues (de Rooij, 2011, p. 456). Political participation can broadly be divided into conventional and unconventional. Kaldur et al. summarize conventional forms of political participation as those activities that are associated with the classic forms of participation such as

> "voting in the elections, organizing and participating in electoral campaigns, contact with politicians, interest towards politics and discussing political issues, being a member of political party or other politically oriented associations;"

and unconventional forms of participation as

> "taking part [in] the demonstrations, strikes or protests, boycotting goods or services for the political reasons…, signing petitions, or discussing political topics on blogs or on other social networks of internet and so forth" (2011, p. 13).

It is also important to operationalize civic participation, although some authors categorize civic participation activities under the category of political participation (Ekman & Amnå, 2012). Civic engagement is defined as "voluntary activities focused on problem solving and helping others" (Zukin et al., 2006, p. 4). In the course of this research only volunteering as a form of civic participation will be considered.

Participatory democracy supposes that it is comprised of people that take part in formal and informal voluntary actions (Dacombe, 2018, p. 14). Immigrants' engagement in politics, whether formal or informal, is also important in helping at better integration. As Ekman and Amnå point out, citizen engagement in the current democracies is either non-political or semi-political, which means that they are not directly aimed at influencing people in power, but they show their involvement in society and current affairs (2012, p. 288). As this is true for citizens, this is even more relevant to immigrants' ways of participation. Moreover, many people do not see "a definite boundary between politics and other aspects of life" so looking at the intentions and aims of people is important (van Deth, 2014, p. 362).

Political participation is not the initial phase in immigrants' integration as social and economic integration comes before political integration. Political integration is more difficult as it usually requires the migrant to know the language and acquire knowledge about political system and all these factors are important when explaining immigrant behavior (de Rooij, 2011, p. 459). Activities that require collective action such as joining protests can be less favorable by immigrants than other individual forms of participation such as signing a petition (de Rooij, 2011, p. 470).

With the definition of MIPEX's (2007, p. 14) best political participation practice, it can be also identified what a 'good' immigrant should do to have a successful socialization. It can be concluded that the immigrant should be concerned about various issues in the host country, know how the political system works in the host country, know rights she/he has and show interest in using the rights that she/he possesses. Milbrath categorized people according to their participation into "*apathetics,* persons who are withdrawn from the political process; *spectators,* persons who are minimally involved in politics; and *gladiators,* persons who are active combatants." (1981, p. 200). Immigrants, if they do not experience socialization, will likely be in the apathetic category.

Motivating immigrants to participate in politics whether conventional or not is beneficial from the perspective that they can become better integrated into the host society (Kaldur, Fangen, & Sarin, 2011; Golubeva, 2011a). Golubeva indicated that there are no adequate consultative bodies involving immigrant organizations and communities in Estonia, Latvia, and Poland (2011a, p. 2), although this is not particularly true as there have been different initiatives that connected immigrants with the government, for instance the student initiative 'Politics to People', which aimed to create a dialogue between immigrant city residents and politicians in Estonia (P2P, n.d.).

It is also important to note that younger people are engaged less in the conventional forms of participation and mostly prefer unconventional forms, opting for less traditional choices (Belmonte, et al., 2020). Young people have more time and energy to engage in non-conventional forms of participation (de Rooij, 2011, p. 461). Therefore, in this research it was decided to focus on student and recent graduate immigrants, who are more likely to be younger individuals.

2.4. Identifying gaps in immigrant political socialization research

The areas of political socialization and political participation of immigrants have been studied separately by several scholars as it has been discussed throughout this chapter. There have also been studies on political socialization of immigrants, within which immigrants' political participation was researched (Bilodeau, 2004; Finifter & Finifter, 1989; Vargas-Ramos, 2011; White, et al., 2008). This subchapter will identify the gaps in the current research and explain how this study will contribute to filling that gap and although it will be a minor contribution, will bring useful insights into the political socialization research.

Extensive research on the political socialization of citizens has been carried out. However, in geographic terms it was rather focused on North America (Sasinska-Klas, 1992, pp. 6-7). Regarding immigrant political socialization research there are several gaps that require more research to be done to better understand it. Immigrant political socialization research has been highly concentrated on immigrants in Canada and the US. It is not surprising that the topic of immigrant political socialization concentrated geographically in one area because these countries receive high numbers of immigrants (Kymlicka, 1996, p. 5). Moreover, another essential point to mention is that ease of acquisition of citizenship was higher in these states according to MIPEX (2020) meaning that the research was done in a context where immigrants mostly had citizenship of the host country. The research (Bilodeau, 2004) that has been conducted so far mostly used national surveys on political participation of immigrants and as these immigrants were represented in the election statistics, it is clear that the research has been focused on immigrants that are already citizens of host countries.

A number of gaps emerge from here. First, it is not fully clear how political socialization process takes place for immigrants who do not have citizenship of the host-country. Second, focusing on states that started to become immigrant destination countries recently and have restrictive citizenship policies (according to MIPEX, 2020), but not on largest immigrant destination countries, also opens an interesting case to study.

As it was mentioned in the subchapter on political socialization, it is a process that continues through the whole life. With this in mind, not only conventional forms of political participation,

but also the socialization process regarding unconventional forms of participation and civic participation should be taken into account as well. Another issue to consider is the fact that it is worth understanding the political socialization process in depth through interviewing immigrants and collecting reflections of immigrants on their socialization. Although analysis through surveys undoubtedly gives the ability to generalize, the findings of interviews are crucial for political socialization research. One of the contributions of this research can be understanding of what hinders political socialization for immigrants.

Thus, this work, although without the ability to make generalizations, hopes to contribute to the immigrant political socialization research.

Chapter 3. Methodology

The theories and concepts that were discussed in the previous chapter will be integrated with real-life implications in the empirical part of this research. The opportunity to gain a variety of immigrant views ought to contribute not only to the study of political participation of immigrants in general, but to a richer understanding of immigrant views on the change of their political attitudes and political participation.

In the previous chapter on theoretical and conceptual framework, it has been mentioned that there is a gap in existing research concerning evidence on how immigration affects political socialization of immigrants in countries having restrictive citizenship policies (MIPEX, 2020) and immigration quotas limiting number of immigrants (Tammaru, et al., 2015, p. 18). An important contribution of this research will be the study and analysis of empirical data on how immigrants', particularly student and recent graduate immigrants', political attitudes and behavior evolve as they experience being immigrants in a new country. The first research question was addressed in the previous chapter, in the form of a literature review on immigrant political socialization. Research questions two, three and four take this research one step further through the collection and analysis of data obtained from student and recent graduate immigrants in Estonia.

The focus of the empirical part will be to gather data on political socialization of immigrants, and compare it to already existing reports on immigrant participation in Estonia such as Estonian Integration Monitoring report (2020) and report on adaptation of new immigrants in Estonia (2019).

This chapter on research methods will first describe the research strategy chosen to carry out the research, followed by discussion of means of collecting data for analysis. Further on, framework for data analysis, summary of interviews and finally the limitations and potential problems of the study will be discussed.

3.1. Research strategy

The second research question explores immigrants' views and reflections on how migration affects their political attitudes and participation. This will be done through the collection and analysis of empirical data.

In a case study characteristics of one particular unit are researched. This gives the opportunity to study the targeted phenomena in depth and analyze it intensively (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007, p. 258). Among widely used different research strategies, in my opinion the most suitable strategy for undertaking this research is a case study, since "with a great deal of intricate study of one case, looking at your subject from many and varied angles, you can get closer to the 'why' and the 'how'" (Thomas, 2021, p. 5).

First of all, to test if theories of immigrant political socialization are applicable to new immigrant destination countries Estonia was chosen as a country that meets this criterion. However, there are several types of immigrants living in Estonia. They can be divided into two broad categories of immigrants: those who migrated before and those who migrated after 1991 (Tammaru, et al., 2015, p. 9). So there is a need to specify what group of immigrants is under study. It was decided that recent immigrants would be a better case for analysis due to more recent memories of political participation and attitudes prior to migration. Recent immigrants are represented by distinct categories of people, broadly we can speak of three: labor, student, and family immigrants. High skilled immigrants and students are immigrant groups targeted by Estonian smart migration strategy (Kallas, et al., 2014b). So, student and recent graduate immigrants were chosen as focus

of this research. There are various reasons for this. First, students and recent graduates were chosen as foreign students' age range is given to be between 20-34 in Estonia (Kaldur , et al., 2019, p. 10), which approximately correlates with the age range for young people (Belmonte, et al., 2020, p.7). This, on the one hand, will allow to focus on immigrants who have not lived in Estonia for longer than five years, as mentioned earlier this will allow better reflection on previous socialization. On the other hand, young people are more likely to engage in unconventional forms of political participation and as immigrants do not have extensive rights for conventional participation such as voting, it is better to focus on students and recent graduates. As Kaldur et al. articulate foreign students are on average more active and make active connections both with foreigners and Estonians (2019, p. 97), which are factors that can contribute to political socialization. Due to time and resource limit considerations, analyzing political socialization of only student and recent graduate immigrants is a better choice for validity questions as well.

The general aim of this research study is to explore attitudes and behavior in depth, which supposes the use of qualitative methods. As Denzin and Lincoln highlight, qualitative research is studying "things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (2011, p. 2). Taking into account the questions research intends to answer, interview is the most effective method to use for carrying out this research.

3.2. Data collection

Semi-structured interviews were used to collect data for this research. As it was mentioned in research strategy subchapter, in-depth study of immigrants' reflection will give a greater understanding of political socialization they experience. Individual interviews will allow to get reflections of each individual person on their political socialization. The interview questions (see Appendix A) were designed in order to allow participants to take a more active part in the discussion and provide their reflections in depth. The interviewer asked the questions and where necessary directed the discussion.

The interview questions were designed based on the discussion in theoretical part. The interview consists of four parts. The first part intends to serve as a warm-up and prepare the interviewee for the following questions. Political participation is affected by various factors. Milbrath indicates

that it can be "affected by the attitudes, beliefs and personality traits" (1981, pp. 208-209). That is why participants of this research were not only asked about their participation but were also asked to talk about their attitudes towards politics. The second part of the interview consists of questions that explore immigrants' reflections on change in their attitudes. The questions are partly based on Almond and Verba's (1989) interview questions, which explored citizen's attitudes towards politics and Vargas-Ramos research, which explored immigrants' attitudes (2011). In the next part participants were asked questions about the change in their political participation. Various studies were used to formulate the questions in this part (Almond & Verba, 1989; Bilodeau, 2004; White, et al., 2008). Questions targeted different forms of political and civic participation. In the final part participants were asked to share overall reflections on what they thought changed and what they have learned after migrating to Estonia. The list of interviewees can be found in Appendix B.

An application for ethical approval was first submitted to the School of Political and Social Sciences ethics committee at University of Glasgow and after getting a permission from there it was also submitted to the ethics committee at Jagiellonian University (see Appendix C and D respectively) and the interviews were carried out only after granting ethical approval from both universities.

Snowballing technique was used for recruiting participants. The invitation was circulated through Skytte Institute of University of Tartu mailing list (with a permission to circulate an email, presented in the ethical approval application). The invitation to participate was also posted to the following Facebook groups from where majority of participants volunteered to take part: Expats in Tallin/Estonia (18 978), Expats in Tallin/Estonia (9741), IT Специалисты Понаехали в Эстонию (2767), Foreigners in Tartu (6993), Estonya'daki Türk Öğrenciler (507), Erasmus in Tallin University (3929), Italiani in Estonia (1886), For Socializing: Expats in Tallin/Estonia (2719), Degree Students of the University of Tartu (3603), Expats & Foreigners in Estonia (7929). Besides these two methods the invitation was sent to personal contacts. After the interviews, participants were asked to share the invitation with other people.

The participants were asked to meet the following criteria to participate in the research:

- a student or recent graduate who moved to Estonia after the age of 18

- has been living in Estonia for at least one year and are still living in Estonia
- migrated to Estonia from any country
- before migrating to Estonia spent most of their life in one country.

The reason why students were chosen as the target immigrant group has already been discussed above. The second criterion was set to be sure that participants have spent plenty of time outside Estonia, therefore guaranteeing that their initial political socialization happened in a different country than Estonia. Previous research studied immigrants who migrated after the age of 15-16 for the same reason (Bilodeau, 2004, p.37; Vargas-Ramos, 2011, p.127). Participants were asked if they had lived in Estonia for at least a year and were still living there to ensure that they were not staying in Estonia for a short period of time, which can be counted as a mobility rather than migration and will not make a contribution in the sense of political socialization of immigrants. The last criterion was set to make sure that participants' initial political socialization happened in one country (that is political socialisation in a different country was a new experience for them) and thus, have the opportunity to compare changes to their prior political socialization in a home country.

The sample size of the study consists of 13 participants. The interview questions were pilot tested before starting the interviews. As a result of the pilot testing the order of the questions was adjusted and questions that caused ambiguity were fixed. Participants were sent the documents required by the ethics committee: a consent form, plain language statement and a privacy notice (see appendix E, F and G respectively) before starting the interview, and they were asked to sign and return the consent form to the researcher. The interviews were conducted in English, Russian or Turkish languages upon the request of interviewees.

According to van Deth qualitative methods and open-ended questions allow to understand what the individual thinks about 'politics' and 'political' (2014, pp. 362-363). Therefore, interviews would allow to understand it in depth. As the goal of this study is to explore immigrants' political socialization in depth, a case study done through interviews can be considered valid. Data saturation is another essential issue to consider about validity of this research. Although data

saturation depends on each research individually, Guest et al. (2006) identified that data saturation occurs within 12 interviews while basic elements of meta themes start to appear already within the first six interviews. Therefore, number of interviews in this research, although not enough to generalize, can be considered enough for data saturation.

Regarding the reliability, participant information is provided in Appendix B. Interviews require the researcher to transcribe the recordings. The researcher tried to make transcripts of interviews as precise as possible. Parts in the recording that were not intelligible for the researcher during transcription are indicated in the excerpts used if that is the case in used quotation. Part of the interviews were not conducted in English, so quotes from such interviews were translated as precisely as possible with keeping mood of the sentences as close to the original as possible.

3.3. Framework for data analysis

The interviews were structured according to themes so that it would ease the process of analysis. The themes reflect the overall aim and research questions of the research and are as follows: background information about the interviewees, attitudes towards politics, political and civic participation, and final reflections. The data was analyzed in comparison with the literature review that was done in chapters one and two, and the available reports on new immigrant's political participation in Estonia.

3.4. Summary of interviewees

In total 13 interviews were conducted. The participants are immigrants who moved to Estonia and have lived in Estonia for at least one year (or almost one year) with years spent in Estonia ranging from one to four. Age range of participants is from 19 to 46, with most of them being aged 25-33. Most of the participants are from non-EU countries. In total there are three participants who migrated from an EU country and ten participants who migrated to Estonia from different non-EU countries. Some of the participants are students and some are recent graduates who continued to stay in Estonia and work there. Although, there was an expectation that majority of immigrants would have a degree related to political science (this could have meant that participants would be

better informed on the topic of politics due to their degree) only three out of twelve participants studied a degree directly related to politics. All the participants are living in Tallin or Tartu.

Names of all participants are removed due to concerns of confidentiality and privacy. Furthermore, names of home countries of participants will not be used and wherever in the transcripts participants mention their country it will be replaced with [home country]. This does not hinder the results of the research as precise knowledge of the countries is not a variable taken into account in this research, since only the knowledge if the participant is from an EU country or a TCN is necessary for the purpose of this research.

3.5. Limitations and potential problems

The main limitation of this research is that the results cannot be generalized to the wider population. First of all, the sample size of this study is very small, not allowing to make generalizations regarding the political socialization of immigrants with new immigrant destination countries, but it cannot be generalized for all immigrants in Estonia as well.

As the topic of the study is related to politics and participants were recruited on a voluntary basis, it is worth mentioning that probably people who are more or less interested in politics have volunteered to participate. On the one hand, being a limitation, it can also serve as a benefit as participants will be able to analyze their political socialization more consciously. It should be also mentioned that part of the groups on Facebook were private groups, which made the access to participants more difficult, as some private groups would not accept requests to join or to post the invitation to participate in the research.

Moreover, the topic of the research could have made people refrain from participating due to the negative associations with politics and fear of talking on issues related to politics, although interview questions did not address anything on political affiliations or orientations and questions arising from privacy were assured.

Chapter 4. Political Socialization: Change in Attitudes Towards Politics

The following two chapters will focus on answering research questions posed in the introduction through the analysis and discussion of collected interview data. The main question of this research is to analyze how immigration affects political socialization of individuals, in other words what individuals learn and if they change their attitudes towards politics and political participation after migrating to a new country. Therefore, by the end of these two chapters the main question as well as the other questions such as what drivers and barriers immigrants face during their political and civic participation in Estonia and what differences in political socialization can be identified between immigrants from EU and third country nationals will be answered.

Two broad categories were identified for the analysis of political socialization. First one is the learning process when an individual acquires new information and changes his/her attitude towards politics or understanding of politics (Vargas-Ramos, 2011, pp. 138-140). The second category is what individuals actually do in the form of participation, to name it in other words, the output by individuals.

4.1 Effect of early years on political socialization

Initial years in one's life leave a huge imprint on the formed attitudes to politics and political participation (Hyman, 1969). Participants were asked to reflect on various factors that affect attitudes towards politics during early years of their life in order to partially grasp the place of childhood socialization in later years of life. Contrary to theories that claim that political socialization is solely shaped during childhood and mostly through family (Alesina & Giuliano, 2011; Hyman, 1969; Milbrath, 1981; Searing, Wright, & Rabinowitz , 1976), interview results indicated that majority of participants found that their families had little effect on formation of their current attitudes to politics. However, the responses of a few participants who referred to the effect of early years and indicated acquiring some basis for their attitudes towards politics showed that this served as a basis for further development of political participation in their future lives.

"I feel like back home it felt like a lot of decisions, political decisions are things you just pass on. Like my family voted for this party, so I will too. So that kind of thing." (Interviewee 12, TCN, 1 year)

"Like my parents were kind of moderately political. There was lots of consensus, they agreed the most things. For example, my mother was always very keen on telling me how your rights work and how society or like political structure should work." (Interviewee 5, EU, 2.5 years)

Although for participants coming from families in which members used to discuss politics, the effects of this continued into adult life, which resonates with Verba's et al. findings that individuals who grew up in political homes are likely to become more politically active during adulthood (2003, p.10), for other participants, the attitudes towards politics changed or were shaped at school or during university years. This also partly aligns with Habashi's findings, who states that in the current world the family is not as influential in shaping attitudes towards politics as before (2017, p. 5) and confirms Kornhauser's idea about the influence of education as it liberalizes the young and causes change through life (as cited in Hyman, 1969, p. 113) as well as the idea that socialization continues throughout life and is affected by various factors (Bilodeau, 2004; Hildebrandt-Wypych, 2018; Sasinska-Klas, 1992; Wasburn & Adkins Covert, 2017; White, et al., 2008). Here are some excerpts from the interviews showing the influence of education and schooling on continuing socialization of individuals:

"Yes, when I was a kid not much, but then I started university at my hometown and my university is quite political, in the way to go out and these types of things. So, I became a little bit more, not involved, but at least my mentality changed from what my parents taught me [...]" (Interviewee 11, TCN, 3 years)

"In school I think we were really raised to think critically, which I think forms a part of being political or being politically interested. So, we had very analytical lessons: disagree, analyze what's going on and trying to change perspectives and all that. Being so

encouraged to discuss these things has also shaped my way of thinking." (Interviewee 4, EU, 4 years)

On the other hand, political environment in the home country is also a factor that irrespectively of an individual's choice put them in the center of a politically aware situation, as it is natural environment, they grow up in.

"I'm not saying that everybody in this region is super political or politically educated, but in my case, it is true." (Interviewee 4, EU, 4 years)

Therefore, it can be concluded that political socialization is a lifelong process that continues throughout one's whole life (Sasinska-Klas, 1992) and as Wasburn and Adkins Covert (2017) highlight in the life course model of political socialization, early years are important, but the process of socialization continues throughout life and is affected by different factors. The fact that majority of participants noted that their views on politics were mainly shaped due to factors such as education at university shows that people are flexible in their learning and the process of learning is a dynamic one (Greenberg, 2009, p.172; Hildebrandt-Wypych, 2018, p.374), which also signals that political socialization can occur during adulthood after migration.

4.2. Effect of migration on attitudes towards politics

Immigration is a major event in one's life, which serves as a catalyst to reconsider one's beliefs and opinions (Bilodeau, 2004, p. 27). Political socialization process is the process of learning and acquiring new attitudes to politics (Greenberg, 2009). Participants were asked to reflect on the change they experienced in their attitudes towards politics and what they learned after migrating to Estonia. Although no drastic change was indicated by the participants, various areas to which participants changed their attitudes and views were highlighted.

Individual's political attitudes are mostly shaped in relation to the environment they live in, which means understanding of politics is tightly connected to a particular political system and political figures in that environment (Milbrath, 1981, pp. 208-209). The main learning that immigration brought with it to the participants was acquisition of knowledge about a new political system,

prompting understanding of politics out of previously set frames of home country politics that were formed within particular political parties and people.

> *"Of course [changed] because in my country I clearly understood that in our country politics is something that only very rich people have a right to, that all the others don't have a right to participate in the political life of the country […] Here I have a different attitude because there are many organizations such as think-tanks, for example, research centers etc. So, there are not only opportunities to participate for certain people [...]"* (Interviewee 6, TCN, 2 years)

An interesting point that participants highlighted is how they related the acquired knowledge to better understanding of their home country politics. According to the transferability theory (White, et al, 2008, p.270) immigrants transfer the already built political structures to the country of immigration and further as the immigrants have not spent extensive time in host country within the transnational social spaces, they develop their understanding of politics not only in relation to the host country but also to their home country.

> *"I feel that having this different perspective of politics, like different ways of politics working, like how it should work, helped me to understand there is not one way to rule my country. And then, that also helped me to not judge everything from my own perspective."* (Interviewee 11, TCN, 3 years)

> *"I feel like now, although my interactions with local politics is very limited, I do understand the world stage a little bit better and how politics is just interrelated with regards to countries and how they affect each other […] political things here helped me to understand things back home at least a little better."* (Interviewee 12, TCN, 1 year)

One of the participants highlighted that politics and life became inseparable and boundaries between them are not clear anymore after migrating to Estonia. This correlates with the idea of Van Deth that boundaries between life and politics are becoming blurred (2014, p. 362).

"I think in [home country] there was more of a division between my personal life and not caring about politics and actively discussing politics […] But here I'm not really surrounded by people who do that with me. So, this political aspect is more entangled with everything else… Borders have become more fluent, I think, because formal political engagement is more rare in actual life." (Interviewee 4, EU, 4 years)

A difference that can be indicated between immigrants form EU and TCN in change in attitudes and what is learned after migration is what part of TCN participants indicated as better understanding of how some institutions are supposed to work or how systems in EU work.

"You see, like, you realize how it's supposed to work. Sometimes you have the idea, but you never saw it working in reality." (Interviewee 2, TCN, 2 years)

"I observed how it works both on the people level because I think people here are more informed and both on the government level, because I can see how the government reacts to people's demands and so on" (Interviewee 9, TCN, 1 year)

"So, apart from being like a concept written in the books I have seen like real life how EU and NATO acts." (Interviewee 1, TCN, 3.5 years)

4.3. Building political efficacy and trust

A change in political behavior and participation of immigrants cannot happen if they are not interested in learning about what is going on in the host country. Choosing not to know and further not become interested in political and civic issues happening in Estonia is a signal of what White et al. (2008) relate to resistance theory, where immigrant refuses to change and adapt to the country of immigration. It is important to understand the political awareness of immigrants because without understanding politics in the country, immigrants' meaningful participation will not be possible. On the contrary, as immigrants gain more knowledge about the host country, they improve evaluation of their competence (Bilodeau, 2004, p.157), therefore gaining efficacy to participate in the political and civic life of the country. This is what participants themselves expressed during the interviews. When asked questions on political participation a group of

participants indicated that they do not know enough about Estonian politics to make judgments yet.

All the participants were aware of at least some current political topics in Estonia and of their rights in general. The majority of participants when asked what they know of their political rights mentioned either that they cannot vote at a national level or that they know about their right to vote at the local elections after receiving a long-term residence permit (for TCN) as well as that they have freedom of speech and basic human rights. Surprisingly, only few participants mentioned the right of every resident of Tallinn or Tartu to participate in annual participatory budget projects.

> *"For now, I know that I could vote at this, I don't know how they are called because I forgot the name, when there's project for the community. I can vote for that."* (Interviewee 11, TCN, 3 years)

Although not all participants were aware of all of the rights and freedoms available for immigrants in Estonia when asked if they find these rights enough majority of the participants indicated an overall satisfaction with the rights they have in Estonia and particularly found freedom of speech and the ability to raise their voice on different issues enough. The environment where previous socialization occurred plays an important role as immigrants assess the new country comparing it to their home country and the opportunities they had in political and civic participation, therefore realizing what is possible to transfer from previous learning into the new political context (Vargas-Ramos, 2011, p. 127). Satisfaction with the given rights indicates satisfaction with the treatment of immigrants and indirectly satisfaction with the government, which can also be seen as the trust to the system. Seeing how immigrants assess rights they have, shows the trust or approval they have of the country they migrated to, which, in turn, can increase participation (de Rooij, 2011, p. 461).

> *"I'm trying to think what they might need more but if you can protest, I think this is a good way of expressing yourself and you have a right to do it."* (Interviewee 2, TCN, 2 years)

"I find these rights enough because, for example, about voting, my opinion is that if everyone could vote, it won't be very meaningful and fair. I think citizens of a country should choose the people who will serve their country. Besides this, I think political rights are enough for foreigners." (Interviewee 7, TCN, 1 year)

"I don't know, I didn't have any issues where I could say like I need more rights here because yes, you mentioned freedom of speech, is completely there. Like we went to some demonstrations […] and no one tried to, you know, to shut us down or anything. So, I didn't have any problems so far and I think it's kind of enough maybe." (Interviewee 9, TCN, 1 year)

One of the participants pointed out that there are immigrants in Estonia who express their "strong ideas for politics" without understanding how politics work here. This links back to the theory of resistance where immigrants keep their previous understanding and behavior towards politics, therefore hindering successful adaptation. In order to make judgments about politics in a country and to be involved meaningfully, knowing how politics work in the country one migrated to is particularly important (Almond & Verba, 1989, p. 29; Black, Niemi, & Powell, 1987, p.82).

"So, when you are recent coming here, it's not good to grant a lot of privilege. After maybe three, four, five years. Then you know about the country and then you can suggest maybe thing that you can make change […] So yes, I think that for now it's enough because I feel there is a lot of rights many even don't have in their own country, to be honest." (Interviewee 11, TCN, 3 years)

It can be noticed that participants who assessed their knowledge of Estonian politics higher, knew Estonian language or lived longer than others in Estonia, agreed in general that the rights they have were enough, but indicated that they would be willing to have more rights. This supports Bilodeau's idea that levels of immigrants' political efficacy increase over time (2004, p.157). Particularly TCN indicated that equal opportunities with EU citizens to vote at local elections is something they would be interested in as they know the language and have an understanding of what is happening in their local community.

"I think it's like quite natural gradually achieve more political rights here. I don't know about this but with temporary residence permit you can vote on local elections but only if you are already citizens of European Union. But maybe I'm just a bit jealous because I have already lived here for three years, and I already knew some things about politics, but I couldn't vote." (Interviewee 10, TCN, 4 years)

"I think anyone who speaks Estonian should get rights because this country has too many people who don't speak Estonian, yet still have rights." (Interviewee 8, TCN, 1.5 years)

"I mean, I'd love to vote, for example, at the general elections because I feel that I have an opinion and I have things to base that opinion on. But I know just very well how easily people can be manipulated in massive scale to vote a certain way." (Interviewee 5, EU, 2.5 years)

However, instead of political rights some participants indicated how policies frequently change and things are different from what they were when they first arrive. This, in turn, decreases the trust in government and on the one hand can foster participation, but on the other hand can affect it negatively. As Hoogeh and Marien mention, individuals with higher levels of political trust tend to be more active in institutionalized forms of participation while decreased trust increases chances of participation in non-institutional forms (2013, p. 145).

"I would say there should be some consistencies because one counts on one thing but when he/she arrives, laws change and as a result they encounter completely different things." (Interviewee 3, TCN, 4 years)

"Of course, it's not enough. Especially in the beginning when I arrived, I felt there was more immigrant integration […] Now I see that they don't take immigrants into account, and they want immigrants to have as few rights as possible. In two years, I have been living here, I know that there have been laws that restricted rights of immigrants, visa-wise, political, and civic rights wise, etc." (Interviewee 6, TCN, 2 years)

Participants also mentioned why they think more political rights are not given to immigrants. It can be seen that there is a line between two types of immigrants in Estonia and it raises the question about political integration of new immigrants.

> *"I was already talking about this with some Estonians. They said that their point is not about immigrants like per se, but because there are so many Russians who have like some TRPs [temporary residence permits], non-permanent, like, this five year, and they fight this with them. They don't want to switch like power balances."* (Interviewee 1, TCN, 3.5 years)

Meaningful political participation and judgement of politics in a country can happen when immigrants know how politics work in the host country (Almond & Verba, 1989, p. 29; Black, Niemi, & Powell, 1987, p.82). Majority of participants were aware of Conservative People's Party of Estonia (EKRE) and politician Kaja Kallas was frequently mentioned. Some of the participants were highly knowledgeable of what was going at both national and local levels, whereas some of the participants only mentioned some general topics. This was mostly noticeable in immigrants who lived in Estonia for a shorter period, around one to two years as well as those who were not highly active in home country politics too. This again confirms Bilodeau's idea about the increase in levels of immigrants' political efficacy over time (2004, p.157).

> "*At the beginning, no, because I just came, and I didn't care about politics. Then, nowadays, I start to feel that I need to know a little bit more. Especially, this situation with EKRE, but also to know what the others are doing then if EKRE is doing this, what the other offering, what they are saying, how the others are presenting foreigners and refugees to their voters, to their people."* (Interviewee 11, TCN, 3 years)

> *"I don't think I'm in a position to have a strong opinion on something because I don't really understand the whole aspect of what's going on in politics here and how it really works. I understand the big picture, but I don't have the details to construct my idea about it."* (Interviewee 2, TCN, 2 years)

Majority of participants indicated they were mostly interested in Estonian politics in those areas that had a direct effect on their lives or on people they know. They stated that they follow news about immigrants and refugees and laws that affect them, TCN particularly highlighted how these topics are important for them as it affects their life to a huge extent. This, for instance, is a sign of adaptability through exposure according to White and colleagues (2008) since not all the participants were interested in these topics, so they are changing their interests in line with the new acquired immigrant or foreigner identity.

> *"Firstly, it's interesting. Secondly, our life mostly depends on these decisions. It's like EKRE unites with the centrists and it immediately affects immigrants."* (Interviewee 3, TCN, 4 years)

Socialization acquired in home country is a baggage that immigrants bring with them into the country of immigration (POLITIS, 2007, p. 36). The interest in Estonian politics is a way for some of the participants to observe how government is working on various issues. However, for a participant who was not satisfied with politics in home country, Estonian politics and the democracy level is something to protect. That is why there is a high interest towards them.

> *"It's actually interesting especially when you come from a country where there is no like real politics. It's kind of interesting to observe how it happens. And Estonia is actually quite a small country, but a lot of things are happening here right now, like discussions and like issues and it's interesting to see how government tries to solve it."* (Interviewee 9, TCN, 1 year)

> *"Because I have already seen a country go to shit, because people weren't active enough and people thought that they cannot change anything, or they let the control out of their own hands into sufficiently ambitious politician. And then, Estonia is in such a sensitive spot geopolitically. I mean if you look at the post-Soviet countries who could pull off what Estonia could. Almost nobody. But they don't really know how precious it is and how easily it can slip away."* (Interviewee 5, EU, 2.5 years)

Contrary to participants who followed and found Estonian politics interesting because it affects their life, several participants indicated that changes would happen whether they like it or not. So, Estonian politics were not of a particular interest to them. This is a sign that the participants feel that their voice as an immigrant does not matter.

As Almond and Verba argue it is not always expected of people to actively participate in politics, but it is important that they feel they will be listened to or heard when they have something to say or when they want to participate and the belief one has in one's competence is essential for political attitude and participation (1989, p. 207). In general, participants expressed they felt that government in Estonia is more connected with "people living in the country" and "reality." Particularly, a group of participants expressed that compared to their home countries there was more freedom to express their opinion and that there was a feeling that someone might hear their concerns and suggestions. This is what Niemi et al. described as external efficacy when people feel that political system is responsive (1991, p. 217). Moreover, one of the participants highlighted how government seems open giving the example of a project in one of the parks of Tartu, where people can leave their suggestions to make the city better. This shows how political efficacy is developed, that people feel they are able to affect decisions to a certain extent (Milbrath, 1981, p. 217).

> *"And here in Estonia, every complaint gets heard and even my interactions with institutions was more 'how can WE serve you?' attitude."* (Interviewee 1, TCN, 3.5 years)

> *"I definitely feel that I can be more open about this in Estonia on like every level. I can be more open with government, with public, with colleagues about my views and attitudes."* (Interviewee 10, TCN, 4 years)

As participants of the study were students or recent graduates some of them indicated they feel that their opinion matters at the university level, which is seen as the first step to expressing their views in the country. Kallas et al. (2014a, p. 34) mention that immigrants' adaptation is usually done through institutions that immigrants are related to, and this is one of the examples.

> *"Yes, here is more openness, at least from my experience in university, but I can say this comes from the country. … There's a lot of openness for the people to be able to say whatever they want to say."* (Interviewee 11, TCN, 3 years)

Participants highlighted that due to the small size of Estonia they feel that there are less people, and their voice will not be left unheard. This aligns with the results of study conducted by Kallas et al. (2014a, p. 28), who indicated that small size of Estonia is a benefit, and it can serve as a tool in terms of immigrant integration and inclusion into political and civic life of Estonia and this, in turn, proves that immigrants are changing their attitude towards politics.

> *"I feel like in [home country] it's harder to be listened to because it is a big country, and everybody is very loud. So, if you want to opt for change or you want to make your voice heard you have to be quite outspoken, to show yourself, go to demos, write a bit, join an organization, organize yourselves."* (Interviewee 4, EU, 4 years)

> *"I think Estonian government is much more in touch with reality, so to say compared to the [home country] one. … Yes, there is a dialogue between the politicians and the locals, and they are actively participating. I think that's also something like a benefit of a small country, like you don't feel like you don't matter. You know that if you don't go out, probably no one else will do it instead of you because others will do other things. So that's really lovely to feel visible actually."* (Interviewee 5, EU, 2.5 years)

However, what Almond and Verba (1989) and Niemi et al. (1991) indicated as having the feeling that one will be listened to is not enough when a person takes action and sees that in reality they are not listened to. Several participants who already tried to make their voice reach authorities mentioned that in practice things work differently. One can raise their voice, and someone will hear it but in reality, there will not be any responses.

> *"So, you know, the bitter experience showed that we can raise our voice, but no one will listen to us."* (Interviewee 3, TCN, 4 years)

"So, it's really, really frustrating because as a citizen, well, you are paying your taxes, you are following the rules, you are doing everything that the country is asking to you. So, but when you as a citizen are asking something that is really, really important that is the health, it's like, 'okay this is a process, so that's it'" (Interviewee 13, EU, 2 years)

"Initially when you arrive it seems that there will be a lot of freedom, but here there are also lots of limits. So, you can raise your voice on some issues, on certain public issues, let's say, within a frame. But everything that is beyond these frames, which seems to you as a problem, you can't talk about it openly." (Interviewee 6, TCN, 2 years).

In this chapter the change and learning process related to attitudes towards politics, in other words what people think of politics was discussed and the main conclusion reached is that although there is no drastic change in the views that people hold, there is an inevitable learning and changing process that is going on, particularly increasing as immigrants spend more time in the new country and have tools that increase importance of politics in the host country, which aligns with the exposure theory (White, et al., 2008, p.269).

Chapter 5. Political and Civic Participation

5.1. Development of sense of belonging

The more an individual feels connected to her/his community, the more they will be willing to become interested in politics of the country and be active in political and civic activities. The amount of time a person has spent in a place also contributes positively to the interest and participation (Milbrath, 1981, p. 227). Before proceeding with the analysis of how participation of immigrants changed after their migration to Estonia, it is vital to discuss if immigrants feel they belong to Estonia.

In general, the majority of participants expressed feelings of belonging at least to some extent. Some participants expressed higher levels of belonging. This aligns with the research indicating that immigrants rate their adaptation in Estonia relatively high and new immigrants' sense of belonging increases as they continue to live in Estonia and development of belonging is an important factor in successful integration of immigrants both in short and long terms (Kaldur, 2020,

pp. 95-97). Haas et al. indicate that what is initially the host country for immigrants over time starts to become the new home country (2019, p. 28), therefore emphasizing the factor of exposure to the host country.

Previous research established that factors such as networking with locals, language proficiency, welcoming host country and interest of locals in immigrant culture contribute to the development of sense of belonging (Kaldur , et al., 2019, p. 128). Similar factors that contributed to the development of the sense of belonging were identified in this research. For the majority of participants, it was contact with Estonians, knowledge of Estonian, time spent in Estonia as well as interest in Estonian or in general Finno-Ugric culture.

> *"My partner's Estonian so obviously any participation in Estonian things or the culture, the people, the places is kind of vicariously through him, that's not of my own. And I think I would have a much harder time feeling like I belong if I was just here on my own. And I have a lot of other international friends at the university with me and I can tell that they don't have the same experiences as I have cause they don't know an Estonian personally, don't get to be as involved in the culture and stuff."* (Interviewee 12, TCN, 1 year)

The fact that high-skilled immigrants, such as participants of this research, are usually seen as expats rather than migrant workers, which is usually used to refer to low-skilled immigrants (Haas, Castles, & Miller, 2019, p. 21), also puts immigrants at a better position in the host country, contributing to the development of their sense of belonging.

> *"[…] I think, they regard us highly, the internationals. They don't even call us immigrants, they call us expats. … Maybe because all of us were like PhD or masters [...]"* (Interviewee 1, TCN, 3.5 years)

The role of universities that immigrants attend is also important as it serves as a bridge for creating a connection and further developing a sense of belonging to Estonia.

> *"At first it was not like that but as I studied here and started to spend time here, slowly I started to adapt more and, as you said, I started to feel more that I belong here. The fact that my university is here affected this feeling."* (Interviewee 7, TCN, 1 year)

However, contrary to the general trend of participants who developed sense of belonging with time spent in Estonia, there were participants who indicated that the sense of belonging decreased over time or remained the same.

> *"Last year I thought that I felt maybe as part of the society. Now, I definitely don't feel so."* (Interviewee 6, TCN, 2 years)

Several participants used phrases like "*can someone become an Estonian?," "in Estonia you will always be a foreigner"*, which might seem as a barrier to development of their sense of belonging. This is somewhat confirmed by Tammaru et al. who claim that for successful integration of immigrants to happen immigrants, besides other things, need to "embrace the Estonian state identity" (2020, p. 8).

> *"[…] in general, if you take the time to learn their language and show care and get these values that Estonians have hold dear then you can become an Estonian. That's what I'm basically doing like I learn the language, I have a degree on Estonia, like I'm interested. … So, I do think that I have an Estonian identity and I actively work for that."* (Interviewee 5, EU, 2.5 years)

> *"There's a saying that in Estonia you will always be a foreigner or that it is really hard to actually make sustainable connections if you are not married to an Estonian and I still think that's true. So, I will never be an Estonian but being a [home country citizen] and Estonian, I still feel okay […] I feel like not blending in, not changing, and adapting but being who I am. I am part of these foreigners."* (Interviewee 4, EU, 4 years)

Although in general participants feel they belong to Estonia, several participants referred to being in a "bubble" or "student bubble," which shows how immigrants picture themselves in isolation *vis-a-vis* the local community. Although these "bubbles" help to develop a sense of belonging in

the short-term, in the long-term development of the sense of belonging and creating connections with locals beyond these bubbles is important for better integration as well as increased political and civic participation.

> *"But maybe it's due to that there are so many Estonians speak English or I hang out only with English speaking, like I'm just in a different bubble and we can't connect. Connection with Estonia – more work can be done on that."* (Interviewee 1, TCN, 3.5 years)

Later questions on political and civic participation, however, revealed an interesting fact about participants' sense of belonging. Although majority of participants expressed at least some degree of belonging to Estonia, when questions on political and civic participation were asked participants indicated that they do not feel they are a part of Estonian society or that they still do not have such a strong sense of belonging to actively participate. Sense of belonging is not a dichotomous variable, but rather it is about the level of belonging. One can feel that they belong to the country they migrated to some degree, but to be politically or civically active they need to have stronger feelings of belonging. Obviously the exposure does not always guarantee stronger sense of belonging.

It is also important to mention that belonging and participation affect each other in a reciprocal way, as with belonging participation can increase and through participation sense of belonging increases as well.

> *"But since I participate in university activities and like other kind of activities like volunteering and so on, I kind of have this feeling [of belonging]."* (Interviewee 9, TCN, 1 year)

5.2. Conventional forms of participation

Research conducted earlier on immigrant political socialization focused mainly on conventional forms of political participation such as voting. The reason for this is that the research was done in a different country context where immigrants under study had voting rights as they already had citizenship of the host country (Bilodeau, 2004, 2008; White, et al., 2008). The context of

immigrants in this research is different as acquiring a citizenship takes long years and an additional effort in Estonia (MIPEX, 2020). Therefore, under this subchapter the focus is not on change in voting patterns, but on other forms of conventional participation such as reading news and discussing politics. As one of the participants mentioned, immigrants gain political rights gradually in Estonia.

The rise of popularity of unconventional forms of participation and a decrease, for instance, in voting levels overall in the world (Ekman & Amnå, 2012), made unconventional forms of participation as well as civic participation important factors to consider when looking at the political and civic participation of immigrants. The previous subchapter identified that immigrants experience a change in their attitudes towards politics to a certain degree. However, in order to participate, to make an output, first of all political efficacy and stronger sense of belonging are needed.

Several forms of conventional participation were identified in the theoretical framework chapter; reading news is one of the forms. This shows that immigrants are doing an action related to Estonian politics by reading and acquiring knowledge about politics, which further helps to build their political efficacy. Almost all of the participants mentioned that they follow news from the Estonian news source ERR, which has a version available in English. Delfi was the second most frequently mentioned source. Levels of reading news varied from participant to participant. Participants that had contacts with Estonians indicated them as source of information, besides news and social media.

> *"I usually go on ERR. Sometimes the English, sometimes the Estonian one. I also have an Estonian boyfriend who is also very, he is generally interested in politics, just as much as I am and he tends to basically tell me what's up […]"* (Interviewee 5, EU, 2.5 years)

> *"I only read Estonian news when I have a specific thing that I want to look up. On a daily basis I check BBC which is international and [home country] sources and only if I have a specific question or want to look up a specific politician then I go to Estonian sources."* (Interviewee 4, EU, 4 years)

Several participants indicated that they follow news less than they used to do in their home country.

> *"But overall, my participation decreased because in [home country], I think I was watching more sources instead of two, there were like ten and I would even watch short like speeches of every political party, even of random members."* (Interviewee 1, TCN, 3.5 years)

Although immigrants mostly try to follow what is going on in the host country, several participants mentioned a decrease in other conventional forms of participation such as discussing politics with family and friends compared to home countries. Participants from EU had more opportunities to vote, for instance, one of the participants mentioned voting at local elections and another one voting at the European Parliament elections.

According to Pohla, a decrease in participation comparing to one in the home country is usually tied to not having a citizenship of the host country (2020, p. 45). However, participants expressed various reasons for the decrease in discussing politics. Firstly, as it was identified in the section on belonging the lack of network with locals causes lack of people to talk to about politics. Moreover, an interesting observation was made by participants that there is not much happening in Estonia compared to home countries as well as an observation that Estonians do not talk much about politics themselves, which relates to Milbrath's suggestion that higher levels of stimuli in the environment are likely to cause higher political participation (1981, p. 208). In case of Estonia, lower levels of stimuli from environment caused lower levels of discussion. This also aligns with the finding that immigrants who migrated to countries where locals' political participation was higher showed higher participation levels than immigrants who migrated to lower-level political participation countries (Huddleston, 2009, p. 36).

> *"But for example, when I think of Estonia, like I noticed that politics is not that important here. Like of course it affects the country but the effect it has on people is way lower [than in home country]. So, I also don't see a need to talk about politics here."* (Interviewee 7, TCN, 1 year)

> *"I'm just not surrounded by people who are as engaged as my [home country] community. I think, where I come from, I wouldn't call it extreme, but it's more on the active side. … And then it's also different. So, if I get to talk to Estonians about politics, it's the spectrums and the definitions of what's different. And I think it will take me another 20 years to find out how it works for them."* (Interviewee 4, EU, 4 years)

As can be seen from the above quote, immigrants transfer the knowledge and attitudes they obtained in their home countries to the new environment, but this knowledge does not allow immediate adaptation as political environments are different and immigrants feel they need to spend more effort to successfully adapt to the political environment of the host country.

Some participants indicated that levels of discussions remained the same as they used to talk in their home countries about political topics and they still talk about them in Estonia. Although one of the participants indicated that the topics that they are discussing are still mostly related to politics in home country. So, there is a transfer of previous participation.

The other group of the participants who indicated that their participation in the form of the discussion of political topics increased, explained it through the fact that there is more freedom of speech in Estonia compared to their home country. Another explanation for increase in discussions about politics was having friends to talk about political topics to, particularly classmates from university as well as the fact that discussions also increased due to war in Ukraine.

> *"… in the case of talking about politics yes, here I've been involved more into politics with my family, with my classmates, and some friends. We feel like we have the freedom to say and that the others are going to listen."* (Interviewee 11, TCN, 3 years)

5.3. Unconventional forms of participation

The initial expectation at the start of write up of this thesis was that immigrants would engage more in unconventional forms of participation such as protests, demonstrations, and petitions, as in current democracies activities performed by individuals are mostly identified as non- or semi-political and focusing more on involvement in society problems (Ekman & Amnå, 2012, p. 288).

Surprisingly, the results showed that the majority of participants saw a decrease in unconventional forms of participation. Only two participants mentioned an increase in their unconventional participation, relating the increase to the fact that there is more freedom to express their opinion compared to home country, where such kind of participation was considered dangerous.

> *"Yes, it's definitely increased here because it is allowed. There are no consequences, so yes. I can go like to demonstrations or do something. In [home country] it's just a little bit hard to do. So, it definitely increased."* (Interviewee 9, TCN, 1 year)

Some participants for whom levels of participation in unconventional activities remained the same indicated that they did not participate in such activities in their home countries as well.

> *"The only petitions I have signed are online petitions and none of them were really related to neither Estonia nor [home country]. ... In [home country] it hasn't changed neither simply because there's nothing worth demonstrating for and recently in Estonia there's nothing worth demonstrating for."* (Interviewee 8, TCN, 1.5 years)

Some participants indicated that there was freedom of speech in Estonia and no political oppression compared to home countries. So, when asked why then a change did not happen, one participant stated that they still have the same way of thinking as they had in their home country. This confirms the idea of Milbrath (1981, p. 212) and Bilodeau (2008, p.997) that individuals may close themselves to political stimuli as they consider it threatening and want to reduce it by transfering the previous experince with political participation in home country.

> *"Now that I think of it and maybe it's just that I still associate participation in such kind of events with a great danger […]"* (Interviewee 6, TCN, 2 years)

Several participants indicated that although levels of participation remained the same, meaning they participated in their home countries and continue to participate in Estonia, forms of activities they engage in changed. This actually shows a transfer of previous socialization and adaptation to

the host society's political environment, since a person cannot be expected to increase participation immediately after migrating.

However, for the majority of participants who indicated a decrease in participation, it is important to understand why there has been a decrease. Some participants related their decreased levels of participation to the fact that there are not issues in Estonia worth to protest against, especially when compared to their home countries. Political and civic issues in Estonia seem so small and unimportant for the immigrants.

> *"It's nonexistent in Estonia but it was at home. […] I didn't find any substantial good reason, no offense to anyone, but sometimes when you have a background of a developing country some issue doesn't seem that big of a deal for you, in the beginning. But like of course there are other things that worth protesting but some of it I don't see it's worth."* (Interviewee 2, TCN, 2 years)

Another reason for decreased participation mentioned by the participants was learning about events such as protests or demonstrations late or not understanding the essence of particular events.

> *"Maybe decreased a bit. I am back there in [home country] I would learn much more quickly about whether the demonstration is upcoming or whatever and I would arrange to go there with my friends. … And in my current life I usually learn about demonstrations after they happen, unfortunately"* (Interviewee 5, EU, 2.5 years)

> *"Because I don't understand it fully, I would say. I don't understand because the Facebook post, it has limit of 500 words or 300 words even and I believe it to be more nuanced. Removing a statue or bringing a statue […] I don't understand what's the meaning of that statue and I need to learn [...]"* (Interviewee 1, TCN, 3.5 years)

As it was mentioned in the previous subchapters political efficacy of immigrants contributes to increased participation (Milbrath, 1981). In the case of unconventional participation several

participants claimed they have not yet formed opinions on certain issues, therefore do not feel ready to participate.

> *"First, as I said I couldn't because I just came and then I still don't feel like quite strong enough to be like, 'okay now I'm going to support people here.' They haven't also many instances […] But maybe if it's a protest that involves my life here, like something that's going to affect me as a foreigner or that is going to affect me as a citizen, then yes, I think I'll go participate."* (Interviewee 11, TCN, 3 years)

Another type of unconventional participation the participants were asked about was discussion of political topics on the Internet and social media. In this regard majority of participants once again mentioned a decrease in this type of participation. Main reasons stated for the decrease were being far away from home countries and language barrier, as if they wanted to be active on social media, they should mostly use English which is not their native language, which might cause difficulty expressing oneself or participating in general. Moreover, participants once again mentioned that issues that happen in Estonia seem small and unimportant for them when compared to issues happening in their own countries. This can be categorized again as transfer of previous political beliefs as issues in Estonia do not seem stimulating enough to take action based on the home country political environment.

> *"But again, just because there are not so many like huge issues you can discuss. In [home country] it's like constant process of discussing what's going on."* (Interviewee 9, TCN, 1 year)

Participants who indicated that their discussions about politics on social media increased related the increase to having more freedom in Estonia comparing to their home countries. Nevertheless, when viewed from political socialization perspective the fact that most immigrants experienced a decrease or same levels of participation does not mean that learning of political attitudes has not happened. As it was mentioned earlier immigrants see Estonians as not so active in political life so in a sense it can be concluded that they adapt to the political participation patterns of the host country, therefore socialization happens.

5.4. Civic participation - volunteering

Moving on to the last type of participation, participants were asked about a form of civic participation – volunteering. Contrary to other forms of activities where majority indicated they experienced a decrease, regarding volunteering there were more participants who indicated that it either increased or remained the same than participants who indicated that it decreased. There might be several reasons for this. First, volunteering is not seen as something directly related to politics and it is true to some extent. Second, volunteering seems to require less political efficacy and do not require the person to have an extensive knowledge about the political system in the country as some other forms of political participation require.

Volunteering is seen as a way to better integrate into the society. Participation in volunteering activities is a positive sign of immigrants' integration (Huddleston, 2009, p. 27; Kaldur, et al., 2019, p.93). Nevertheless, numbers of immigrants that participate in volunteering activities are not particularly high in Estonia. Kaldur states that according to Estonian integration monitoring only 17% of new immigrants participated in volunteering activities in Estonia (2020, p. 98). However, Pohla claims that decrease in volunteering has been an overall trend for Estonia during the last ten years (2020, p. 57).

> *"Yes, maybe volunteering is the only part that actually increased here because I just see here more opportunities, I don't know, maybe it's better communicated […], I don't actually know why exactly but somehow, it's easier to participate in volunteering here … I still remember that I have volunteered in some projects there [in home country] but it's definitely more active here"* (Interviewee 10, TCN, 4 years)

Participants, who indicated that participation in volunteering activities remained the same as in their own country, said it was usual activity for them, so they continued doing it in Estonia. However, some participants claimed that types of volunteering changed. This shows that through transfer of previous political behavior, the participants adapted type of their activity to the host society and their role in the society as an 'immigrant.'

For participants who indicated that their participation decreased one of the main reasons was that they did not have enough time after migrating to Estonia and some indicated that they have not found the opportunities to volunteer while other participants indicated that there were opportunities but establishing a persistent connection was not possible.

> *"The infrastructure is there, there's lots of organizations and you can find them on Facebook […] And I also found out that when I participate in something I kind of expect to form a bond with people over there or to do regularly and that's something that hasn't happened for me in Estonia. When you go there maybe someone talks to you in English, but you will never form an actual connection, it will not last. It's a little discouraged me from doing it."* (Interviewee 4, EU, 4 years)

> *"Here, in Estonia, I search about voluntary things, they don't have the structure, it's something they don't practice here"* (Interviewee 13, EU, 2 years)

Majority of participants indicated that they did not feel that anyone expected them to participate in the political and civic life of Estonia. Furthermore, some indicated that on the contrary Estonians and the government would rather expect immigrants not to participate in political life of Estonia, with some participants indicating that there might be a feeling that immigrants are told to better take care of problems in their own countries.

> *"No, I don't think so. Nobody has made it feel like I have to participate, or I have to know what's going on in the country. I feel like Estonians also know that their politics is kept kind of isolated away from any immigrant or foreigner issues. Like I said, when it's relevant to us, it is made accessible but other than that it's not really accessible."* (Interviewee 12, TCN, 1 year)

Participants who mentioned that they felt there was some sort of an expectation referred to the announcements about volunteering opportunities that were sent by the university. One of the participants talked about the expectation to participate in European elections, but indicated that it was not specific to Estonia but rather a general EU encouragement.

"Well, yes, I think so because I get this notification about volunteering opportunities from the university, it's always somewhere, you can always see calls for volunteering. When it was elections last year like people will agitating you on the streets and like if I could, I would probably participate. So, I can say I feel to be expected to participate." (Interviewee 9, TCN, 1 year)

"I think in the volunteering, maybe yes, it's expected because I'm a foreigner it's like: 'ah you're also a foreigner and you should.' In the university there is a lot of, not pressure, but a lot of encouraging for us to participate in this and they have always volunteering ads and they seek for the students to be involved especially foreigners but also Estonians. […] it's expected cause it's like you are also here, this is not your country, you are here, like so you can help others. Not in a bad way, I think it's encouraging on me." (Interviewee 11, TCN, 3 years)

It is also worth mentioning that the topics that immigrants would raise their voice about mostly changed compared to what they would raise their voice about in their home-countries. Topics that were mostly mentioned were related to immigrants and their rights, taxes, environment, and LGBTQ rights.

The conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis of change in political and civic participation of immigrants are various. In the previous research it has been discussed that participants start participating more, especially as time spent in the host country increases (Bilodeau, 2004; Finifter & Finifter, 1989). The overall trend is that immigrants who showed stronger sense of belonging to Estonia also were the ones who mostly indicated that their participation remained the same. Moreover, the same was true for participants who had higher levels of Estonian language knowledge. Therefore, a transfer of previous behavior can be identified. The major effect of home country socialization is observable similar to results of Finifter and Finifter (1989), White et al. (2008) and Bilodeau (2004). However, to assess if political socialization happened, not only immigrants' participation change should be taken into account, but the meaning of political integration of immigrants in the host country (Groenendijk, 2008, pp.12-13). Although immigrants

mostly indicated a decrease or same levels of participation, this does not mean that none of them participate in Estonia. Few of the participants are still as active as in home countries.

5.5. Effect of war on political socialization

The issue of war between Russia and Ukraine started in February, 2022 was not intended to be included in this thesis at the first stages of planning, but it became one of the factors affecting political socialization of immigrants in Estonia. The impact of war is undeniable, particularly due to the fact that Estonia became one of the countries that received refugees from Ukraine (European Commission, 2022) and the importance of the war for the country due to already tensioned relations between Estonia and Russia.

Various scholars suggest that big events such as wars affect political socialization of people (Hyman, 1969, pp. 39-40; Wasburn & Adkins Covert, 2017). Some of the participants mentioned it during the interviews. Not every participant was affected to the same extent. For instance, one of the participants who experienced increase in volunteering activities indicated that the increase was not due to the migration to Estonia, but due to the war and the increased need for helping Ukrainian refugees. One of the participants pointed out how due to the war and refugees, foreigners and Estonians became united.

5.6. Barriers to political and civic participation in Estonia

The barriers to political participation that the participants identified also indicate what hinders the process of political socialization. Brady et al. identified three reasons why people do not participate. First because they don't have physical ability, which suggests they do not have the resources such as time or language, second is because they do not want to, which relates to issues such as lack of interest and thought that one's contribution does not affect something, and the last one because nobody asked, which signals that people are not contacted (1995, p. 271). The participants revealed barriers that align with Brady and colleagues' reasons for internal and external barriers to participation. Barriers to political participation identified by the participants were legal barriers, lack of political efficacy and trust, lack of connection with locals, political environment in Estonia, language, and sense of discouragement of immigrant participation by locals.

One of the main obstacles to political participation was legal barrier such as not having a long-term residence permit for TCN or Estonian citizenship granting full political rights. This partially confirms Milbrath's argument that people without the eligibility to vote are also not likely to engage in other types of political participation. However, this does not mean that as soon as individuals get voting rights, they will participate (1981, p. 232). For instance, a group of EU immigrants had the right to vote at local elections and all the participants could 'vote' for participatory budget projects, but few did in practice. So, having full political rights does not necessarily mean increased participation and socialization.

> *"[…] by the time I get the five-year long-term residence permit, I guess I won't have any barriers."* (Interviewee 3, TCN, 4 years)

The importance of belonging and connection with locals was stressed in the empirical part. The same issue also emerged as a barrier to political participation. A group of participants think that in order to participate and make an effort one needs to have a community that she/he will do it for. In home country there is a reason as there is strong ties and higher levels of belonging, but the same is not true when an immigrant has spent some years in the host country. As it has been mentioned above, belonging and participation are highly connected and participants who indicated that they did not form connections found it difficult to be motivated to participate. The importance of group identification, which fosters sense of belonging is stressed in the works of Milbrath (1981, p. 216) and Wasburn and Adkins Covert, who claim social interactions to be a key factor in forming political ties and knowledge (2017, p. 161).

> *"If you really want to be active, you have to have some kind of a backbone, you know, in some sense, people who you belong to. ... I don't think I have the community that I belong to here in Estonia in order to have something to do politically. At present, I don't feel like it."* (Interviewee 2, TCN, 2 years)

> *"But I think my barrier is not having many Estonian friends and connection. Connecting with other people because I think all the genuine connection starts at the local level: you*

know the neighbor, you know the people behind all these movements and that's the issue, I think." (Interviewee 1, TCN, 3.5 years)

Another barrier that has been continuously stressed in literature is language. It has been highlighted that knowledge of host country language contributes to better integration and increased political participation whereas lack of it creates a barrier to integration (Bilodeau, 2004, p.114; Cho, 1999; Huddleston, 2009; Kallas et al., 2014, p.39; Kosic, 2007; Tammaru et al., 2015; Verba et al., 1993, p.457). Kaldur also identified that compared to other factors affecting political participation knowledge of host-society's language is one of the vital factors affecting immigrants' participation (2020, p. 56). Similarly, participants of this research stressed language as a factor affecting their political participation.

"Language is a first because I don't want to reach only foreigners. I mean as a foreigner we know the issues that we are living but I need to reach the Estonian people for they understand what is the issue that we are having." (Interviewee 13, EU, 2 years)

"But in my case, it's language barrier because sometimes I have seen that they are asking volunteers and when I entered to see the info it's in Estonian so okay it's going to be in Estonian, I can't" (Interviewee 11, TCN, 3 years)

"I don't think you can get by without speaking at least some Estonian. Because I think it's a very huge indicator for Estonians that you are serious about this country, and you are interested in them. So, if you are interested but you refuse to learn more than 'tere' (hi) and it kind of undermines whatever you have to say. So, I think, I don't know whether that is a barrier but it's kind of a requirement for participation or that makes it easier." (Interviewee 5, EU, 2.5 years)

However, contrary to the literature that stresses importance of language, Estonia shows an interesting case as several participants indicated that language is actually not a barrier because a lot of things are translated into English. Kaldur et al. also highlight that the lack of knowledge of

Estonian is not such a big barrier to political participation as immigrants indicate that it is possible to live in the country without using Estonian language (2019, p. 53).

> *"[…] many events and like many volunteering activities they are in English, or they are both in English and Estonian, so people like needn't to translate for you. I don't think it's a problem."* (Interviewee 9, TCN, 1 year)

The general political environment and locals' relation to politics was also highlighted as a barrier. Participants reflected on the lack of example from local people to learn from, as locals seemed to be uninterested in politics themselves.

> *"I think the main thing for me is that I don't know anyone who does it. I don't know any politically engaged Estonian and if I had a friend who was doing it maybe in my view it would be more common or more easy. But I don't know anyone and to me it feels like just this political engagement, active participation is not as common as it is in [home country]. I think it's quite rare and usually it's happening in Tallin, the big city. … It almost feels like they are very concerned, very active and committed but not to political things."* (Interviewee 4, EU, 4 years)

The final barrier to political participation brings out uniqueness of Estonian case, as it is contradictory in itself. It is openness of Estonians to immigrants. The reason it seems contradictory is because some participants think when foreigners are interested in Estonian language and culture, this means a lot for Estonians, and in general they are open to foreigners in other spheres of life.

> *"Language is not a barrier because I actually speak Estonian. And of course, I don't speak it fluently, but I have been learning it since 2019. And I have been told by many Estonians that I speak it better than the Russians."* (Interviewee 8, TCN, 1.5 years)

> *"So, you arrive in Estonia, you start speaking to Estonians in their Estonian language with horrible mistakes and in return they are grateful to you because the language is so small,*

the society is so small that any person who is at least interested in it, belongs to them." (Interviewee 3, TCN, 4 years)

However, some participants indicated that Estonians make it clear to foreigners that they are different, that they will never become Estonians and therefore, they should not be involved in the political life of the country. The chapter on contextual background serves as an explanation to this complicated situation as the migration history in Estonia is a complicated one. Bueker points out that the way immigrants are treated in the host-country has an impact on the political integration of immigrants in the long-term (2005, p.107). Although the attitude of Estonians to immigrants in general terms is positive, particularly in the situations when foreigners speak Estonian, and immigrants usually do not experience any discrimination from Estonians, their attitudes to involvement of foreigners in political and civic life are not the same. According to Tammaru et al. Estonia is not open enough for foreigners to contribute to its development (2015, p. 102).

"I don't think they will be very happy if foreigners took part in such kind of things because although not always, sometimes when it's something related to the country, they can make foreigners feel that they [Estonians] are different" (Interviewee 7, TCN, 1 year)

"So as a reaction of this Ukraine war all became very nationalistic and national pride and having your flags and it made me so uncomfortable but at the same time, I realized I can't do these things because I'm not Estonian. … I realized how much of a foreigner I am here." (Interviewee 4, EU, 4 years)

5.7. Differences in socialization between immigrants from EU and TCN

One of the research questions aimed to find out what kind of differences immigrants from EU and immigrants from non-EU countries experience in the course of political resocialization. The expectation was that there would be particular differences as EU citizens have slightly different set of rights (voting at local elections) and more freedom in terms of bureaucracy and movement. When the new political environment is similar to the political environment in a home country, less change occurs (Vargas-Ramos, 2011, p. 131). However, the sample size of the research is very small, and it was not possible to get an equal ratio of both groups of immigrants. Nevertheless,

through the responses collected it can be concluded that there are no distinct differences between EU and TCN immigrants' political socialization in Estonia.

As it has been mentioned earlier, sense of belonging to the host country is a factor that increases participation of immigrants, the same factors applied to EU immigrants as they did not have a particularly different level of belonging just because they were from another EU country. This aligns with prior research, which also revealed that no matter what country the immigrants are from, exposure to the host country increases sense of belonging and participation (de Rooij, 2011, p. 470)

> *"…but even when Estonia is in the European Union, it's not the same because it's a barrier that is the language. So, until you don't learn the language you cannot understand their thinking very well […]"* (Interviewee 13, EU, 2 years)

It could also be noticed that although both types of participants expressed that they are interested in Estonian politics because it is where they live and it affects them or their acquaintances, TCN participants highlighted the need to follow the news and politics in Estonia, since every change in regulations affecting immigrants mostly affects TCN rather than immigrants from the EU. This idea was also expressed by the participants from the EU.

Conclusion

The aim of this research was to analyze the effect of immigration on political socialization of individuals. Political socialization was defined in the course of this research as learning and acquisition of new behavior and attitudes to politics observed through participation in political and civic activities (Greenberg, 2009). Previous research has identified that immigrants acquire new knowledge and therefore go through a process of socialization after immigrating to a new country. However, scholars have stressed the importance of the knowledge that immigrants bring with them, emphasizing that socialization taken place in home country is quite influential (Bilodeau, 2004, 2008; Finifter & Finifter, 1989). According to White et al. (2008, p. 275) immigrants usually do not show resistance to change and transfer their previous knowledge and use it to adapt to the host country's political system. This research has shown the same result.

This research focused on Estonia, gradually experiencing migration turnaround after 2015, contrary to earlier research focused on historically immigrant destination countries such as the US and Canada (Bilodeau, 2004; White, et al., 2008). New immigrants in Estonia are a less researched area comparing to studies of Russian speaking immigrants, who migrated to Estonia during the Soviet Union period. As Estonian government started to develop favorable conditions for high-skilled immigrants and students, integration of new immigrants is becoming a critical area of research (Tammaru, et al., 2015).

The research questions have been answered through the analysis of the interviews conducted with 13 immigrants from both the EU and TCN. The participants of the research are students and recent graduates who have been living in Estonia from one to five years, therefore the focus is on recent immigrants. Socialization process is analyzed under two main categories of change: change in attitudes towards politics and change in political and civic participation of immigrants. Findings of the research were analyzed against transferability, exposure and resistance theories.

The results of the research revealed that learning of new political attitudes is inevitable as a result of migration, thus, clearly proving the theory of transferability. Immigrants transfer their previous attitudes towards politics and through learning and spending more time in Estonia they adapt to the host country. However, it is important to note that majority of participants did not express a drastic change in their views. Although political socialization took place, the extent of it was not significant. This can be explained by the time participants spent in the host country, which is less than five years. Exposure theory (White, et al., 2008) was confirmed as well, since immigrants who spent more time in Estonia became more interested in Estonian politics and participation. Knowledge of Estonian served as a crucial factor for participants, since immigrants who new Estonian language expressed higher interest in the politics of the country as well as indicated a will to get more political rights as immigrants. Levels of political efficacy also proved to increase immigrants' motivation to know and participate in Estonian political and civic life more actively.

Questions about learning and change in political and civic participation revealed different results from those on learning new political attitudes. This can be explained by the fact that learning process first happens at a cognitive level, and starting to act in accordance with learned new

attitudes requires more effort. However, depending on how political socialization is understood results of this research can lead to different conclusions. As Groenendijk indicates successful socialization can mean increased participation of immigrants or immigrants' adaptation to the host country and acquisition of similar attitudes (2008, p. 13).

Questions of the interview on conventional forms of participation intended to reveal if immigrants experienced a change in activities such as reading news and discussing politics with friends and family. Results of the answers' analysis align with the theories of exposure and transferability (White, et al., 2008) as on average participants who spent longer time in Estonia and who indicated higher levels of belonging stated they transferred their previous participation habits and mostly continued to do the activities at the same rate or even experienced an increase. It is also essential to highlight that participants who indicated the same or increased levels of participation in aforementioned activities knew Estonian language to some extent. Those participants, who experienced decrease in their engagement in abovementioned activities indicated not having people to talk to, lack of issues to discuss in Estonia and observation that locals do not talk much about politics themselves as the reasons for decrease.

Surprisingly, unconventional forms of participation were the ones where the participants showed less engagement, particularly in activities like joining protests, signing petitions, and boycotting goods. The factors of belonging and time spent in Estonia were not particularly significant in this type of participation. According to the participants the reason for this was that there were no prominent issues for participants to protest against. Such kind of participation might require a person to have increased dissatisfaction with the state, which was not true for most of the participants. Change in discussion of political topics also seemed not to depend on either sense of belonging or time spent in Estonia. Overall participants expressed feeling of belonging, which is one of the factors supposed to increase political participation. However, their developed feelings of belonging were not enough to facilitate participation. In this case theory of exposure (White, et al., 2008) seems to have no effect on unconventional forms of participation, while the theory of transferability applies. The immigrants transferred their previous action to a new country and the decrease in activity is explained by the fact that according to their previous socialization the events happening in the host country do not prompt the immigrants to take action.

Civic participation proved to be an area where immigrants experienced greatest levels of socialization. It was analyzed through participation in volunteering activities and was the area where immigrants transferred their previous socialization and continued to participate in such kind of activities. Participation in volunteering was highly related to the expressed feeling of belonging to the host country by participants. No participant who indicated strong feelings of belonging indicated a decrease in this activity. Moreover, majority of participants expressed a will to participate in volunteering activities if they found time and the opportunity to do so. However, theory of exposure seemed not to apply here as well, as time spent in Estonia did not have particular effect on volunteering activities.

Immigrants participating in the research revealed various barriers to political socialization. Legal barriers such as not having citizenship or long-term residence permit were highlighted. Language, which is a factor stressed in literature, was a barrier only for some participants. The feeling that the immigrants are not welcome to participate in Estonian politics was identified as another barrier for political participation. Particular differences between EU and TCN immigrants were not observed in general.

The results of the research cannot be generalized neither to immigrants living in Estonia or more broad immigrant socialization research as the sample size of the research was very small and focused on student or recent graduate immigrants that spent one to five years in Estonia. Therefore, the results should be viewed in the light of this, since young people and university students and graduates are more likely to change their views and easier adapt to new environments. However, this thesis contributes to the immigrant political socialization research in that it identified that political socialization patterns of immigrants depend on what participation form is considered. For instance, theories of transfer and exposure apply to learning and changing attitudes towards politics, conventional forms of participation and civic participation, whereas for unconventional forms of participation the theory of transfer is observed, but the theory of exposure seems to not apply. Further research can be done on unconventional forms of participation such as joining protests, signing petitions or boycotting goods to further understand how immigrants participate in host countries' political and civic life before acquiring citizenship of the host country.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview questions

Introduction

A. THEME: Background information

1. Can you tell me about yourself. How old are you? Where are you from? What are you studying?
2. Where did you live before migrating to Estonia? Did you move to Estonia directly from your home-country?
3. How long have you been living in Estonia?
4. Are you living in Estonia on the basis of a visa, residence permit or EU mobility?
5. Can you tell me why you decided to migrate to Estonia?
6. How long do you want to or plan to stay in Estonia?

B. THEME: Attitudes towards politics and civic engagement

7. What do the words 'politics' or 'political' mean for you?
8. What 'politics' meant for you when you lived in your home-country?
9. Think about the family, environment, friends, education (school) you grew up in, in what ways these factors affected your attitude towards politics? Were you taught to be an active citizen in your family and at school?
10. Can you compare your life in your home-country and Estonia and tell me if you feel that your concerns and suggestions on public issues, (for example, unemployment, environment, infrastructure, etc.) are listened to by the local or national governments in home-country and Estonia?
11. Do you know what kind of political rights and freedoms you have in Estonia?
12. Would you say these political rights are enough or do you think immigrants need more rights? Explain please.
13. Do you have a sense of belonging to Estonia or your local community (city you live in) in Estonia? Can you explain why or why not?
14. Do you know anything about Estonian politics, for example, political system, main parties, main debate topics.
15. Are you interested in Estonian politics and what is going on in Estonia in general? Why or why not?

C. THEME: Political and civic participation

(Interviewer provides definitions of political participation and civic participation)

16. Do you read news about Estonia and which sources do you follow: Estonian or international?

17. Can you compare your life in your home-country and Estonia and tell me if your political participation, regarding activities such as voting and discussing political issues increased, decreased, or remained same. Why?
18. Can you compare your life in your home-country and Estonia and tell me if your political participation, regarding activities such as taking part in demonstrations, protests, boycotting goods, signing petitions increased, decreased, or remained same. Why?
19. What kind of issues would you raise your voice about in your home-country and Estonia?
20. Can you compare your life in your home-country and Estonia and tell me if your political participation, regarding activities such as discussing political topics on blogs or on other social networks of internet increased, decreased, or remained same. Why?
21. Can you compare your life in your home-country and Estonia and tell me if you participate in volunteering increased, decreased, or remained same. Why?
22. Do you feel that you are expected to participate in Estonian political and civic life?
23. What are the barriers to political and civic participation in Estonia? Do you consider language or discrimination to foreigners if experienced a barrier?

D. THEME: Final Reflections

24. Can you reflect in a comparative perspective and tell me if you feel anything changed in your political attitudes and participation after migrating to Estonia?

25. Do you think you have learned anything regarding politics and being politically active?

Appendix B: List of interviewees

#	Date of the interview	Participant's code name	Home country	Age	Time spent in Estonia	Place
1	11 June 2022	Interviewee 1	TCN	27	3.5 years	Zoom
2	17 June 2022	Interviewee 2	TCN	32	2 years	Zoom
3	23 June 2022	Interviewee 3	TCN	46	4 years	Zoom
4	24 June 2022	Interviewee 4	EU	29	4 years	Zoom
5	29 June 2022	Interviewee 5	EU	32	2.5 years	Zoom
6	30 June 2022	Interviewee 6	TCN	33	2 years	Zoom
7	2 July 2022	Interviewee 7	TCN	19	1 year	Zoom
8	4 July 2022	Interviewee 8	TCN	25	1.5 year	Zoom
9	5 July 2022	Interviewee 9	TCN	29	1 year	Zoom
10	5 July 2022	Interviewee 10	TCN	27	4 years	Zoom
11	6 July 2022	Interviewee 11	TCN	30	3 years	Zoom
12	6 July 2022	Interviewee 12	TCN	29	1 year	Zoom
13	25 June 2022	Interviewee 13	EU	32	2 years	Zoom

Appendix C: University of Glasgow ethical approval

University of Glasgow
School of Social & Political Sciences

School Ethics Forum for Non-Clinical Research Involving Human Subjects

Request for Amendments - Reviewer Feedback

Application Details

Undergraduate Student Research Ethics Application ☐ Postgraduate Student Research Ethics Application ☒

Application Number: PGT/SPS/2022/181/CEERS

Applicant's Name: Meriyem Syurmen

Project Title: Political Socialization of Immigrants: A Case Study of Estonia

Original **Start** Date of Application Approval: 04/04/2020

Original **End** Date of Application Approval: 01/10/2022

Date of Amendments Approved: 22/03/2022

Outcome: Approved

Reviewer Comments

Please retain this notification for future reference. If you have any enquiries, please e-mail:
socpol-ug-ethics@glasgow.ac.uk (UG applications) or socpol-pgt-ethics@glasgow.ac.uk (PGT applications)

University of Glasgow
College of Social Sciences
Glasgow G12 8QQ
The University of Glasgow, charity number SC004401

E-mail: socpol-ug-ethics@glasgow.ac.uk (UG applications) or socpol-pgt-ethics@glasgow.ac.uk (PGT applications)

Appendix D: Jagiellonian University ethical approval

Ethics in Research Commission
Institute of European Studies
Jagiellonian University in Kraków

Kraków, 2nd May 2022

APPROVAL DECISION

for the project

Political Socialization of Immigrants: A Case Study of Estonia

The Ethics in Research Commission of the Institute of European Studies of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, having assessed the scope and consequences of research undertaken within the project *Political Socialization of Immigrants: A Case Study of Estonia* submitted by Ms. Meriyem Syurmen, hereby declares that the project meets the standards of ethical research as adopted by the Institute of European Studies.

The Commission finds that the applicant have considered thoroughly the ethical dilemmas that may be involved in their research and safeguarded adequate protection of all potential participants as well as their personal data.

Members of the Commission:

Dr. hab. Jacek Kołodziej, prof. UJ (Chair)

Dr. Ewa Kamarad
Dr. Joanna Orzechowska-Wacławska
Dr. Przemysław Tacik

On behalf of the Commission,

Dr. Przemysław Tacik
Secretary of the Commission

University of Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

Appendix E: Consent form

Consent Form

Title of Project: Political Socialization of Immigrants: A Case Study of Estonia

Name of Researcher: Meriyem Syurmen, MA student of Erasmus Mundus Joint Master Degree in Central and East European, Russian and Eurasian Studies.

Supervisors: Prof. Dr. hab. Zdzislaw Mach, Jagiellonian University, Poland
Kristjan Kaldur, University of Tartu, Estonia
Dr. Ammon Cheskin, University of Glasgow, UK

Please tick as appropriate

Yes ☐ No ☐ I confirm that I have read and understood the Plain Language Statement for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

Yes ☐ No ☐ I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

Method

Yes ☐ No ☐ I consent to interviews being audio/video recorded via Zoom/computer software

Confidentiality/anonymity

Yes ☐ No ☐ I acknowledge that participants will be referred to by pseudonym.

Yes ☐ No ☐ I acknowledge that copies of transcripts will be returned to participants for verification, if requested by the participant.

Data usage and storage

I agree that:

Yes ☐ No ☐ All names and other material likely to identify individuals will be anonymised.

Yes ☐ No ☐ The material will be treated as confidential and kept in secure storage at all times.

Yes ☐ No ☐ The material will be destroyed once the project is complete.

Yes ☐ No ☐ I waive my copyright to any data collected as part of this project.

Yes ☐ No ☐ Other authenticated researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.

Yes ☐ No ☐ Other authenticated researchers may use my words in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form

Processing of Personal Data

Yes ☐ No ☐ I acknowledge the provision of a Privacy Notice in relation to this research project.

I **agree** to take part in this research study ☐

I **do not agree** to take part in this research study ☐

Name of Participant …… Signature ……

Date ……

Name of Researcher ……Signature ……

Date ……

…… End of consent form ……

Appendix F: Plain language statement

Plain Language Statement

Political Socialization of Immigrants: A Case Study of Estonia

Researcher: Meriyem Syurmen, MA student of Erasmus Mundus Joint Master Degree in Central and East European, Russian and Eurasian Studies

email: meriyem.syurmen@ut.ee

Supervisors: Prof. Dr. hab. Zdzislaw Mach, Jagiellonian University, Poland

Kristjan Kaldur, University of Tartu, Estonia

Dr. Ammon Cheskin, University of Glasgow, UK

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of the study is to find out how political attitudes and participation (voting at elections, participating in protests, discussing politics, signing petitions, volunteering, etc.) of immigrants in Estonia is affected by the migration process. The aim is to understand how the political behaviour in home country before coming to Estonia was different and how it is different now as an immigrant in Estonia.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen for this study because you are a person who migrated to Estonia from another country so you will have experience of political participation when you lived in your home country and while living in Estonia.

Do I have to take part?

Participation in this study is completely **voluntary** and it is your own decision whether to participate or not. You can withdraw anytime you change your mind and decide you do not want to take part in the study any more. You do not have to give a reason. All the information obtained from you will be deleted and not used for the purpose of the research in case of your withdrawal.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You will be asked to take part in a 40-60 minute interview with the researcher in face-to-face or online format, according to your preference. There will be a set of questions regarding your reflection on your attitudes and participation in politics and civic engagement (volunteering) before and after migrating to Estonia. The interview consists of four parts. First I will ask you to talk about yourself, then about your attitude towards politics, followed by a section on change in your political participation and lastly I will ask about your final reflections. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer.

To participate in this study you need to be:

- A student or recent graduate who moved to Estonia after the age of 18
- Have been living in Estonia for at least one year and are still living in Estonia
- Migrated to Estonia from any country
- Before migrating to Estonia spent most of your life in one country.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

Yes. Before starting the interview, you will be asked to read and sign a consent form that explains the process that will be followed. All research participants will be given pseudonyms. All the information will be kept on an encrypted and password protected computer. All physical copies will be kept in secure cabinets. At the end of the research all data will be destroyed.

Interviews will be conducted either online via Zoom or in real life. You will be given a choice to turn on / off your camera.

Please note that confidentiality may not be fully guaranteed, due to the limited size of the participant sample. Please note that assurances on confidentiality will be strictly adhered to unless evidence of wrongdoing or potential harm is uncovered. In such cases the University may be obliged to contact relevant statutory bodies/agencies.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of the research study will be published in a masters dissertation. Note that the dissertation will be in open access through University of Tartu system, which means that anyone on the Internet can access the dissertation.

Who has reviewed the study?

The study has been reviewed by the School of Social Sciences Ethics Committee at University of Glasgow and is being conducted after grant of access for carrying out the study.

Contact for Further Information

You can contact the researcher, Meriyem Syurmen, for any further questions you may have about the study. You can reach me through my email: meriyem.syurmen@ut.ee

If you have any concerns regarding the conduct of this research project, you can contact the School of Social Sciences Ethics Officer Dr Susan Batchelor email: socsci-ethics-lead@glasgow.ac.uk

Appendix G: Privacy Notice

PRIVACY NOTICE

Privacy Notice for Participation in Research Project: Political Socialization of Immigrants: A Case Study of Estonia.
Conducted by researcher: Meriyem Syurmen
Your Personal Data

The University of Glasgow will be what's known as the 'Data Controller' of your personal data processed in relation to your participation in the research project '**Political Socialization of Immigrants: A Case Study of Estonia'**. This privacy notice will explain how The University of Glasgow will process your personal data.

Why we need it

We are collecting basic personal data such as your name and contact details in order to conduct our research. We need your name and contact details to arrange interviews with you for the research and to potentially follow up on the data you have provided.

We only collect data that we need for the research project and your personal data will be de-identified from the research data through pseudonymisation which means that your personal details such as your name will be coded not to reveal your identity.

Please note that your confidentiality may be impossible to guarantee due to your location or in the event of disclosure of harm or danger to participants or others. Please see accompanying **Participant Information Sheet**.

Legal basis for processing your data

We must have a legal basis for processing all personal data. As this processing is for Academic Research we will be relying upon **Task in the Public Interest** in order to process the basic personal data that you provide. For any special categories data collected we will be processing this on the basis that it is **necessary for archiving purposes, scientific or historical research purposes or statistical purposes**

Alongside this, in order to fulfil our ethical obligations, we will ask for your **Consent** to take part in the study. Please see accompanying **Consent Form**.

What we do with it and who we share it with

All the personal data you submit is processed by: staff at the University of Glasgow in the United Kingdom. In addition, security measures are in place to ensure that your personal data remains safe: pseudonymisation of your personal information, secure storage of the data and encryption of files and devices where the data will be kept. Please consult the **Consent form** and **Participant Information Sheet** which accompanies this notice.

Due to the nature of this research it is very likely that other researchers may find the data collected to be useful in answering future research questions. We will ask for your explicit consent for your data to be shared in this way.

We will provide you with a copy of the study findings, the dissertation that is the main outcome of this research and details of any subsequent publications or outputs by the researcher on request.

What are your rights?*
GDPR provides that individuals have certain rights including: to request access to, copies of and rectification or erasure of personal data and to object to processing. In addition, data subjects may also have the right to restrict the processing of the personal data and to data portability. You can request access to the information we process about you at any time.

If at any point you believe that the information we process relating to you is incorrect, you can request to see this information and may in some instances request to have it restricted, corrected, or erased. You may also have the right to object to the processing of data and the right to data portability.

Please note that as we are processing your personal data for research purposes, the ability to exercise these rights may vary as there are potentially applicable research exemptions under the GDPR and the Data Protection Act 2018. For more information on these exemptions, please see UofG Research with personal and special categories of data.

If you wish to exercise any of these rights, please submit your request via the webform or contact dp@gla.ac.uk

Complaints
If you wish to raise a complaint on how we have handled your personal data, you can contact the University Data Protection Officer who will investigate the matter.
Our Data Protection Officer can be contacted at dataprotectionofficer@glasgow.ac.uk

If you are not satisfied with our response or believe we are not processing your personal data in accordance with the law, you can complain to the Information Commissioner's Office (ICO) https://ico.org.uk/

Who has ethically reviewed the project?

This project has been ethically approved via the College of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee or relevant School Ethics Forum in the College.

How long do we keep it for?

Your **personal** data will be retained by the University only for as long as is necessary for processing and no longer than the period of ethical approval 01/10/2022. After this time, personal data will be securely deleted.

Your **research** data will be retained for a period of ten years in line with the University of Glasgow Guidelines. Specific details in relation to research data storage are provided on the Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form which accompany this notice.