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UNIVERSITATIS TARTUENSIS

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ANU MASSO

Constitution of personal social space in a transition society

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LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This dissertation is based on the following original publications that will be referred to in the text by their respective Roman numerals.

I **Masso, A.** (2008). Lifeworlds in an enlarged Europe: Differences in Personal Spatiality in Estonia and Sweden. *European Societies,* 10(2), 303–325.

II **Masso, A.** (2007). The structure of personal spatialities in Estonia and Sweden. *Journal of Baltic Studies,* (38)3, 349–372.

III Vihalemm, T. and **Masso, A.** (2007). (Re)construction of collective identities after the dissolution of the Soviet Union: The case of Estonia. *Nationalities Papers,* 35(1), 71–91.

IV **Masso, A.** (2008, forthcoming). Readiness to accept immigrants in Europe? Individual and country level characteristics. Manuscript accepted for publication in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies.*

V **Masso, A.** and Tender, T. (2007). Cultural sustainability in a transition society: relations between foreign languages and geo-cultural self-position in Estonia. *The International Journal of Environmental, Cultural, Economic & Social Sustainability,* 3(3), 163–172.

VI **Masso, A.** and Tender, T. About linguistic constitution of social space. Manuscript delivered for publication consideration in *Trames: A Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences.*

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INTRODUCTION

Social space as a field of study in social sciences has developed rapidly during recent decades. There are many examples about the ways that spatial issues could be interwoven with different spheres of everyday life. Conflicting interpretations of space are, in Estonia, expressed as a persistent monument "crisis" during recent years (e.g. disputes about the meaning of the statue of the Bronze Soldier and the form of the freedom monument in Tallinn). Another example is the "cartoon conflict" in Europe, in which Islamic cultural norms and values and the Western media's enshrinement of the freedom of speech clashed (caused by Muslim reactions to cartoons about the Prophet Muhammad in one of the leading dailies in Denmark). Adaptation with spatial changes – change in state borders, growth of international institutionalisation like European Union (EU) – is a challenge for any individual, both in transition countries as well as in "old" EU countries.

Past studies in the field of space, in Estonia, have concentrated on international space (Vihalemm, 2007a) or on spatial representations (Sooväli, 2000; Vaino, 2004). The objective of my work is to trace the socio-cultural transition in post-Soviet Estonia through the prism of personal social space. This thesis defines the personal social space as a process in which a spatially and temporally situated active individual uses the material and symbolic resources, based on their relation to the world, for the constitution of a meaningfully structured world (see chapter 1.3.). In my empirical studies, the personal social space is operationalised as perceived distances with different countries/cultures, the way an individual defines their geo-cultural identity, their readiness for contacts with different cultures, and their relationships with language communication. This thesis breaks new ground in concentrating on and analysing personal social space in a transition society from the perspective of media and communication studies.

Social space as a research topic can best be characterised as a junction of intersecting disciplines and methodologies. My thesis draws on various theories from sociology, media and communication studies, and cultural geography. On the basis of these theories, a conceptual framework for analysing personal social space in transition societies is suggested. The empirical research of my thesis mainly focuses on Estonians (ethnic and non-ethnic), but Swedes and other European nationalities are also involved in comparisons. In order to analyse the complex topic of personal social space, the study has a methodologically rich empirical basis – a variety of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies are included in the analytical process.

The constitution of personal social space is analysed via six empirical articles. The studies can be divided into three parts, according to the conceptual framework, based on the theory of David Harvey, suggested in the next chapters of present introductory article. The first part concentrates on the aspects of

space that could be defined as *accessibility and distanciation of space*. Here I focus on the general tendencies in spatial relationships and on opening of personal social space. This part mainly includes Study **I** "Lifeworlds in an enlarged Europe: differences in personal social space in Estonia and Sweden" and Study **IV** "Readiness to accept immigrants in Europe? Individual and country level characteristics".

The second part includes the spatial aspect defined as *appropriation and use of space*. Here one aspect of personal social space – geo-cultural solidarities – is investigated. This part is mainly based on Study **III** "(Re)construction of collective identities after the dissolution of the Soviet Union: the case of Estonia" (co-authored with Triin Vihalemm), and Study **II** "The structure of personal spatialities in Estonia and Sweden". The third part concentrates on the aspects of social space that could be summarized as *domination and control of space*, which in my studies means the role of foreign languages shaping personal social space. This part includes Study **V** "Cultural sustainability in a transition society: relations between foreign languages and geo-cultural self-position in Estonia" and Study **VI** "About linguistic constitution of social space: the case of Estonia" (both co-authored with Tõnu Tender). Other symbolic and material resources analysed in other studies contribute to this part.

Whereas I am the sole author of three of six articles, **I**, **II** and **IV,** I am the co-author for articles **III,** **V** and **VI**. My role in article **III** was mostly developing the techniques for data analysis, and conducting and interpretingthe analysis. My roles in Articles **V** and **VI** are dominant in that I developed the methodological bases of the articles, the theoretical and empirical frameworks, carried out the analyses and participated in the final interpretations and writing the discussions (excluding the interpretations in Study **V** and section 6 in Study **VI**).

The structure of the introductory article is as follows: in the first section the theoretical overview presents the ways the social space is conceptualised and proposed; the methodological issues of the Studies are described in the second section. In the third section titled the "Constitutional features of social space" I move to the main findings of each study. In the "Discussion", the fourth section, I present an explanation of transition processes in Estonia through the prism of personal social space that is mainly based on the empirical results emerging from my studies. The introductory article ends with "Conclusions", with a supplementary "Summary in Estonian".

1. Setting the problem

1.1. Conceptualising social space

Social space is[1] a very complex theoretical concept and research topic. Issues of social space were initially studied in the field of cultural geography (e.g. Soja, 1995 [1989]; Harvey, 2006a [1990]) and in sociology (e.g. Giddens, 1989 [1986]; Lash and Urry 1999 [1994]). The reality of social space has also increased in recent years in the field of media and communication studies (see e.g. Falkheimer and Jansson, 2006). The emergence and accessibility of digital information and communication technology (ICT) networks and the blurring of former geogprahical barriers are changes that the media studies must cope with. The inclusion of spatial *geographies of communication* in media studies means that media studies are, today, more interwoven with other disciplines than in the past[2]. In my thesis historical materialism, phenomenology, and structuration appoach are combined with critical theories. My intention is to introduce the more recent approaches by David Harvey in this combination.

Social space as a research topic was originally practiced by historical materialists, foremost among them being cultural geographers like Edward Soja, Henri Lefebvre and David Harvey. Initially the dual opposition of physical or objective, and mental or subjective space was explained, at least by some of the authors within this discipline (see e.g. Soja, 1995 [1989])[3]. Objective space refers to the factual circumstances related to space (e.g. state border, ethnic groups living in the territory) or to spatial artefacts (e.g. architecture). Subjective space embraces mental constructions (e.g. imagined distances regarding different cultures). The problem of this opposition consists in seeing the objective and subjective spatial processes often relatively independent from each other (see e.g. Soja, 1995 [1989])[4]. One solution that different authors within

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[1] In my thesis the distinction is made between the terms of social space and personal social space. In this sub-section the more general terms of social space are preferred, including the institutional aspects of space. In Section 1.3., the term personal social space is introduced, for emphasizing the processes on the individual level.

[2] Different names have been used for labeling the discipline being engaged in research of social space – *science of space* (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]), *communication geography* (see e.g. Hillis, 1998), *geographies of communication* (see e.g. Falkheimer and Jansson, 2006). I prefer using the last concept due to having the accent on communication rather than on geographical processes.

[3] Subjective space is often also labelled as abstract or cognitive, objective as concrete or real.

[4] Although Edward Soja has also tried to unite this dual approach using the term *Thirdspace*, his theory has often been criticized (Merrifield, 1999; Price, 1999; Shields, 1999) due to the moderate contribution to the analysed theories of Foucault and Lefebvre.

the perspective of historical materialism have suggested is the idea of a triple division of space (e.g. Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey).

Henri Lefebvre has drawn a distinction between spatial practices (perceived space), representations of space (conceived space), and representational spaces (lived space) (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]). In the context of my thesis spatial practices include, for example, contacts with various cultures. Representation of space is a space created by politicians, planners, etc., e.g. the opportunities of geo-cultural mobility created under different regimes and ideologies. Representational space marks individual meanings given to specific spatial units. The main contribution of Lefebvre, unlike Soja's approach, is on one hand the idea, that different spatial dimensions cannot be treated as independent, i.e. conceptions about different cultures/countries (representational space) are always based on individual experiences and contacts (spatial practices), but also on prevailing ideologies (representations of space). Or on the contrary, destinations of mobility over state borders (spatial practices) are based on the attractiveness of a particular country (representational space).

If Lefebre emphasises the experiences of the individual, then David Harvey, who has further developed Lefebvre's ideas, concentrates on the spatial event as a certain act of communication (Harvey, 2006a [1990]; 2006b)[5]. Harvey has diferentiated between absolute, relative, and relational space. Absolute space is fixed and refers to the context where the communication is taking place (e.g. Scandinavia as a particular geographical region). Relative space is related to reception of space by individuals, e.g. every individual has the opportunity to choose different perspectives for interpreting and understanding space (e.g. perception of Estonia in Sweden as culturally close or distant). According to the relational view of space, the external influences in the context are internalised, but will in turn be also expressed by individuals. The sense of a geo-cultural Nordic identity could be one of the examples of relational space, as being created on the bases of the geographical closeness of Scandinavian countries, mutual cultural comprehensibility, as well as remembrances about historical contacts.

The development of information and communication technologies (ICTs) and globalisation – the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distanct localities[6] (Giddens, 1991) – has blurred the clear boundaries between

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[5] Harvey has not been consistent when interpreting Lefebvre's concepts. In later works he preferred the term *conceptualised* space instead of initial *perception* (standing for Lefebvre's representations of space) and *lived* space instead of former *imagination* (standing for Lefebvre's spaces of representation). Compare these terms with Harvey (2006 [1990]; 2006). Still, in both cases Harvey has neglected the initial idea of Lefebvre, that all dimensions of the triad should be related to the individual's experience.

[6] Some authors (see Longan, 2005) have called it jumping *scales,* whereby actors, previously confined to a localised scale, gain the power to move at a more global scale and by implication gain greater ecomonic or political power.

the dimensions that constitute space. The spread of uniform virtual networks around the world elicit not only the domination of representations over the spatial practices,but also difficulties in distinguishing particular representations (e.g. the similarity of slogans created for marketing of particular places[7]). Increasing mobility, both of individuals and of media, has made the localities more mobile (e.g. virtual spaces of Internet). Interactions happening from a distance have lead to communications that are inherently short-term. Consequent to these changes is that space is no longer a static definition, but is a negotiable, mediated structure and an interplay between imaginary, symbolic and material dimensions (see e.g. Morley, 1996 [1995]; Falkheimer and Jansson, 2006) For these reasons, although historical materialism has provided a good conceptual framework in the context of my thesis, this approach is not always suited to enlighten either the complexities of everyday life, or the cultural transformations of society.

Structuration theory by Anthony Giddens, phenomenology by Alfred Schütz, and conflict-oriented approach by Georg Simmel complement the approaches of cultural geographers' explained above. The main contribution of Georg Simmel is the formulation of five spatial qualities essential for understanding the realities of social life. According to him, any particular spatial form is unique (e.g. exclusivity of nation states), has its inner rules for functioning (e.g. legislation in a country), has a certain fixation degree of interactions (e.g. mobility of individuals nowadays), various distances among individuals (e.g. absence of individuals in virtual communication), that all are expressed in the special relations between individuals and space (e.g. travelling culture) (Simmel, 1998)[8]. One of the essential ideas of Simmel is, that particular spatial forms are always in conflict due to differences in the underlying qualities. For example, as a result of using ICTs, individuals' commitments to a particular locality is decreasing, however, the symbolic qualities of space (e.g. small national languages) still often remain related to these localities. Such new forms of space have been named differently. Whereas Appadurai's notion of mediascape (Appadurai, 2003 [1996]) suggests concentrating on imagined worlds created by electronic media channels when analysing global cultural flows[9], Couldry and McCarthy (2004) emphasize the materiality of media objects and physicality of electronical communication.

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[7] In my thesis the term *place* and *locale* are used as synomymous, referring to geographical qualities of space, rather than to interactions within and between spaces (i.e. term space).

[8] Although Simmel has similarly to cultural geographers distinguished objective and subjective spatial forms, these are bound up through these five spatial qualities.

[9] Other types of spaces used by Appadurai – *ethnoscape, mediascape, technoscape, financescape, ideoscape* – were complemented by Terhi Rantanen's notion of *languagescape* (2004 [1996]).

Phenomenological theory offers a concept of a lifeworld, which is one of the current alternatives to conceptualise the complex meaning of space. According to Jürgen Habermas, lifeworld is a relationship to the social system consisting of the actual experiences and results of previous experiences together with expectations about future experiences (1989). Unlike the system-oriented approach of Habermas, Alfred Schütz has emphasized individual centeredness. According to Schütz, the ordinary lifeworld [*Lebenswelt,* in German] is a reality region wherein a person could be engaged and which person could change, and which one affects by the medium of their body (Schütz and Luckmann, 2003: 29 [1975])[10]. Other authors have suggested the idea of multiplicity of lifeworlds as one of the consequences of globalisation on the individual level (see e.g. Bauman, 1997 [1995]; Keupp *et al,* 2002). This plurally constructed world may be an extremely liberating experience for individuals. However, several authors have argued that networking and globalisation may also cause anguish and fear (see e.g. Beck, 1992; Castells, 1998 [1996]; Hlavin-Schulze, 1998).

In the context of my thesis, one of the main contributions of Schütz is the idea, that a particular lifeworld is characterizable by a certain structure, i.e. every individual has a position in space that determines the distances between objects in the existing field. The relative coherent structure of a lifeworld includes both the immediate activities within the grasp of individuals ("primary zones of relevance") but also outwards of it ("secondary zones of relevance") [*Zone der primären und sekundären Relevanz,* in German]. Similarly to Schütz and Simmel, the structural qualities of space are described by Anthony Giddens (1989 [1986]) in his structuration theory. The main contribution of Giddens is the idea that the activities of "agents" at the micro level should be combined with the "systems" of the macro level that are related to each other through certain "structures" or structurised practices (e.g. different rules and resources). However, according to some authors (see e.g. Archer, 1982) Giddens' theory does not consider the simultaneous effects of individual actors and the broader context created by country politics. William Sewell has tried to overcome these shortcomings, suggesting to focus equally on the structural patterns at the individual level as well as on the macro level structures of system that organizes our activity (Sewell, 1992). Also in my empirical analysis I have combined interactions at several levels (e.g. individual and institutional).

In summation, I do not argue for a total dissolution of the objective-subjective distinction of space, but insist that we recognize the multiplicity of the objective qualities which social space can express. Social space, therefore, constitutes many spatial practices that may carry several meanings at the same time and place, and for different individuals. In these ways social space is not

[10] The original text: "Die allta¨gliche Lebenswelt ist die Wirklichkeitsregion, in die der Mensch eingreifen und die er vera¨ndern kann, indem er in ihr durch die Vermittlung seines Leibes wirkt".

only a context for communication, or the expression of it, but could be conceptualised as a way of communication. Thus far spatial qualities were described, next the ways social space is constituted will be explained, which is essential for understanding social space.

1.2. Constitution of social space

Although there are some differences in the focus, all approaches used in my thesis – phenomenology, structuration approach, historical materialism – have contributed to understanding the constitutive processes of social space.

Marxist geography explicitly concentrates on the processes of spatial production (see e.g. Harvey, 2006a [1990]; Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]; Soja, 1995 [1989]). The best known and most cited author, of this group, is Henri Lefebvre. In his work "*Production of space*" (1991 [1974), Lefebvre suggests the use of concepts that have certain abstract universality, like the term "production" borrowed from Marx. Although the notion of production in Lefebvre's works has been interpreted as the economic production of objects (Elden, 2004), Lefebvre emphasizes that it is important to move from *products* (material artefacts) to *production* as a certain mental process (creation of meanings, knowledges or institutions). According to Lefebvre, in order to understand spatial production, there is need to concentrate on aspects of production like relations of production (representations of space), social formations characteristic to particular spatial settings (spatial practice), and complex symbolisms of social life (representational spaces), more particularly described in the previous sub-section.

Lefebvre's ideas are developed further by Edward Soja and David Harvey, similarly originating from the marxist tradition. Unlike Lefebvre, they have more clearly connected production of space with macro-level processes in society. For example, David Harvey has argued, that the disappearance of spatial restrictions is necessary for surviving capitalism in a crisis, since solving problems related to capital accummulation (Harvey, 2006a [1990]). Edward Soja argues that space does not function as a distinct structure with its' own laws of (re)production, but represents social relationships as a certain component of relations of production (Soja, 1995 [1989]). The ideas of both are developed further by Manuel Castells for whom space is a society, and not the reflection of it (Castells, 1998 [1996]). However, according to Edward Soja, the relationship is not so simplistic, since spatialiy is both the results and mean of soceity, or both the result of social relations and the structure. Hence, in the context of my thesis, the advantage of marxist geography in analysing social space in transition society is the clear definition of the process of production and its components. Nevertheless, there exist arguments using relatively abstract components of social space (e.g. Lefebvre), that have questionable marxist connections, which do

not explain according to some critiques (see e.g. Elden, 2004) how particular social spaces (e.g. in Estonia or in Sweden) are produced.

Sociological phenomenology has, in the context of constitution of social space, been more precise (Schütz and Luckmann, 2003 [1975]; Habermas, 1989)[11]. Unlike marxist geogpraphers, Alfred Schütz focuses on the individual level. Social spaces or lifeworlds are according to him created by individuals, who consciously use their stocks of knowledge [*Wissensvorrat,* in German] and by means of this form the bases for orienting in the world. Although Schütz has also mentioned the target-orientedness of the individual acting within and outside of lifeworld[12], the rational aims of individuals are emphasized by Jürgen Habermas (1989). The lifeworld is always created intersubjectively, according to Schütz, i.e. it is created not only by means of an individual's own experiences, but also on the basis of stocks of knowledges taken over from other individuals, or shared ibetween them. Hence, the lifeworld is changeable through the activity of the individual, and this activity in turn could again change the behaviour. Still, the role of individuals in this context is not exclusive; the lifeworld has also certain constant or unchangable structures. In these ways, both stocks of knowledge and lifeworld maintain their basic validity. Schütz argues that one of the factors that assures the validity is that individuals have the ability to restore the experiences that have turned out to be successful in one actual world, in subsequent analogous situations.

The ability of individuals to use the stocks of knowledge in different ways ensures also the diversity of the lifeworlds of different individuals. The aim of communicative action within a particular space is attaining a certain practical consensus (Schröer, 1999). Due to differences in individual lifeworlds and pragmatic motives, the understanding may turn out to be impossible. For example, the diversity of partners of communication, their different individual theories of the world and their asymmetrically structured communicative roles may become clearly perceivable in connection with globalisation (see e.g. Soeffner and Luckmann, 1999). The authors who have further developed the theory of Schütz (see e.g. Knoblauch, 1996) have shown that in order to being able to communicate, individuals coming from different lifeworlds are forced to a higher degree of mobility and often have to rephrase their background knowledges. By contrast, according to the conflict-oriented approach of Georg Simmel (Simmel, 1998), the solutions to such conflicts are mostly system-centered, i.e. there is

[11] The sociological phenomenology is mostly an expansion of philosophical phenomenology of Husserl. In my thesis the sociological approach is prefered due to emphasis on the intersubjective nature of lifeworld (for comparison see e.g. Weltz, 1996).

[12] However, Schütz has made distinction between *lifeworld* and *world of everyday life* [*Alltagswelt,* in German], the last is pragmatic expression of the lifeworld in the reality (see e.g. Honer, 1999).

need to ensure the uniformity of objective culture (e.g. English language functioning as *lingua franca*, policies regulating mobility etc.).

In summation, similar to historical materialism, the phenomenological approach has formulated the result of spatial production as communicative process, the emergence of new meanings. In the context of my thesis, the advantage of Schütz is the emphasis on the temporal axis, i.e. the lifeworld consists of not only actual experiences and previous experiences, but also expectations about possible experiences occuring in the future. One of the weaknesses of this approach is the redundant detachment of the individual from society. Although Schütz agrees with the situativity of the lifeworld (i.e. in the case of similar life conditions, the lifeworlds of inviduals should be similar (see also Weltz, 1996), he relates the subjective stocks of knowledges with social stocks of knowledges only in the form of explicit knowledges (e.g. rules and trust).

Anthony Giddens has tried to overcome the shortcomings of different theories in his structuration approach. Similar to phenomenology, but also the theory of culture by Simmel, Giddens (1989 [1986]) concentrates on the psychological qualities of agents[13] and on analysing situations of interaction. Although Schütz emphasises the activity and rationality of individuals in composing the stocks of knowledges, he holds also possible the situation in which individuals operate unconsciously, in the instance that the knowledges will not be actualised for some reasons. Giddens does not regard such a situation as probable. According to him, the individuals are not only mobile bodies, but also intentional beings, with certain individual "projects", aiming to overcome temporal and spatial constraints (Giddens, 1989: 112 [1986]). However, similar to Schütz, Giddens sees the space not only as an opportunity for interactions, but also as its constraint. The ways of constitution of particular spaces depends on the constraints or *presence availability* (i.e. accessibility of localities), that is increasing in relation to distinguishing mobility from human body due to developments in ICT (compare Schütz' secondary zones of relevance).

Although the theory of Giddens has also fallen upon critique due to overly rigid causal determinism in social life (see e.g. Sewell, 1992), his concept of *constitution* is more various and content-rich. His term refers to manner of structure and functioning of space, unlike the term *production* including simplified and dialectical relations and causality, as used by historical materialists. For this reason, I prefer to use the term *constitution* also when analysing transition processes in Estonia. Another significant advantage of Giddens' theory is distinguishing different analytical levels essential when describing the constitutional processes of social space, i.e. institutional and individual levels.

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[13] The terms *agent* and *actor* are often distinguished, the former characterized by free will (for overview see e.g. Ahearn, 2001). Present paper prefers term agent since the focus is not so much on action, but on the individuals in different societies.

Although, according to Giddens time is main factor creating everyday action, his approach is often critisiced since it does not show how social re(production) becomes social change. Piotr Stzompka has been researching social change in more detail (1994 [1993]), defining it as differences in conditions of the same system at different moments in time. Similarly, according to Henri Lefebvre, changes in space always touch the core of social reality, including both quantitative (e.g. state border) but also qualitative changes (e.g. imagined distances). For these reasons, Lefebvre has called such spatial changes as transition (1991 [1974])[14], i.e. a process in which the reproduction of former spatial structures does not happen, but the production of specific new space or spatial innovations does occur (Ibid.).

Most of the authors agree that the main source of social change is the individual (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]; Harvey, 2002 [2000]; but also Sztompka, 1994 [1993]). For example, according to David Harvey (Harvey, 2002 [2000]), social change begins and ends with the individual. The individuals are endowed with certain powers and skills that can be used to change the world. The emotions, desires, concerns, and fears all have consequences in material, mental, and social life. However, there is much more at stake than individualised personal growth, or manifestations of personal commitments. In order to make changes, individuals need to learn not only how to bridge the micro-scale of the body and the personal and the macro-scale of global political economy, but also the meso-scale of national planning.

In summation, the constitution of social space is an intersubjective process that leads to the creation of certain meanings, knowledges, or institutions, that should support the communicative comprehensibility of individuals. However, the approaches, as described above, do not give an unambiguous explanationas to how the particular social spaces are constituted and how the constitution ocurrs over the transition of space. The following sub-section describes one possible framework for analysing personal social space.

1.3. Personal social space

In previous sub-sections of this introductory article I gave an overview about conceptual approaches of social space. I concluded with the importance of processes on the individual level when explaining social changes. Next I aim to develop a conceptual model of personal social space[15]. Previous studies have

[14] Lefebvre used the concepts *transition* and *transformation* as synonyms.

[15] The concept of personal spatiality was preferred in the initial phases of my work (Study **II**). However, in Estonian the term [*ruumilisus*] connotates with a psychological feature (i.e. how close one physically allows a particular partner of communication, used in psychology) or with physical features of artificial surrounging (e.g. architecture,

proposed conceptions for analysing empirically personal social space. For example, Veiko Sepp has offered a typology of intersubjective space (Sepp, 1999), in which the mediums that carry space (e.g. physical artefacts, senses, genes) and spatial centres (the *I* or *we*) are precisely specified. For a conceptual model to be empirically applicable I regard it essential to define precisely the communicative practices constituting space. Subsequently I will suggest one possible framework for conceptualising personal social space and for analysing it empirically.

In this article I suggest conceptualising personal social space as a process in which a spatially and temporally situated active individual uses the material and symbolic resources, based on their relation to the world, for the constitution of a meaningfully structured world. I formulate this conception using the approach of David Harvey as a basis. Harvey, in *The Condition of Postmodernity* (2006 [1990]), has distinguished three aspects of spatial practices[16]: *accessibility and distanciation* of, the *appropriation and use* of, and the *domination and control* of space. My aim is to put these spatial aspects of David Harvey into a broader theoretical context, i.e. combining Harvey's spatial aspects with essential keywords raised in the previous sub-sections (i.e. 1.1. and 1.2.). I also wish to explain more accurately, on the base of empirical studies, the relationships between these spatial dimensions. The ways in which I understand the connections between the various concepts are depicted in the Figure 1.

The first dimension of personal social space presented in Figure 1, "*accessibility and distanciation"* is the measure of the degree to which individual interactions have to accommodate with spatial constraints and opportunities. According to Harvey, this dimension includes material practices like individual mobility, as well as conceptual qualities like psychological measures of distance. In the context of my paper, this aspect is of decisive importance to the schema; it determines an individual's inter-subjective relationship to the world. The second aspect, the "*appropriation and use"* of space, examines the ways in which space is occupied by individuals. Systematized appropriation may entail the production of territorially bounded forms of social solidarity. It indicates a meaningfully structured world, in the form of material practices like social networks of communication or, in the form of conceivable mental maps. The third aspect, "*domination and control"* of space, reflects how individuals manage organisation and production of space. Individuals strive to achieve some control over the distances or over the manner in which space is appropriated. In the

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used in the art or theatre disciplines). For these reasons, the term personal social space is preferred as being more accurate (see also Kurg, 2006).

[16] The fourth aspect – the production of space – was also distinguished, but has already been explained in section 1.2. in this introductory article.

context of my thesis, control is attained through both material and symbolic resources[17].

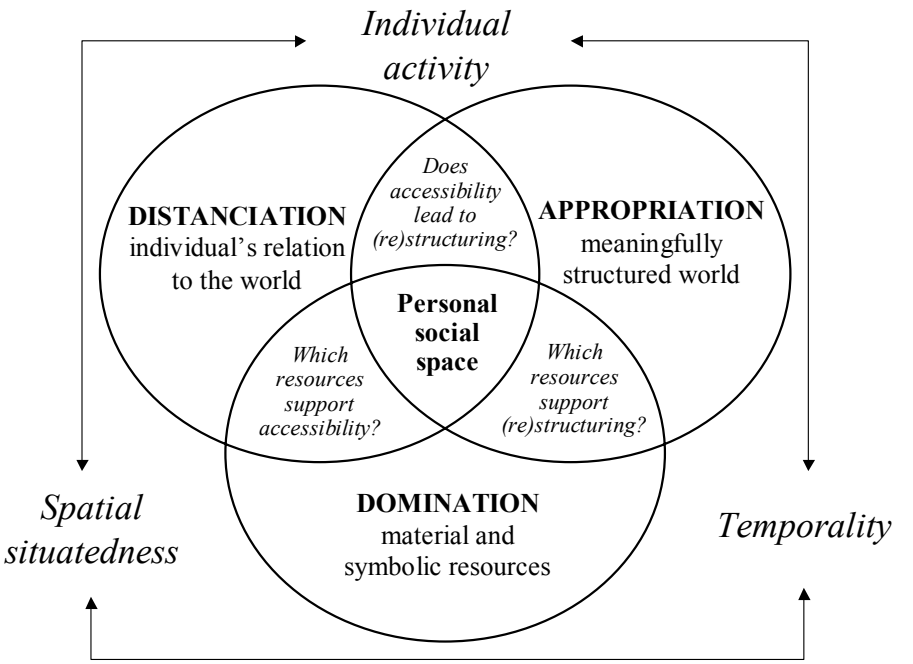

Figure 1. Constitutional features of personal social space

The contribution of my thesis is to load this theoretical model with empirically analysable content. The first aspect of spatial practices, "*accessibility and distanciation"* of space, is in my thesis operationalised by means of readiness for cultural contacts within and over territories, geo-cultural mobility, and interest in media news about different countries. These indicators express individuals' activity in crossing spatial barriers and developing interactions over territories. An "open" personal social space – the skills of operating in different lifeworlds – can be seen as an important resource today, due to the emergence of new communication patterns (e.g. inter and trans-cultural) no longer restricted by a particular territory (see Welsch, 1999). Closed political systems such as the Soviet Union, could impede the reproduction of this resource. Since the rapid socio-cultural transitions of

[17] Henri Lefebvre (1991) has used similar dimensions formerly. Lefebvre argues that the domination of space refers to control over technological means by political power, the appropriation as opposite is a concrete spatial structure created by individual or groups of individuals. In my thesis, the more emancipatory approach by David Harvey is preferred, where individuals have more access to means of domination and control.

the early 1990s could have caused a decline in the well being of individuals in Central and Eastern Europe (Goodwin *et al*, 2001), the geo-cultural mobility (virtual or real) could be one of the ways for ensuring access to higher levels of social status, income (see e.g. Verwiebe, 2004), or to the feeling of being "returned to the west" as stated in earlier studies (see e.g. Lauristin, 2004). Empirical studies have shown that cross-border mobility could be a significant resource especially for inhabitants in former Eastern block countries (for comparison see Jamieson and Grundy, 2002; Macháček and Lášticová, 2002).

The second aspect, "*appropriation and use"* of space, means in the context of my thesis, analysing the structure of spatial dimensions felt as close/distant, finding particular countries used as starting points for individual orientation in the space, geo-cultural identities, and the structure of interest in news from different countries. Here the main emphasis is on structural analysis in contrast to the instance of "*accessibility and distanciation"* in which the general tendencies in the form of quantitative frequencies are analysed. Different authors have referred to these phenomena as expressions of spatial changes in the (re)structuring of geo-cultural identities. According to Natter and Jones (1997), since identity is a result of categorisation rather than its raw material, every identity has its own space, both geographically and historically. For example, the empirical analysis of David Morley (1996 [1995]) has shown that due to geo-political transformations in Europe, new conditions of mobility make local attachments not a matter of ascribed and determined identity but increasingly a question of choice, decision and variability. In the context of my study, the greater accessibility of particular cultures or countries should not always lead to (re)structuring of solidarities; i.e. the rapid geo-cultural opening up of society consistitutes the danger that the individual could lose their reflexive self-awareness in communication. For example, empirical analysis in post-communist countries has shown the unresolved question of national identity (see e.g. Rorlich 2003; Korostelina, 2007), or feeling of nostalgia (Kennedy, 2002; Vogt, 2005 [2004]) as defences against dissolution of spatial barriers and reflection of a need for spiritual encouragement.

The third aspect, "*domination and control"* of space, entails in the context of my thesis, analysing the resources that could facilitate the geo-cultural opening up process. Although several resources are comparatively analysed (economic capital, social relationships etc.) the main focus of my empirical studies is on foreign languages. The role of language in the construction of social reality has been widely analysed by many authors (see e.g. Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]; Fairclough, 1995). In my thesis, the approach of Henri Lefebvre is preferred, since language is seen as one of the most important means of production of social space, i.e. it is both one of the means of living in a specific space and for understanding it. According to different authors, knowledge of foreign languages can, not only command the spatial friction (Harvey, 2006a [1990]), but also facilitate individuals' integration into society (Bourdieu, 1997 [1991]).

Empirical analysis conducted in Estonia, has shown that foreign languages are an important source. This is because they have a positive impact on the economic capital (high level of enterprise activity), social and political capital (high trust in social institutions), and also on cultural capital (ethno-cultural identity) (Masso and Vihalemm, 2005). In my thesis I have raised the question that if foreign languages are only a means for reducing distance and creating identity, they could prove to be a meaningful space in their own right.

The conceptual framework presented in Figure 1, enables the answers to three thematic questions related to the constitution of social space: the role of individual activity, the temporal persistence or changeability of social space, and the situatedness as a source for mutual comprehensibility for individuals. These three keywords are essential to my thesis and are derived from theoretical comparisons presented in the last sub-sections, and are included in Figure 1. The spatio-temporal situatedness of an individual is important in two ways. First, differently situated agents develop distinct spatial and temporal perspectives of the same world. This allows for situated knowledge, while raising the question of how different spatio-temporalities can be brought into conversation with one another. Second is the idea of "possible worlds": the possibility of imaging very different worlds from the one we inhabit (e.g. communist or democratic) (see e.g. Castree and Gregory, 2006). According to David Harvey different spatio-temporalities are due to uneven geographical development, i.e. the geographical differences that are outcomes of political-economic and socio-ecological processes that create for individuals different starting points in their interpretations about the world. However, some researchers support the view that the harmonisation of spatial relationships takes place in the form of cultural convergence. In the context of the widening of the EU, both patterns have been regarded as probable where individuals in a "new" EU country adopt the behavioural patterns of individuals in a central EU country (see e.g. Hedegaard and Lindström, 2003), but there is also backward development (Radaelli, 2003). Thus, the spatial and temporal starting point of an individual is essential yet changeable.

My thesis analyses the personal social space in transition societies, using Estonia as an empirical example. Previous studies have mainly concentrated on economic, political, and social changes in post-communist societies. The transition processes have been mostly conceptualised as a double process of democratisation (see e.g. Krupavicius, 1998) and marketisation (see e.g. Smith, 2002; Tichit, 2006). "Double transition" models from Latin American and Southern European scholars have been criticized, as they ignore the national and stateness question (Kuzio, 2001). There are only a few studies analysing cultural transformations in East-Central Europe since 1989. According to Piotr Sztompka the complete transition to democratic polity and market economy can be effected only if appropriate cultural "habits of the heart" emerge and become fully established (see e.g. Sztompka, 2002).

My thesis strives to contribute to these discussions in assuming that personal social space could be one of the indicators for analysing cultural transition. Some studies have dealt with spatial issues in East-Central Europe, like post-communist migration patterns (Radu, 1995), the role of internationalisation (Zaborowski, 2002/2003), or the reinvention of Europe (Moisio, 2002). The Estonian example is unique, because economic, political, and cultural changes have been happening in parallel and during a relatively short time period. Several empirical studies have emphasized that the transition success of post-communist Estonia is due to the post-independence reform program, reorientation of trade in goods with European Union, etc. (Panagiotou, 2001). On the other hand, the promotion of Estonia as an open country has been regarded as one of the keys for the Estonian transition success (see e.g. Feldman, 2001), a promotion which may have its roots in the Soviet past. For example, access to Western media channels during the Soviet period enabled the acquisition of ideas about democratic cultures and the Western way of life. Estonia's geographical position, bordered by water and the physical proximity to Finland and Sweden, made the country a borderland of the Soviet Union. The cultural closeness to Finland, as well as the historical memory of having positive contacts with Sweden, could have also supported the process of transition. Previous empirical surveys have shown (see e.g. Zaborowski, 2002/2003), that a country's size could also play an important role in managing the transition processes; i.e. small countries could have some advantages in conducting political reforms, but also small nations are fated to be multilingual etc.

In summary, for understanding personal social space three aspects are essential: *how* the space is constituted (medium of interaction), *where* the concrete space is situated (the partners of interaction), and *what* is the general structure of constituted space (meaningful result of interaction). Due to rapid and parallel socio-economic changes, Estonia serves as a good example for empirically studying both the constitution, and the changing, of personal social space. The particular study questions are presented next.

1.4. Study questions

Based on this conceptual model, the main goal of my dissertation is the following: **to trace the socio-cultural transition in post-Soviet Estonia through the prism of personal social space.** Estonia serves as a perfect example of the kind of societythat has undergone radical social and cultural changes. I assume that, as a consequence, personal social space of the inhabitants has also been transformed significantly. This large-scale goal can be divided into three questions and more concrete themes:

I What characterises the distanciation and accessibility of personal social space in a recently opened up transition society, compared to a stable, geo-culturally open society?

- What are the specifics in the interest of media news and perceived closeness of cultures among inhabitants of Estonia and Sweden? What characterizes the personal contacts (friendship and economic) with other countries (Study **I**)?
- What characterizes the readiness to accept immigrants among inhabitants of transition societies, compared to other European countries (**IV**)?

II How are spatial changes expressed in the appropriation of personal social space in a recently opened up transition society compared to a stable, geo-culturally open society?

- How are the different countries structured in relation to each other according to the interest in media news, cultural closeness and contacts? What are the main dimensions which structure the personal social space in countries (Study **II, V**)?
- How are the possibilities of geo-political self-identities structured (measured via self-categorisation in relation with global, local, political and cultural identification categories) (Study **IV**)?

III Which material and symbolic resources shape the domination of space, in this context over the spatial opening up of society and the (re)structuring of geo-cultural solidarities?

- How differentiated are the perceptions and practices constituting the personal social space, in the social groups? What impact do institutions – i.e. state politics and mass media – have on the formation of spatial perceptions and practices (i.e. attitude towards immigration) (Study **II, IV**)?
- How are foreign languages, as one of the personal resources, related to the formation of spatial perceptions and practices (Study **V, VI**)?

These three different study questions are in accordance with the aspects of personal social space, explained previously in sub-section 1.3; *accessibility and distanciation*, *appropriation and use*, and *domination and control* of space. These three dimensions are analysed separately in the next sub-sections after an overview about the methodological issues of studying personal social space and the particular methods used in the empirical analysis.

2. Methodological issues

2.1. Methodological insights into research of social space

One of the aims of my thesis is to find methodological means for studying a complex phenomenon like social space. Previous quantitative researches have suggested using the gravity approach for analysing spatial issues in transition countries (see e.g. Paas, 2002). According to this approach, different spatial phenomena (e.g. trading between EU countries) are directly related to the "force of gravity" (e.g. number of inhabitants, gross domestic product in a particular country) and inversely related to the "repulsive force" (e.g. distance between countries). In media and communication studies, similar causal models have seldom been used. For example, Karl Eric Rosengren (1981) who has analysed the relationships between mass media and social change, suggests that instead of analysing causal relationships with clear chronological order the complex interpretative analysis of different cultural indicators including social structure, values mediated by mass media, value system of individuals and of communicators should be used.

Analyses made in the frame of my thesis have shown that spatial processes, such as mobility, are cultural processes, forms of learning and sharing, rather than demographic or economic phenomena reducable to forces of gravity. Also other empirical studies have shown that transcultural mobility in Europe is mostly characteristic of particular vocational groups (i.e. individuals engaged in science, art, or private sphere) and are therefore often due to cultural rather than economic motives (Verwiebe, 2004). These cultural phenomena are often researchable using indicators measurable on categorical rather than quantitative scales of measurement. For all of these reasons, the aim of my thesis is to look for techniques of data analysis appropriate for analysing personal social space.

My thesis uses comparison techniques for analysing the characteristics of personal social space in transition countries. According to several theoretical approaches (see e.g. Luhmann, 1986) only a secondary examination, in which one particular societal system is observed by the medium of another system, enables the peculiarities of the initial society to be seen. Including data, in the analysis, that originates from different countries enables a combination of both micro and macro-level analysis, suggested by Anthony Giddens (1989) when analysing complex phenomenona like social space. In this thesis both individual and country-level characteristics of personal social space are analysed.

Subsequently, the overview about concrete data sources and methods used in the studies, is given.

2.2. Methods and data

In order to answer the study questions previously raised, the methodological base of my dissertation is varied, I use different quantitative (Studies **I-V**) and qualitative methods (Study **VI**) for analysing personal social space.

First, Estonian empirical data are used, based on the representative survey "Me, the Media and the World", that the Institute of Journalism and Communication of the University of Tartu in co-operation with the research company Faktum carried out during December 2002 and January 2003. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with 1470 respondents according to a territorially representative population model of Estonia (see Studies **I, II,** and **III**). The survey was repeated in December 2005 when 1475 respondents were interviewed. Simultaneously with the survey in Tartu, a comparable questionnaire was prepared and conducted in Sweden from December 2002 to March 2003. Media researchers of Södertörn University College, in Huddinge, a suburb of Stockholm carried out the survey "Changing Mediascape". A postal questionnaire was conducted in the South-Stockholm district with 1271 respondents (see Studies **I** and **II**). The comparability of the Estonian and Swedish datasets was assured by using the most reliable data collection method in the relevant culture (a mail survey in Sweden, interviews in Estonia), and using certain data handling techniques (e.g. data weighting) for reducing the sampling error.

My thesis uses variables that examine the perceived closeness-distances with different cultures, personal and economic contacts with different countries, interest in following media news about events happening in different countries, acceptance of identifying categories today and retrospectively 15 years ago, and the knowledge and usage of foreign languages. Depending on the focus of a particular article, the analysis incorporates either the whole Estonian and Swedish sample (Study **I**), or concentrates on only one segment of the sample: the Estonian Russian-speaking population (Study **III**) or ethnic majorities in Estonia and Sweden (Study **II**).

Another data source for comparative analysis, used in my thesis, is the European Social Survey (ESS) conducted in 2004–2005 (see Study **IV**). Data covering 23 EU countries were used (the EU25 countries excluding Cyprus, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania and Malta but including three non-member states Iceland, Norway and Switzerland), the total sample including 45 681 individuals. The survey involved strict random probability sampling with a minimum target response rate of 70 per cent and rigorous translation protocols. The survey method was an hour-long face-to-face interview. In my article the survey's questions about general attitudes to immigration, and about individual readiness to accept immigration were used. The micro-level socio-demographic variables of survey data were combined with macro level index-variables calculated on the base of data that originated from the Statistical Office of the European Communities (Eurostat, 2006).

For analysing personal social space the methods appropriate for analysing inherently qualitative data are used (e.g. multinomial logistic regression for analysing categorial data, factor, cluster and multidimensional scaling methods for describing and explaining the structure of personal space). Although some of the methods are wide-spread in previous social scientific studies in Estonia, my thesis introduces some alternative, less frequently used techniques of analysis (e.g. Bayesian modelling and multilevel modelling).

For analysing the general structure of personal social space the multidimensional scaling (MDS) method is used (Studies **II** and **III**). Similar to other structuring techniques this method attempts to find a small number of latent dimensions that could help in describing a large number of initial variables. Other structuring methods have shortcomings, including a tendency to converge the highest number of initial variables into one single group, taking into account only correlations between pairs of variables (in the case of factor analysis), or some difficulties in defining the content of the final structure on the basis of cluster centers with a small variation as presented in the form of initial scales of variables (in the case of cluster analysis). The MDS method attempts to overcome these shortcomings, calculating the structure on the basis of all inter-point distances, and allowing easier interpretations on the basis of graphic representation of the grouping of a large number of variables and the description of the hidden dimensions on the basis of which the groups are formed.

In order to analyse the characteristic of personal social space, multinomial regression (Study **I**), multilevel modelling (Study **IV**), and Bayesian modelling (Study **V**) methods are used. Although the multinomial regression has been widely used in social sciences in Estonia (see e.g. Parri and Aas, 2006), the method has found only moderate attention in the field of media and communication studies. An advantage of the method is that it enables analysing relationships between data that are inherently categorical. Two other methods, multilevel and Bayesian modelling, are innovative in Estonian social sciences' tradition. The multilevel modelling method enables the analysis of the patterns of personal social space by independent variables operating at different levels, from the micro level to the macro level. The Bayesian modelling methods – network and structural modelling (see e.g. Gill, 2002) – allow analysing relationships between multimodal variables, that cannot be always appropriately analysed with standard linear models. Quantitative data are analysed using standard programs like MS Excel and SPSS, as well as more specific software MLwiN (for multilevel modelling) and web-base data analysis tool B-Course (for Bayesian modelling) are applied.

In my thesis the quantitative analyses of data are supplemented with qualitative methods (Study **VI**). The qualitative data are based on in-depth interviews carried out in January 2007 with people aged 25 and older learning a foreign language at a language school. A total of 18 interviews were conducted: six with the Russian-speakers in Estonia, the rest with those speaking Estonian as

their mother tongue. According to the requirements of strategic sampling (see e.g. Trost, 2004 [1993]), a variety of opinions was ensured by differentiating the languages (e.g. the interviewees had learnt either Finnish, Swedish, German, Russian, English, French, Spanish, Italian, or Japanese as a second language). According to the method of semistructured interviewing (Ibid.) the order and wording of the questions were not pre-determined. Three main topics were included in the interviews – knowledge and learning motivations of foreign languages; experiences and contacts with different countries; and media consumption. The innovative aspect of my analysis is the usage of qualitative data analysis software Atlas.ti. This software enables fast coding of previously defined categories, extracting the coded text, and finding underlying connections in the text. Some authors (see e.g. Dey, 1998 [1993]) have even characterized the software as increasing the validity of the analysis, since the capability to review the initial data from the standpoint of conceptual categories makes searches for counter evidence etc. a great deal easier. However, the use of Atlas.ti is only a complement to traditional "manual" methods in my thesis..

The main results will be described next in three different sub-sections, divided according to three dimensions of personal social space – *distanciation*, *appropriation*, and *domination*.

3. Constitutional features of personal social space

The empirical findings are introduced through three dimensions of personal social space: *distanciation and accessibility*, *appropriation and use*, and *domination and control* of space. The sections are mostly presented according to the chronological order of the articles where these dimensions were examined. The general tendencies in personal social space, including spatial and temporal comparisons, are presented first. The structural patterns of personal social space are presented second. The resources that are supporting the constitution of personal social space are described last.

3.1. Accessibility and distanciation of space

The first dimension of personal social space that I analyse in my dissertation is *accessibility and distanciation*. In the context of my thesis this dimension means analysing the general tendencies in perception of different countries as near/far, interest in media news about different countries, and personal cultural contacts, and compares a transition society, Estonia, with a more stable society, Sweden (Study **I**). This dimension is also viewed through an analysis of the readiness to accept immigration, using data concerning 23 European countries with different economic, political, and cultural background (Study **IV**).

The results of Study **I** show that, from 1991–2003, all social space indicators analysed empirically – including interest in media news about different countries, cultural proximity, and personal contacts – have changed significantly in Estonia. The first analysed aspect, interest in events taking place abroad has increased foremost in the process of joining the European Union between 1994 and 2003. During this period the interest was increasing in transition countries (e.g. Poland), as well as in Western countries (e.g. Germany). Thus, the change in media space is not created by the opening of state borders in the beginning of 1990s, but rather by a change in collective self-positioning (i.e. becoming a candidate country), the process that is supported by the comparisons with as diverse references as possible. Other studies have labeled the post-communist spatial transition in Estonia from the East to the West as a sign of cultural "Europeanisation" (Vihalemm, 2007a). Compared with Estonian results, in Sweden the interest in foreign news was on average greater by one tenth. The explanation could be that in a stable country, which has gradually opened up to the world, people have gradually become accustomed to receiving foreign news.

Estonian inhabitants' activity in the second dimension, creating personal contacts, is comparable to that of the inhabitants of Sweden. Still, Estonians have during the past ten years visited the Eastern countries (Latvia, Czech Republic, and Poland) more frequently; an orientation that is mainly supported

by friendship and family ties and by the representation of these countries in the media. Only the importance of Russia has been decreasing, which derives from among other factors that many young people have not been there. In 2003, the number of contacts in Estonia was in some degree lower than in Sweden for Western European countries (England, France, and Germany) and significantly lower for geographically distant countries (e.g. Japan, Latin America, USA), mostly for economical reasons. According to some studies (Mowforth and Munt, 2002), the rapid growth of tourism could offer a means to escape the confines of a country's "underdevelopment". In the Estonian case, the accessibility of geographically close western countries could have hastened the economic transition process.

Whereas Study **I** concentrates on analysing cultural openness over territories, Study **IV** examines a similar topic within territories, i.e. general attitutes to immigration and individual readiness to accept immigration are analysed. The study shows that immigration is mostly accepted regarding the same race/ethnic group as host country's majority. Less openness was held for immigrants of other race/ethnic groups, and the least regarding immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe. In summation, the individual readiness to accept immigration as one of the aspects of the personal social space, is carried by the nation and welfare state concept that functionally tends to contrast different groups on the base of ethnic and economic background. According to the terminology used by van Dijk (2005 [1998]) the attempts to construct both ideological and cultural enemies are equally important and intertwined.

According to the degree of individual readiness to accept immigration, Study **IV** distinguishes three groups of countries. The first group displaying a higher than average readiness to accept immigration included those countries with either the classic liberal or the guest-worker exclusionary immigration policy (see Castles and Miller, 1998). In these countries, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Ireland, Switzerland, Denmark and Poland, the explanation could be the relative scarcity of previous negative/positive experiences (mostly smaller than average migration rates exists in these countries) may be a favourable prerequisite for any consequent successive contact. The second group displaying an average readiness to accept immigration includes Spain, Finland, Austria, Germany, Slovakia, UK and Belgium. In these countries the more cautious attitudes towards possible future contacts could be explained by experiences with different minority groups who need economic or political support (a mostly average than higher ratio of asylum applications occurs in these countries). The third group displaying a lower than average readiness to accept immigration consisted of Luxembourg, Slovenia, Greece, the Czech Republic, Estonia, the Netherlands, France, Hungary and Portugalwhere the total rate of immigration is average or lower. The analysis enables the argument, that belonging to former colony-owning Empire countries and the relevant immigration policies

described as post-colonial type (see Castles and Miller, 1998) may hinder the creation of coherence between cultures.

In summation, comparison of different societies enables a description of the general tendencies of personal social space in transition societies. Analysis shows that, in the course of transition process, there is significant growth both in material spatial practices like individual mobility and conceivable qualities like perceived cultural proximity and media interest. However, the individuals in transition societies tend to be to some degree more cautious regarding inter-cultural communication within national territory, compared to other types of societies. The analysis facilitates the argument that the "the friction of distances" (see Harvey, 2006a [1990]) is negotiable through the general transition process, nevertheless the closure of state borders for 50 years, still could affect inhabitants in transition societies on the national level.

3.2. Appropriation and use of space

The second dimension of personal social space is *appropriation and use of space*. In the context of my thesis, this dimension means analysing the general structural patterns in perception of different countries, finding particular countries as starting points for individual orientation in the space (Study **II,** concentrating on Estonians and Swedes), or analysing the structure of interest in news from different countries via mass media (Studies **V**, concentrating on Estonians). Furthermore, I examine the changes in self-identification patterns (Study **III**, concentrating on Estonian Russian-speaking population).

Study **I** analyses relationships between geo-cultural identities as one aspect of *appropriation* of space, with contacts, media interest and perception of different cultures, being in my thesis indicators of *distanciation* of space. Identities as one aspect of personal social space are operationalised by geo-culturally identifying categories. My analysis shows that, in Estonia, greater cultural openness results simultaneously in global identification (being European) and identification with ethnic Estonians. Such results conform with earlier studies (Jamieson 2002, Masso 2002) emphasizing the primariness of local identities in formation of pan-regional affiliation. In Estonia, personal social space has a relatively modest role in the formation of social solidarity (i.e. identification with fellow citizens). Whereas in Sweden the dominant factor was identification with humanity, which refers to post-modern identification based on common ideas and beliefs. Weak relations in identification with fellow citizens and people living in Sweden, shows little impact of personal social space on the established social solidarity and the functioning of civil society. In summation, the perceived accessibility of space is essential in the (re)construction of geo-cultural solidarities but could, nevertheless, follow different patterns in different societies.

Study **II** examines in more detail the structure of spatial perceptions and contacts of citizens in two societies with different economic, cultural, and social backgrounds, Estonian and Swedish. The relationships between different countries regarding contacts, perceived cultural closeness and media interest are analysed. On the basis of this analysis, dimensions of East (Estonia, Poland, Czech etc.) and West (Sweden, Germany, USA etc.) are clearly distinguishable concerning cultural contacts and general perceptions of inhabitants of Estonia and Sweden. Thus, symbolic geography based on remembrance of the division of the world into east and west rather than physical boundaries are still a basis for defining the world by individuals. However, the Swedes tend to perceive Estonia in a similar way like other eastern countries and the geographically distant countries (Asia, Latin-America, and Middle-eastern countries), that refer to asymmetrical spatial relations. Also the Nordic dimension has divisive connotations for Estonians and Swedes. For Estonians the Nordic countries (Finland, Sweden) prove to be a clearly cultural factor, a result that supported earlier studies (Masso, 1999; 2003). For Swedes, countries of cultural hegemonies (e.g. USA, England) are perceived to be closer than Finland where they have more economic contacts. One of the previous studies (see e.g. Åker, 2005) has explained such preferences with global media and its dominating Anglo-American content that contribute to the popularity of these countries in Sweden.

In Study **II** particular reference-countries emerge based on the relationships between perceived cultural closeness and personal contacts, which are significant for individuals when orienting in the space. For Estonians, three countries differentiate from the general structure – Russia, Finland, and Latvia. Russia's differentiation regarding personal contact is an expression of thepre-independence period contacts. Russia is, however, perceived as culturally close because several EU neighbour countries indicate a potential to perceive Russia as a geographical neighbor. Contacts with Latvia could be due to the common historical memory about the (pre)soviet time and a similar social-economic starting point after the restoration of independence whereas the contacts with Finland could be explained by geographical closeness, cultural and linguistic comprehensibility. The emergence of particular reference countries refer to the importance of mental geographies when it comes to mobility which results conform to some earlier studies (see e.g. Åker, 2005). Swedes, also, perceive Finland differently from other countries; a perception due possibly to the everyday contacts with minority groups in Sweden, as well as common membership of the Nordic Council of Ministers.

Whereas Study **II** analyses the structural patterns of contacts and cultural perceptions of Estonians and Swedes, Study **V** concentrates more paricularly on the structure of interest in receiving news from other countries, as perceived by Estonians. Analysis differentiates five self-positioning strategies in the space of media news: "Baltic", "Scandinavian", "hegemonic", "post-socialist", and "marginal". Social groups with the least differentiated awareness and hence the most

"democratic" representations were interested in "Scandinavian" news (about Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway) and "Baltic" news (about Latvia and Lithuania). In Estonia, the interest in events happening in the Baltic countries is related with "marginal" (interest media news in Asia, Holland, Belgium etc.) and "post-soviet strategies" (interest in media news about Poland, Slovakia etc.), and hence has rather moderate position in the mental structures. Other studies (Vihalemm and Masso, 2007) have shown that media representations about common Baltic space are to a certain extent accepted in Latvia. On the other hand, Study **II** revealed a relatively clear division of media space into East and West in Estonia, a result that is similar to Latvia (Ibid.). However, news in Sweden was not divided geographically. Patrik Åker has explained similar results as media news becoming more global, without any geographical preferences (Åker 2005).

While the studies discussed above analysed the ethnic majority population groups, Study **III** focuses on geo-cultural solidarities among the Estonian Russian-speaking population. The comparative analysis of identification categories is made between those of the present and those prior to the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The results show that during the Soviet time the prevailing bases for identification were Soviet person or inhabitant of the Soviet Estonian Republic. According to media analysis (Jakobson, 2002) the main markers of soviet identity were politics and ideology, that prescribed certain rules and qualities for citizens. The territorially expansive categories – "northerner", "European" and "world citizen" – were infrequently chosen as bases of identification during the Soviet time.

Although the identification as inhabitants of Estonia, or as Baltic inhabitants also existed during Soviet times, these local territorial identity categories are still prevalent. Also earlier studies have indicated that the Baltic identity, based on shared pasts, common social problems, and places of residence, is attractive to Estonian Russian-speakers, dissimilar to ethinic Estonians (Masso, 1999). There is an important proportion of Russian-speakers who now feel they are citizens of the Estonian Republic. Also, Kolstø (1995) admits that, members of the Russian-speaking population in Estonia seem to identify more with their country of residence than do members of any other Russian diasporic group living in former Soviet republics. The high response rates for the identification categories Russian and Russian language speaker, confirms the thesis about rise of ethnic solidarities found in previous studies (Danilova and Yadov, 1997). Recent studies have shown (Vihalemm and Masso, 2006) that ethnic affiliation is an increasing basis for self-identification both for Russian-speakers and for ethnic Estonians.

On the bases of changes in acceptance of identification categories, the next identifying strategies emerge in Study **III**: "supra-national, global", "post-Soviet", "local-territorial", and "ethno-linguistic". The "post-Soviet" pattern (Soviet person, inhabitant of the former Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic) still exists in the minds of Estonian Russian-speakers. However, relationships with the category of Estonian citizen reveal that "post-Soviet" self-identification

indicates ideological and political protest rather than lifestyle-related nostalgia. The "global" identification pattern (European, World citizen and Northerner), although moderately accepted, does exist for Estonians in the mental structures. The emergence of the third pattern, "local identification" (inhabitant of Estonia or the Baltic), shows that territory has maintained its place in today's self-identification patterns of Russian-speaking Estonians. This identification pattern is strongly correlated with the "ethno-linguistic patterns of identification". Other studies have shown (Vihalemm and Masso, 2007) that an ethno-linguistic dimension is similarly inherent in Latvia, but did not emerge in the case of the Czech Republic. Isolation of the category "Estonian citizen" from the general structure enables the argument that the new state identification lacks a deeper cultural-historical context. Other studies (Vihalemm and Masso, 2006) have shown that citizenship is often chosen as a basis of identity by those having citizenship other than Estonian (e.g. Russian), which could refer to the deficit connotations of civil identity.

In summation, Estonians' perception of space may be described by clear cultural factors and references to the past. Particular reference countries are used (Russia, Latvia, Finland) when orienting in the world, or in order to adjust to new cultural contacts;a similar strategy is described in previous studies (see Bauman, 1997 [1995]). The geographical notion of East–West may become a viable communication dimension in Scandinavian countries, but only if the psychological links, which are based on geographical proximity, become more relevant than contrasting strategies based on historic memory. For Russian-speakers in Estonia, the double perception of space emerges, the subcultural Baltic space based on local social bounds, and ethno-cultural space fed by Russian media channels accessible over territories. However, the ability to rework old patterns to fit new circumstances, and the persistence of local territorial affiliations shows the tendency of seeing the transition period as harmonious.

3.3. Domination and control of space

The third aspect that I analyse in my thesis, is the *domination and control of space*. In the context of my dissertation, different symbolic and material resources essential for constitution of the personal social space, is comapratively analysed (Study **I, IV**). One of the significant individual resources – knowledges of foreign languages will be studied in more detail. I examine quantitatively the diffusion and characteristics of foreign language skills and usage among Estonians (Study **V**) and analyse qualitatively the language learning motivations and meanings ascribed to different languages and spaces (Study **VI**).

First, different material and symbolic resources significant for constitution of personal social space will be comparatively analysed. Study **I** examines characteristics of one aspect of personal social space – contacts, perception of diffe-

rent cultures as close/far, and interest in media news. Analysis shows that similarly in Estonia and Sweden, the ethno-cultural background is one of the relevant distinctive factors. For example, in Estonia, higher cultural openness towards Russia often expresses the collective social memory of the Russian-speaking people. In Sweden, the national minorities referred to some difficulties in defining themselves on the basis of international organisations inherent for the region (i.e. with EU countries like Latvia, Finland, France, and England). Still, mostly there was a higher heterogeneity of personal social space in socio-demographic groups in Estonia, unlike in Sweden. For example, the higher openness in the case of western countries (Germany, France, England/Ireland, and the USA) describes younger groups of people with somewhat better cultural adaptation to Western orientation. In Sweden, various socio-demographic groups were relatively open to EU and other Western countries, and to some extent more closed to former Eastern Bloc and geographically distant countries. Thus, the modernisation patterns, which are also expressed by personal social space, may be different by their socio-demographic variables.

Previous studies have regarded social trust as essential in the development of democratic culture (see e.g. Sztompka, 1999), therefore in my empirical studies the relationship between personal social space and social trust is also analysed. Analysis shows that in Estonia, personal social space is mostly related to general trust towards social groups (i.e. the entrepreneurs, scientists, politicians etc.). These results enable the assumption, that the mechanical expansion of borders (e.g. the widening of the EU) without overcoming transition trauma and the formation of a trust culture, may result in certain cultural isolation, at least in transition societies. In Sweden, the personal social space was differentiated mainly by institutional factors like trust in the media and education. In summation, if Sweden is characterised by a media society of late modernity, then Estonians are adapting to the benefits of modern society (e.g. increasing mobility, growing number of contacts).

Study **IV** enables the comparative analysis of particular micro and macro-level indicators that are essential in the constitution of another aspect of personal social space – individual readiness to accept immigration. The individuals' context of socialisation is more essential than the country's immigration policy (only ten percent of the total variance in immigration attitudes may be attributed to differences between countries). On the individual level, ethnic minorities, but also younger generations, and more highly educated population groups tend to be to some extent more open to the idea of accepting potential immigrants. On the country-level, the higher migration rates create mostly more cautious attitudes to various cultures, probably due to the opportunity for having more negative/positive cultural contacts. The role of the state is essential, only so far as it supports the general individual social capital in the case of relative scarcity of negative/positive experiences with different immigrant groups. Such results appeared foremost in the case of post-colonial type of immigration

politics,as in France (see Castles and Miller, 1998) and new EU member states with a communist past.

In Study **IV,** one of the significant factors describing personal social space is media. In this study, the usage of the Internet emerges as more important than other media channels in creating readiness to accept immigration, especially when considering the higher usage of Internet in younger age groups. The explanation could be the increase of contacts and challenges for coping with inter-cultural communications due to new broadening mediascapes. Similarly, Study **II** shows the importance of media, but the relationships with transcultural contacts and distances are instead analysed. The empirical analysis shows that media is one of the essential strategies in creating perceived cultural closeness in Estonia, because personal cultural contacts are for economic reasons not accessible to everybody. The cultural attitudes in Estonia are easily transferable, i.e. a positive attitude towards one culture could create tolerance towards other cultures and vice versa. This result is similar to former studies that have shown the indistinguishability of spatial representations created by media in modern societies (Falkheimer and Jansson, 2006). The media, in Sweden, has a weaker role in creating cultural contacts and percieved closeness. One of the reasons could be, that in a welfare and media society (see e.g. Bolin, 2006) the choice of information sources is greater. Single cultural experiences are rather autonomous, i.e. having contacts with one culture neither increases nor decreases cultural distance when people meet other cultures.

Study **I** shows that the economic capital in the form of income is a fairly moderate factor in describing personal social space, both in the case of Estonia and Sweden. In Estonia, income is an important factor in the case of economically and culturally hegemonic countries (England, Germany). Other studies made in this field have shown that other factors, like perceived social status, or entrepreneurial practices could also be an important factor resulting in more open personal social space, especially with Western countries (see e.g. Lauristin, 2004). On the other hand, different studies have revealed the rising importance of knowledges of foreign languages as one of the cultural sources on the individual level (besides Estonian and Russian, English and also Finnish, German, French as foreign languages have been learned, see Masso and Vihalemm, 2005). Studies have indicated, that foreign languages function as an essential source first when two or more foreign languages are learned (Ibid.).

Study **V** analyses the relationships between foreign languages and one aspect of personal social space, geo-cultural mobility. The positive relationships between these indicators confirm the thesis about the importance of communicative capital in decreasing the possible feeling of uncertainty related to the sudden cultural opening up of Estonia. The relationship between higher skills of foreign languages and the more positive attitudes to social changes shows that foreign languages do not only function as a resource that needs some investment (i.e. language learning), but could also function as a certain re-

source. The relationships between knowledge of foreign languages and Internet usage suggest a good potential for learning, but also popularizing regional languages via the Internet, similar to hegemonic languages. The relationships with social capital (e.g. closeness of inter-personal relationships) show the role of communicative capital in facilitating the widening of personal networks. Still, foreign languages could be seen as communicative capital in the same meaning as Bourdieu (1997) sees social capital (i.e. widening network of close relationships), only in the case of more complicated intercultural situations, e.g. when having contacts with geo-culturally more distant countries.

Study **V** analyses quantitatively the importance of particular foreign languages in the perceptions of Estonians. Two languages – Finnish and Swedish – prove to be most essential for Estonians, which refers to the importance of Nordic dimension for the Estonians; similar results are described in previous sections (see section 3.1 and 3.2.). The significant relationships between Finnish and English languages show the good potential for small regional languages to obtain as similar importance as the hegemonic. The relationships between Swedish and languages rather marginal for the Estonians (e.g. French) could refer to the fact, that such languages spoken mostly within particular regional territories only become a focus of interest when the (historically) hegemonic or bigger languages have already been learned (e.g. English, Russian).

Study **VI** analyses qualitatively the motivations of foreign language learning of Estonians and Estonian Russians, and the relationships with meanings ascribed to space. The analysis shows that for successful language learning the combination of intrinsic and instrumental motivations described in previous studies (Crookes and Schmidt, 1991; van Lier, 1996) should be supported by a third factor – a positive spatial perception of a specific language. The analysis reveals the importance of collective positive spatial experience in supporting individual motivations (friends' examples, pressure from colleagues, a wish to maintain a communication network). The result is different from previous studies (see e.g. van Lier, 1996) that focussed mainly on individual motivations for language learning.

The analysis of meanings ascribed to particular foreign languages and countries reveals that features related to popular culture or consumerism (e.g. European song contest as a connotation of Malta) were ascribed to languages rather than to countries. This may indicate that foreign languages are not merely the means of exchanging abstract information but play an important role also in forming behavioural practices. On the other hand, the general emotional interest was expressed when talking about particular spaces rather than about languages. Thus, space is not perceived as an object of consumption, but rather referred to as a specific cultural object. When analysing the relationships between language learning motivations and personal social space, four key categories were distinguished – "unchanging morphologies", "aesthetic-cultural meanings", "consumerist connotations", "historical and power connotations".

The first linguistic-spatial strategy, "unchanging morphologies", means that formal categories such as peculiarities of the natural world and geographical distance were used mostly when talking about foreign languages and space. The analysis of this strategy shows that language learning without intrinsic motivation (e.g. deep interest in culture) or real cultural experience may include a danger of a formal and abstract space. In the case of the second strategy, different "historical and power" connotations are ascribed to particular foreign languages and spaces. This strategy was used when talking about Russian and German countries or languages. In the first case, negative power connotations were absent only when taking the territorial starting point, whether global (Russia as a considerable economical and political power in the world), or local (in the case of local communication networks in Estonia). The power connotations related to the German language may be related with the need of Russian-speakers to search for a base for counter-identity, instead of taking over the controversial attitudes of Estonians about Russia.

The third linguistic-spatial strategy is based on "consumerist connotations". Trade marks created in a specific space may act as a unique fixed point to be used for orientation in the space. This strategy often carries connotations of freedom (cf. Keller, 2004), i.e. the present availability of goods, consumption, and travelling possibilities are compared with those of the Soviet time. Only the Latvian and Lithuanian languages are not mentioned in this context, probably due to the similar economic starting position of these countries with Estonia. The consumerist strategy was often used by the Russian-speaking interviewees, that could refer to some degree to a higher need for cultural-economic adaptation among them. The fourth strategy is based on "aesthetic-cultural meanings" assigned to foreign languages and space (e.g. ethnicity, cultural impact and closeness, theatre, classical music, fine arts, etc.). These qualities were ascribed both to hegemonic languages, but also to smaller regional languages (e.g. Finnish as a nice language of films, etc.). The analysis showed that negative or simplified cultural stereotypes were used in instances of scarcity of immediate contacts, and rather extrinsic language learning motivations (like pressure at the work).

In summation, the heterogeneity within transitional Estonia shows that personal social space may become a factor, which separates the society into a personally "globalised" group, and a group that feels uncertainty in connection with EU enlargement and globalisation. The representations in media and countries' politics supporting social capital are some sources that could help in "translating" the multi and transculturality in transition societies. Foreign languages could function as a symbolic "bridge" between the Soviet past and the present democratic worlds, and in this way support the process of "symbolic struggle for the production of common sense" (Bourdieu 1997: 239). But language learning without communication experience involves of danger of a rather abstract or stereotypical perception of space.

4. Discussion

My thesis deals with the topics that are often criticised as have received too little attention in the discipline of the geographies of communication (see e.g. Ströber, 2006) – the role of communication in cross-border contexts and the constitution of spaces across national borders. The main aim of my dissertation is to analyse the socio-cultural transition in post-Soviet Estonia through the prism of personal social space. The peculiarities of transition society are analysed using the example of EU countries with different economic, political, and cultural backgrounds. In Figure 2, the spatial processes in the transition society in Estonia are depicted on the basis of empirical studies of my thesis and are placed in the framework of the conceptual model developed in the first parts of this introductory article.

Estonian society has undergone a fundamental change from a closed space, the process that I have labelled as *failed transition* in Figure 2, using the terminology of Henri Lefebvre (1991 [1974]). The failure is that only ideological superstructures were changed during the Soviet period, without clear manifestations in the space. For example, the prevailing ideology of "proletarian internationalism" (see e.g. Ussubalijev, 1984) did not support the identity creation of ethnic Russians (see e.g. Melvin, 1995), but often resulted in the cultural and linguistic assimilation of ethnic groups other than Russian. However, Lefebvre's argument about failed transition can be accepted only with certain reservations. E.g. the empirical studies of my thesis show that different strategies, like following western media channels (e.g. Finnish TV, etc.), learning foreign languages other than Russian, various transcultural contacts within Soviet Republics etc., were used by individuals to compensate for physical spatial isolation from Western countries.

I use the term *transition* for labelling the geo-political opening up of Estonian space. Characteristic to the transition period is the rapid opening up of personal social space, that is expressed in the decrease of spatial distances, e.g. Estonia "catching up" with Sweden regarding perceived cultural closeness of different countries and geo-cultural mobility. The rapid decrease of spatial distances could be explained by individuals' habit to use compensatory means, e.g. media, that enabled easy participation in events happening in the different countries, as opposed to travelling that demands certain economic opportunities. In this way, the constitution of personal social space occurs in a modern way, being based on collective elements structuring social space (media, historical narratives), rather than on autonomous personal experiences. In summation, the narrative "return to the west" legitimising transition (Lauristin *et al,* 1997) and constitution of inhabitants' personal social space (the rapid compensation of deficit arising from spatial closure) mutually strengthen each other (see vertical arrows in Figure 2 uniting social space on institutional and individual levels).

I name the third period in the development of spatial relations as *post-transition,* that is expressed in the relative "calming down" of social space, according to the definition of Henri Lefebvre (1991 [1974]). On the individual level, it means achieving a certain communicative comprehensibility of individuals with different lifeworlds, as stated in Figure 2. Several former studies (see e.g. Korkut, 2005) have adjudged that the post-communist countries have now reached the phase of post-transition, especially when considering the developments in democratisation and marketisation. The empirical results of my thesis disclaim this position, at least based on the analysis of personal social space. Personal social space is clearly divided across the agent-level structures (education, age, gender, ethnic background), this type of division being even more inherent to post-soviet and former colony-owning countries. In Estonia, autonomous constitutional strategies of personal social space are mainly used by the elite, who are better equipped with a variety of resources, whereas other population groups constitute personal social space by using collective patterns. In these diverse ways, there are social groups expressing resistance to spatial changes related to transition. According to Vihalemm and Kalmus (2008), there are some tendencies that in the course of generational change the degree of diversity is about to decrease. But the danger in further spatial developments is that groups being less adapted with the social changes and less well-equipped with different resources, are not ready to accept the new narratives related with the country being a member of EU (e.g. possible resistance to foreign labour force).

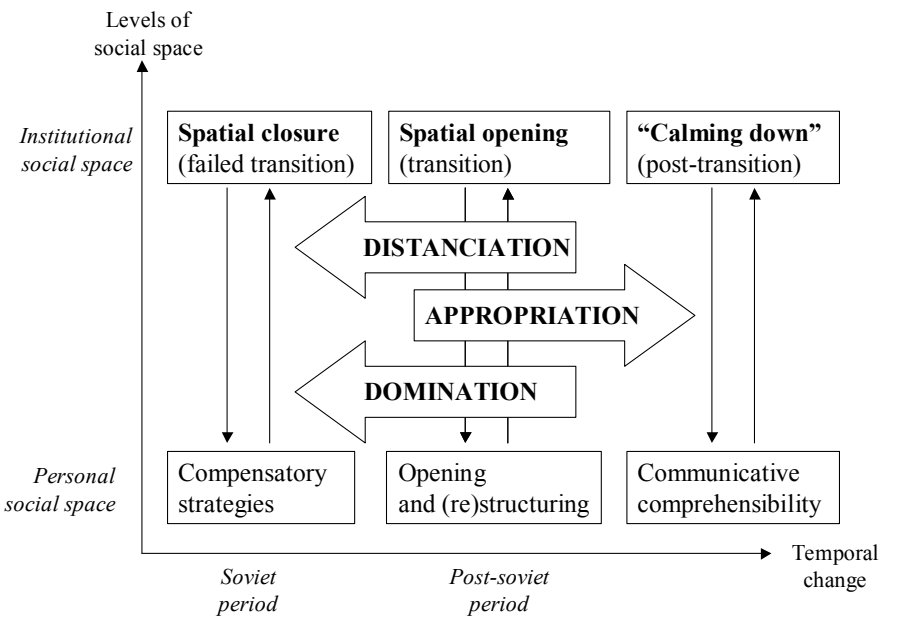

Figure 2. Spatial processes in a post-soviet country

Personal social space of Estonian inhabitants reveals a certain potential for the constitution of a culturally open society (i.e. on the individual level, mutual communicative comprehensibility, as stated in Figure 2), but only in the case of the creation of a trust culture and when putting into operation an integration strategy to unite the different domains in society. The danger of xenophobia could be reduced with (culturally and spatially oriented) language teaching and with investments in education, for both majority and minority ethnic groups, as well as combining national expenditure on research and development with integration policies. In Estonia, media representations of modern society tend inherently to be often simplified and transferable from one culture to another, i.e. often less reflexive analysis takes place and cautious attitudes to images created by media are missing. In this sort of situation, Estonia might not have any advantages in communicating cultural openness (i.e. multicultural ideology) compared to western welfare societies like Sweden, where autonomous, constitutional strategies of personal social space that are inherent to late-modern societies have taken root. Similarly, analysis of media texts (see Vihalemm, 2007b) have shown the danger that since both cause-and-solution analysis and the areas of themes in public discussions are fairly limited, there is a potential difficulty to identify with either factor. Media education could have an important role in helping to translate the essence of multiculturality, since the ability to orientate in the multiplicity of information could strengthen individual behavioural reflexivity.

Loading these results into the framework of the conceptual model developed in the first sections of this introductory article indicates that all of the constitutional features, *distanciation and accessibility*, *appropriation and use*, and *domination and control*, are necessary for analysing personal social space. On the basis of empirical analysis, I assume that at any particular moment some of the dimensions could be prevalent. In the course of transition, the *accessibility* of secondary zones of relevance should increase and *distanciation* should decrease in different ways (e.g. contacts, media); this is depicted in Figure 2 by the horizontal "distanciation" arrow indicating prevalence during the Soviet period. Similarly, some tendencies show that in the course of transition process, the domination factor is decreasing, at least on the level of personal social space (shown by the horizontal "domination" in Figure 2 indicating prevalence during the transition process). For example, the roles of other institutional factors besides foreign languages such as tourism are increasing in order to gain accessibility to space.

In the course of advancements in the transition processes, foreign languages could change from operating as a medium loaded with spatial meanings, into meanings requiring mediums for communication (e.g. space). According to Lefebvre (1991 [1974]), transition should entail the change from production of things in the space to the constitution of meaningful space (i.e. based on meaningful spatial structures, knowledge, or institutions). The analysis in my thesis

shows that consumerist meanings ascribed to languages and space (originating from material objects) may also act as a unique fixed point to be used for orientating and adapting in the space. In this way the process of *appropriation* could become more prevalent (shown by the horizontal "appropriation" arrow in Figure 2 indicating increasing importance). Thus, results of my thesis show the emergence of the symbolic production of space that Bolin (2006) referred to as a shift from techno-industrial modernisation to techno-cultural modernisation. However, the relationships between *appropriation* and *distanciation* are not always so simple since a greater degree of accessibility (due to individuals using collective spatial strategies) should not always lead to *appropriation* (the result in the form of global openness is different).

In conclusion, the broad potential of personal social space continues to be a valuable source for social scientists for further research due to the enduring social transformations and infinite variations in the dimensions of personal social space, which individuals face when searching for foundations of mutual comprehensibility.

5. Conclusions

My conclusions are based on the three core research questions.

I What characterises the distanciation and accessibility of personal social space in a recently opened up transition society, compared to a stable, geo-culturally open society?

- The increasing importance of symbolic spatial practices has expanded the accessibility of space for inhabitants of transition society in Estonia. The increasing interest in media news regarding both the western and eastern countries refers to the greater need for various sources of self-positioning due to opening of state borders. Unlike the counterparts in Estonia, the inhabitants in Sweden are characterised by a greater interest in media news, which is an inherent characteristic of a late-modern media society (Study **I**).
- Regarding material spatial practices, Estonia is "catching up" with Sweden. The enduring Eastern orientation of Estonian inhabitants is still supported through friendship and family ties and by representation of these countries in the media. Nevertheless, interest for contacts with Russia has diminished with the maturing of the post-soviet period younger generations. Estonian inhabitants compared to their counterparts in Sweden have a lower accessibility for contacts in Western-European countries and geographically distant regions (Study **I**).
- Individual readiness for acceptance of immigration is carried by the nation and welfare state concept that functionally tend to contrast different population groups on the basis of economic and ethnic background. There is a greater readiness to accept immigrants with a similar ethnic background; less readiness of acceptance is shown towards ethnic groups from economically poorer regions outside of Europe (Study **IV**).

In summary, in regard to material and symbolic spatial practices, the *accessibility* of space of Estonian inhabitants has been increasing during the transition process. The "friction of distance" is less negotiable in inter-cultural communication within a national territory. *Distanciation* is a feature of the nation-state model and therefore occurs according to "modern" patterns.

II How are spatial changes expressed in the appropriation of personal social space in a recently opened up transition society compared to a stable, geo-culturally open society?

- The worlds of the Estonians and the Swedes, regarding material spatial practices and perceptions of space, are similarly divided on the East-West dimension. Personal social space of Estonians is a feature of historical memory and comparison of social-economic position (e.g. the

relative importance of the Nordic dimension, and Latvia and Russia). The basis for personal social space of the Swedes is more pragmatic (contacts with Finns etc.) or based on perceived psychological closeness (importance of cultural-hegemonic countries) (Study **II**).

- The Estonians' interest in media news is divided along the East-West dimension, whereas the interest of the Swedes is more global and does not follow any geographical division of the world. Scandinavian and Baltic media interest are spread homogeneously among Estonians, which suggest that languages policies should focus more on languages spoken within a particular geo-cultural unit other than "hegemonic" languages (Study **II**).
- In the geo-cultural self-positioning of the Estonian Russian-speaking population, a localisation has occurred in that categories formerly related to Soviet Union have been replaced by local-territorial ones (Estonian, Baltic inhabitant). The emergence of an ethno-cultural identity structure refers to the possibility to adopt minority identity construction practices oriented towards language and culture, adopted from ethnic Estonians (Study **III**).
- Territorial-cultural self-positioning enables to avoid the neccessity for geo-political self-identification (e.g. Estonian inhabitant, but not Estonian citizen) and to leave this category in a rather marginal position. The existence of a nostalgic post-soviet pattern in the general identification structure refers to the ongoing search for basis of identification in the form of ideological and political protest (Study **III**).

In summary, the *appropriation* of space in a transition society is characterised by territorial forms of solidarities in the case of minority ethnic groups, or are based on the geographical-historical links for the ethnic majority. In the late-modern societies like Sweden, the psychological or practically oriented forms of solidarities are prevailing.

III Which material and symbolic resources shape the domination of space, in this context over the spatial opening up of society and the (re)structuring of geo-cultural solidarities?

- Personal social space, being heterogeneously spread within socio-demographic groups in Estonia, could cause a transition society to differentiate into the personally "globalised", and a group feeling of uncertainty concerning both the widening of the EU and globalisation. In Estonia, collective spatial practices (e.g. media) are used for constitution of personal social space, unlike in Sweden, where the sources of personal social space are more various and representations are more autonomous. Spatial openness, in Estonia, is related to trust in social groups (e.g. politician, entrepreneurs), i.e. overcoming transition trauma and creating a trust culture helps to avoid cultural isolation (Study **I**).

- Individual's closest context of socialisation (e.g. ethnic origin, gender, educational background) is more essential than state policies, regarding readiness to accept immigration. The role of the state is essential only so far, as the individual social capital (e.g. education) is supported. Immigration policies of former colonial-type or post-communist country only moderately support the creation of solidarities between different cultures (Study **IV**).
- The desire to control mobility (through language and other sources) shows Estonia is developing towards a modern society. Foreign languages function as capital, broadening social networks mostly in more complicated inter-cultural situations. Overly one-sided linguistic-cultural contacts (e.g. interest in media news without cultural contacts) could hinder the formation of open spatial perception, for which reason the space could become a source of (cultural, political, natural etc.) danger (Study **V, VI**).
- Consuming-related meanings of languages (e.g. Chilean culture connotates with Chilean wine) may act as a unique fixed point to be used for orientating and adapting in the space, similar to aesthetic cultural meanings. Cultural knowledges obtained through foreign languages would prefer that the diversity of goods at regional level is maintained. Hence various regional programmes and educational policies should be taken into account in the development of language policies and vice versa (Study **VI**).
- The power-related meanings of languages (e.g. German, Russian) might be transferred to space; investments in language policies could, therefore, decrease the opportunity for conflicts among individuals with different language experiences. Integrative language learning motivation without any clear solution to the question of identity might hinder both rethinking of history and the creation of positive meanings of space (Study **VI**).

In summary, Estonian society is differentiated in the terms of cultural openness due to a variety of cultural, economic and social resources. This diversity could be overcome by institutional means, which entail long-term investments, e.g. in foreign language teaching and education policies.

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SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Personaalse sotsiaalse ruumi loomise eripärad siirdeühiskonnas

Huvi sotsiaalse ruumi kui ühe sotsiaalteadusliku uurimisvaldkonna vastu on oluliselt kasvanud viimaste kümnendite jooksul. Kohanemine sotsiaalse ruumi muutustega – muutused riigipiirides, rahvusvaheliste institutsioonide olulisuse kasv (nt Euroopa Liit, edaspidi EL) – on väljakutseks igale indiviidile, nii siirderiikides[18] kui ka "vanades" EL liikmesriikides. Konfliktsed ruumi tõlgendused väljenduvad Eestis nt. püsivates "monumendikriisides" (nt. vaidlused Tõnismäe pronkssõduri monumendi asukoha ja tähenduse ümber) või Euroopa "karikatuuride konfliktis" (vastuolulised seisukohad prohvet Muhamedi karikatuuride avaldamise suhtes Taani päevalehes).

Sotsiaalset ruumi kui uurimisvaldkonda iseloomustab interdistsiplinaarsus. Käesolevas töös lähtun erinevatest kultuurigeograafilistest, sotsioloogilistest ning meedia- ja kommunikatsiooniteooriatest. Töös eristan institutsionaalset sotsiaalset ruumi ja personaalset sotsiaalset ruumi. Minu töö keskendub personaalsele sotsiaalsele ruumile. Mitmete teoreetiliste lähenemiste järgi (Harvey, 2002 [2000]; Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]; Sztompka, 1994 [1993]) on sotsiaalse muutuse peamiseks allikaks indiviid, mistõttu personaalse sotsiaalse ruumi uurimise kaudu on võimalik analüüsida siirdeühiskondades toimuvat. Oma töös defineerin personaalset sotsiaalset ruumi protsessina, milles kindla füüsilise ja ajalise asukohaga aktiivne indiviid kasutab teatud materiaalseid ja sümbolilisi ressursse, mis põhinevad indiviidi suhtel maailmasse, tähenduslikult struktureeritud maailma loomiseks. Empiirilises analüüsis operatsionaliseerin personaalset sotsiaalset ruumi eri maade ja kultuuride suhtes tunnetuslike distantside, geo-kultuurilise identiteedi, eri kultuuridega kontaktideks valmisoleku kaudu ning analüüsin seoseid keelelise kommunikatsiooniga.

Töö peamine **eesmärk on taasiseseisvunud Eesti sotsiaal-kultuurilise transitsiooni kaardistamine vaadatuna personaalse sotsiaalse ruumi seisukohalt.** Eesti on heaks näiteks ühiskonnast, mis on teinud läbi radikaalsed majanduslikud, poliitilised, sotsiaalsed ja kultuurilised muutused. Tänu kiiretele muutustele on siirderiigid heaks näiteks sotsiaalse ruumi loomise protsesside uurimisel. Oma töös oletan, et vastavalt institutsionaalsetele muutustele (nt riigipiirid) on teisenenud ka elanike personaalne sotsiaalne ruum. Sõnastatud üldine eesmärk jaotub omakorda konkreetseteks alaküsimusteks: Millised üldised tendentsid on iseloomulikud siirdeühiskonna elanike personaalsele sotsiaalsele ruumile? Kuidas avalduvad geo-poliitilised riigipiiride muutused siirdeühiskonna elanike enesemääratluses? Millised materiaalsed ja sümbolilised

[18] Ingliskeelse termini *transition* tõlkimisel eesti keelde kasutan sünonüümidena mõisteid transitsioon ja siire.

ressursid toetavad siirdeühiskonna elanike personaalse sotsiaalse ruumi avanemist ning enesemääratlemist?

Käesoleva sissejuhatava artikli teoreetilises osas sõnastan personaalse sotsiaalse ruumi kontseptsuaalse mudeli. Kontseptsiooni loomise alusena kasutan David Harvey teooriat (Harvey, 2002 [2000]; 2006a). Sõnastatud definitsiooni järgi sisaldab personaalne sotsiaalne ruum kolme dimensiooni: ruumi *kättesaadavus ja distantseeritus,* ruumi *hõlmamine ja kohandumine* ning ruumi *domineerimine ja kontroll.* Esimene, ruumi *kättesaadavus ja distantseeritus* [*distanciation and accessibility,* ingl.k.]. näitab indiviidide interaktsioonide kohanemise määra ruumiliste piirangute ja võimalustega. Harvey järgi sisaldab see dimensioon materiaalseid praktikaid (nt indiviidi mobiilsus), aga ka psühholoogilisi distantse. Teine dimensioon, ruumi *hõlmamine ja kohandumine* [*appropriation and use,* ingl.k.] sisaldab territoriaalsete enesemääratlemise vormide loomist. Ruumi hõlmamine väljendub maailma tähenduslikus struktureerimises, kas materiaalsete praktikate (nt suhtlusvõrgustikud) või mentaalste kaartide vormis. Kolmas dimensioon, ruumi *domineerimine ja kontroll* [*domination and control,* ingl.k.] peegeldab viise, kuidas indiviidid püüavad saavutada kontrolli ruumiliste distantside ning ruumiga kohandumise viiside üle. Kontroll on saavutatav läbi erinevate materiaalsete ja sümboliliste ressursside.

Personaalse sotsiaalse ruumi loomise eripärasid siirdeühiskonnas analüüsin kuue empiirilise artikli kaudu. Üks osa artiklitest keskendub *ruumi distantseerituse ja kättesaadavuse* aspektidele Nendes artiklites keskendun ruumiliste suhete ning personaalse sotsiaalse ruumi avanemise üldiste tendentside analüüsimisele: meediahuvi eri maades toimuva vastu, personaalsed kontaktid ja tunnetatud lähedus eri kultuuridega, aga ka personaalne valmisolek aktsepteerida immigratsiooni (**I** ja **IV** uurimus). Teine osa artiklitest keskendub personaalse sotsiaalse ruumi *hõlmamise ja kohandumise* aspektidele. Siin analüüsin empiiriliselt geo-kultuurilisi identiteete ning eri maadega kontaktide, meediahuvi ja tunnetatud läheduse-kauguse struktuure (st. erinevalt esimesest dimensioonist, kus analüüsin sagedusjaotuste alusel üldtendentse, keskendun siin struktuuride analüüsimisele) (**II** ja **III** uurimus). Kolmas osa artiklitest keskendub personaalse sotsiaalse ruumi *domineerimise ja kontrolli* aspektile. Siin analüüsin ruumilist avatust eri rahvarühmade lõikes, võrreldes eri materiaalseid (nt sissetulek) ning sümbolilisi ressursse (nt meedia). Peamine rõhuasetus on siin võõrkeelte oskamise ja kasutamise rollil (**V** ja **VI** uurimus).

Personaalse sotsiaalse ruumi kui kompleksse teema analüüsimise empiirilised alused on käesolevas töös mitmekesised – kasutan nii kvantitatiivset kui ka kvalitatiivset metodoloogiat. Töö empiiriline analüüs keskendub põhiliselt Eesti elanikele; võrdluseks kasutan Rootsit, aga ka teisi Euroopa riike. Kvantitatiivsed andmed Eesti kohta põhinevad Tartu Ülikooli ajakirjanduse ja kommunikatsiooni instituudi ja uuringufirma Faktum poolt läbiviidud küsitluse "Mina. Maailm. Meedia" andmetele (2003. ja 2005.a.). Eesti andmeid olen võrrelnud Rootsis Södertörn'i Ülikooli meediauurijate poolt läbiviidud analoogse küsitluse

"Muutuv meediamaastik" andmetega (2003.a.). Kolmas kvantitatiivne andmeallikas on Euroopa Sotsiaaluuring (2004.–2005.a.), mille andmestikust olen analüüsis kasutanud andmeid 23 riigi kohta. Töös kasutan ka kvalitatiivseid andmeid; analüüs põhineb 2006.a. ajakirjanduse ja kommunikatsiooni instituudi poolt 18 eri võõrkeelte õppijatega läbiviidud süvaintervjuul.

Käesoleva väitekirja peamised järeldused eespool püstitatud uurimisküsimuste lõikes on järgmised:

I Millised üldised tendentsid on iseloomulikud siirdeühiskonna elanike personaalsele sotsiaalsele ruumile?

- Sümboliliste ruumiliste praktikate levik on suurendanud siirdeühiskonna elanike eri geo-kultuuriliste ruumide kättesaadavust. Suurenev huvi jälgida meediast eri maades – nii idas kui ka läänes – toimuvat annab tunnistust vajadusest eri enesemääratlemise allikate järele, mis on tekkinud seoses riigipiiride avanemisega. Eesti elanike meediahuvi jääb siiski alla Rootsi elanikele; suurem meediahuvi Rootsis on hilismodernsele meediaühiskonnale iseloomulik tulemus (**I** uurimus).
- Materiaalsete ruumiliste praktikate osas (nt mobiilsus) on Eesti "järele jõudmas" Rootsile. Eesti elanike jätkuvat idasuunalist orientatsiooni toetavad pere- ning sõprussidemed ning nende maade sagedane käsitlemine meedias. Põlvkondade vahetumisega on huvi kontaktide vastu Venemaaga vähenemas. Eesti elanikke iseloomustab erinevalt Rootsi elanikest tagasihoidlikum Lääne-Euroopa maade ning geograafiliselt kaugete piirkondade kättesaadavus (**I** uurimus).
- Individuaalne valmisolek aktsepteerida immigratsiooni on kantud heaolu- ning rahvusriigi mudelist, mis funktsionaalselt kaldub eristama eri rahvastikugruppe majandusliku ning etnilise tausta alusel. Suuremat aktsepteerimise valmisolekut väljendatakse endaga sama etnilise päritoluga immigrantide suhtes, valmisolek on väiksem väljaspoolt Euroopat tulnud ning majanduslikult vaesematest regioonidest pärit rahvusrühmade suhtes (**IV** uurimus).

Kokkuvõttes, transitsiooni jooksul on erineval viisil suurenenud eri maade ja kultuuride *kättesaadavus* (nt meedia, isiklike kontaktide kaudu). Ruumi *distantseeritus* on problemaatilisem rahvusliku territooriumi piires toimuva interkultuurilise kommunikatsiooni osas. Suurem *distantseeritus* territooriumi piires on iseloomulik rahvusriigi mudelile ning seetõttu toimub eelkõige "modernsete" mustrite alusel.

II Kuidas avalduvad geo-kultuurilised muutused siirdeühiskonna elanike enesemääratluses?

- Eestlaste ning rootslaste personaalses sotsiaalses ruumis eristub idalääne dimensioon, arvestades tunnetatud lähedust ning kontakte eri kultuuridega. Eestlaste personaalne ruum on eristunud ajaloolise mälu

ning sotsiaal-majandusliku võrdluse alusel (nt Põhjamaade dimensiooni, Läti ja Venemaa olulisus). Rootslaste personaalse sotsiaalse ruumi alused on pragmaatilisemad (nt majanduslikud kontaktid soomlastega) või põhinevad teatud psühholoogilise läheduse tundel (nt kultuurilis-hegemoonsete maade olulisus) (**II** uurimus).

- Rootslaste meediahuvi on eestlastest globaalsem ning ei järgi maailma geograafilist jaotust. Skandinaavia ning Balti meediahuvi on eestlaste hulgas kõige homogeensemad, mis näitab vajadust pöörata keelepoliitikate loomisel lisaks "hegemoonsetele" keeltele (nt inglise keel) ka tähelepanu konkreetse geo-kultuurilise ühiku piires räägitavatele keeltele (**II** uurimus).
- Eesti venekeelse elanikkonna geo-kultuurilises enesemääratluses on toimunud teatud lokaliseerumine, st endised Nõukogude Liiduga (NL) seotud kategooriad on asendunud kohalike territoriaalsetega (st eestlane, elanik). Etno-kultuurilise identiteedi esilekerkimine üldises identiteedi struktuuris viitab keelele ja kultuurilile orienteeritud vähemusidentiteedi omaksvõtmise võimalusele, mis võib olla "üle võetud" eestlastelt (**III** uurimus).
- Territoriaal-kultuuriline enesemääratlus võimaldab vältida vajadust geopoliitiliseks enesemääratluseks (st mitte Eesti kodanik, vaid Eesti elanik), mis jätab Eesti kodaniku kategooria pigem marginaalsesse positsiooni. Nostalgilise post-sotsialistliku identiteedi esilekerkimine üldises identiteedi mustris viitab jätkuvale identiteedi aluse otsimisele, mh. ideoloogilise ning poliitilise protesti vormis (**III** uurimus).

Kokkuvõttes, Eesti venekeelse elanikkonna ruumi *hõlmamist* iseloomustavad territoriaalsed enesemääratlemise vormid. Eestlaste ruumi *hõlmamine* toimub geograafilis-ajalooliste mustrite alusel. See-eest hilismodernsetes ühiskondades, mille näiteks käesolevas töös on Rootsi, domineerivad psühholoogilised või praktilise orientatsiooniga enesemääratlemise vormid.

III Millised materiaalsed ja sümbolilised ressursid toetavad siirdeühiskonna elanike personaalse sotsiaalse ruumi avanemist ning enesemääratlemist?

- Personaalne sotsiaalne ruum on Eestis eristunud sotsiaal-demograafiliste gruppide lõikes, mistõttu võib siirdeühiskond jaguneda personaalselt "globaliseerunud" grupiks ning seoses EL laienemisega ning globaliseerumisega teatud ebakindlust tundvaks grupiks. Eestis kasutatakse personaalse sotsiaalse ruumi loomise allikatena pigem kollektiivseid ruumilisi praktikaid (nt meedia), kui samal ajal Rootsis on personaalse sotsiaalse ruumi loomise alused mitmekesisemad ning ruumilised representatsioonid autonoomsemad. Ruumiline avatus on Eestis seotud usaldusega sotsiaalsetesse gruppidesse (nt poliitikud, ettevõtjad), st. siirdetrauma

ületamine ning usalduskultuuri loomine võib aidata kultuurilise isolatsiooni vältimist (**I** uurimus).

- Indiviidi lähim sotsialiseerumise kontekst (nt etniline või sooline kuuluvus, hariduslik taust) osutus olulisemaks immigratsiooniks valmisoleku kujunemisel kui riiklikud poliitikad. Riigi roll on oluline vaid niivõrd, kuivõrd see toetab indiviidi sotsiaalset kapitali (nt hariduse vormis). Immigratsioonipoliitikate poolest ei pruugi endised post-kommunistlikud või koloniaalriigid toetada vastastikuse mõistmise loomist eri kultuuride esindajate vahel (**IV** uurimus).
- Indiviidide soov kontrollida mobiilsust (keele jms. ressursside kaudu) näitab Eesti liikumist modernsete ühiskondade hulka. Võõrkeeled toimivad sotsiaalseid võrgustikke laiendava kapitalina eelkõige keerulisemates interkultuurilistes situatsioonides (nt kokkupuutel geograafiliselt kaugete kultuuridega). Liialt ühekülgsed keelelis-kultuurilised kontaktid (nt meediahuvi ilma isiklike kontaktideta) võib takistada avatud ruumilise taju loomist, mistõttu võib ruum indiviidide jaoks muutuda (kultuurilise, poliitilise, loodusliku vms) ohu allikaks (**V** ja **VI** uurimus).
- Ruumile omistatud tarbimisega seotud tähendusi (st. lähtumine materiaalsetest artefaktidest) võidakse kasutada sarnaselt esteetilis-kultuurilistele tähendustele teatud lähtepunktina ruumis orienteerumisel ja ruumiga kohanemisel. Võõrkeelte õppimise läbi omandatud kultuurilised teadmised eelistavad kaupade mitmekesisuse säilitamist regionaalsel tasandil, mistõttu on oluline arvestada erinevate regionaalsete programmidega keele- ja hariduspoliitikate väljatöötamisel (aga ka vastupidi, keelepoliitikatega arvestamine regionaalsetes programmides) (**VI** uurimus).
- Keeltele omistatud võimuga seotud tähendusi (nt saksa, vene keeled) võidakse üle kanda konkreetsele ruumile, mistõttu investeerimine keelepoliitikatesse võib vähendada konflikti võimalust eri keelekogemusega indiviidide hulgas. Integratiivsed keeleõppimise motivatsioonid ilma selge lahenduseta identiteedi küsimusele ei pruugi võimaldada ajaloo mõtestamist ega positiivsete ruumiliste tähenduste loomist (**VI** uurimus).

Kokkuvõttes, Eesti ühiskond on sisemiselt eristunud kultuurilise avatuse poolest ning kultuuriliste, majanduslike ja sotsiaalsete ressursside ebaühtlase jaotuse lõikes. Erinevust on võimalik vähendada institutsionaalsete vahendite kaudu, nt. vajalikud on pikaajalised investeeringud võõrkeelte õpetamisse ning haridusse.

Tehtud empiiriline analüüs annab võimaluse arutleda Eesti ühiskonna praeguse siirdefaasi üle. NL-aegseid ruumilisi protsesse võib tuginedes Henri Lefebvre (1991) terminoloogiale nimetada *ebaõnnestunud transitsiooniks*. Ebaõnnestumine seisnes selles, et NL ajal muutusid eelkõige ideoloogilised struktuurid. Muutused ei avaldunud aga selgelt personaalses ruumis, nt. domineeriv

"proletaarne internatsionalism" (Ussubalijev, 1984) ei pruukinud alati toetada etniliste venelaste identiteedi loomist (vt. nt. Melvin, 1995) ning väljendus tihti teiste etniliste gruppide kultuurilises ja keelelises assimilatsioonis. Lefebvre väitega ebaõnnestunud transitsioonist võib siiki nõustuda vaid osaliselt. Nt. käesoleva töö raames tehtud empiirilised analüüsid näitavad, et NL ajal kasutasid indiviidid erinevaid strateegiaid kompenseerimaks füüsilise ruumi suletust (nt Soome TV jälgimine, võõrkeelte õppime lisaks vene keelele jms.).

Eestis toimuvat geo-poliitilist ruumi avanemist nimetan *transitsiooniks*. Siirdeperioodile on olnud iseloomulik elanike personaalse ruumi kiire avanemine, millest annavad tunnistust ruumiliste distantside vähenemine, nt. Eesti "järelejõudmine" Rootsile maade kultuurilise läheduse ja mobiilsuse osas. Ruumiliste distantside kiire vähenemine võib olla selgitatav indiviidide harjumusega kasutada kompensatoorseid vahendeid (nt. meedia), mis võimaldab kergesti osa saada eri maades toimuvast (erinevalt reisimisest, mis nõuab teatud majanduslikke võimalusi). Selliselt on personaalse sotsiaalse ruumi kujunemine toimunud modernsel viisil, tuginedes pigem kollektiivset sotsiaalset ruumi struktureerivatele elementidel (meedia, ajaloonarratiivid), kui autonoomsel personaalsel kogemusel.

Kolmandat perioodi ruumiliste suhete arengutes nimetan *post-transitsiooniks,* mida iseloomustab sotsiaalse ruumi suhteline stabiliseerumine. Mitmete varasemate uuringute hinnangul on endised kommunistlikud riigid juba praeguseks jõudnud post-transitsiooni faasi (vt. nt. Korkut, 2005), eelkõige arvestades demokraatia ja turumajanduse arenguid. Käesoleva töö tulemused näitavad, et kuigi teatud elanikkonna grupid kasutavad post-transitsiooni ühiskonnale omaseid personaalse ruumi loomise strateegiaid, väljendab teine grupp indiviide teatud vastupanu transitsioonile. Edasiste ruumiliste arengute ohuks on see, et ühiskonna muutustega halvemini kohanenud ja eri ressursse vähem omavad grupid ei pruugi uusi, nö. EL liikmeksoleku narratiive enam kuigi hästi vastu võtta (nt. vastuseis võõrtööjõule jne). Sellises olukorras ei pruugi Eestil olla eeliseid kultuurilise avatuse kommunikatsiooniks võrreldes Lääne heaoluühiskondadega (nt Rootsi), kus on juurdunud autonoomsed personaalse sotsiaalse ruumi loomise strateegiad.

Töö empiiriliste tulemuste alusel soovin täiendada sissejuhatava artikli teoreetilises osas väljatöötatud personaalse sotsiaalse ruumi kontseptuaalset mudelit. Kõik analüüsitud personaalse sotsiaalse ruumi loomise dimensioonid – *kättesaadavus ja distantseeritus, hõlmamine ja kohandumine,* ning *domineerimine ja kontroll* – on olulised konkreetse sotsiaalse ruumi mõistmiseks. Empiirilise analüüsi alusel väidan, et konkreetsel ajahetkel võib siiski üks dimensioonidest olla ülekaalus. Transitsiooni jooksul on erineval viisil suurenenud eri maade ja kultuuride *kättesaadavus,* eelkõige aga üle riigipiiride toimuva transkultuurilise kommunikatsiooni osas. *Domineerimise ja kontrolli* dimensiooni olulisus transitsiooni edenedes omakorda väheneb, vähemalt arvestades personaaalset sotsiaalset ruumi. Nt. lisaks võõrkeeltele on kasvanud mitmete

institutsionaalsete faktorite roll (nt turism) ruumi kättesaadavuse toetamisel. Siirdeprotsesside edenedes on võõrkeelte instrumentaalne roll vähenemas, st võõrkeeled ei toimi niivõrd ruumilisi tähendusi kandva kanalina, vaid võivad ise muutuda kommunikatsioonikanalit (nt ruum) vajavaks tähenduseks. Selliselt muutuvad transitsiooni edenedes ruumi *hõlmamise ja kohandumise* protsessid olulisemaks.

PUBLICATIONS

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LIFEWORLDS IN AN ENLARGED EUROPE: DIFFERENCES IN PERSONAL SPATIALITY IN ESTONIA AND SWEDEN

Abstract

This article analyses the personal spatiality of people with different economic and cultural backgrounds, using Estonia as an example of a 'new' EU country and Sweden as an example of an 'old' one. On the basis of survey data, the contacts, interest and feeling of cultural closeness of different cultures and the connections of these with socio-demographic variables, societal trust, and regional identities are analysed. The results show that personal spatiality is spread homogeneously over social groups in Sweden. In Estonia, personal spatiality differentiates socio-demographic groups and is related to general social trust. The society is separated into a personally 'globalised' group and a group that feels uncertainty in connection with EU enlargement and globalisation. In the new member states of the EU, cultural adaptation without overcoming transition trauma may cause cultural isolation, even xenophobia. Avoiding resistance against transcultural communication patterns contributes to the development of common values and interregional economic cooperation between EU member states.

Keywords

Personal spatiality, lifeworld, transcultural communication, identity, EU enlargement.

Introduction

The enlargement of the European Union (EU) to the East has been analysed from both a political (see e.g. Kučera, Pontuso 2005) and an economic (see e.g. Gabrisch 1997) standpoint. Less attention has been paid to identities (Arts, Halman 2005) and to spatial relations (e.g. Madianou 2005). The focus of this article is on how people mentally perceive the extension of the geo-cultural space around them. Feelings about which regions are perceived by individuals as distant and close, safe and unsafe, interesting and uninteresting, may play an important role in making political decisions. For example, the negative results of the EU Constitutional Treaty referendum in France and the Netherlands and

the discussions concerning the nature of the treaty indirectly echo peoples' uncertainties about change in the economic and political space.

The present analysis focuses on the 'new' EU member states that had been annexed by the Soviet Union and underwent a rapid opening up and economic and political transformation. The paper asks if the spatial security/insecurity felt by people is smaller or greater, socially less or more differentiating, in post-Soviet countries than in countries of stable development? Is spatial security/ in-security related to the social integration of certain groups, or are the differences between the countries with different social context more important? In the present article, Estonia and Sweden are used as examples, respectively, of 'new' and 'old' European countries.

A more detailed hypothesis of the study is presented in the section on 'Method and questions of the study'. The empirical results of the analysis are presented in the fourth and fifth parts of the paper. First, however, I set out models for the EU integration of the transformation societies and the empirical and theoretical framework of this analysis.

Models on EU integration of transformation societies

Transition countries and welfare states with different socio-cultural and economic resources are parts of the same globalisation field (Outhwaite 2005). In this context, some researchers support the view that the harmonisation of spatial relationships takes place in the form of cultural convergence where a peripheral country (such as a 'new' EU country) directly takes over the behavioural patterns of a central EU country (see e.g. Hedegaard & Lindström 2003: 3). In addition, the geopolitical rhetoric of 'East and West' or the 'return to Europe' has been central to discussions concerning military strategies, national identity, political economy, and diplomacy in Europe (e.g. Hagen 2003).

Other studies that analysed the outcomes of Europeanization have regarded the transformation and backward developments probable (Radaelli: 2003). For example, EU enlargement may, in addition to an expected stimulating impact, deepen the trauma of transition – whether this be for certain groups of people, for the whole society, or over the wider EU territory where these countries belong.

Thus, there are several ways in which EU integration of the transformation societies may also reshape the spatial perceptions of the 'older' member states. Analysing the perceptions of spatial changes using Estonia and Sweden as examples enables coherence/fragmentation in a new EU to be described.

Theoretical and empirical framework

Spatiality has become one of the central terms in contemporary social theory, largely due to the development of new technologies, and especially information and communication technologies. These have produced a situation in which the idea of territory has gradually lost its importance in spatial relationships while representations have become more important. For example, Arjun Appadurai (1996) uses the term 'mediascapes', referring both to the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information and to the images of the world created by these media. At the same time, the connections between cultures are no longer restricted by a particular territory — as in the case of 'multi- and intercultural' communication patterns (e.g. contacts between minority and majority cultures within a country) — but are rather transcultural in nature, ranging over the territories (Welsch 1999).

Personal spatiality – how the surrounding countries or cultures are perceived – is involved in that relationship of an individual to the world that Habermas and others have called 'lifeworld'. The present article is primarily based on Habermas' (1989) conception of the lifeworld as a relationship to the system consisting of the actual experiences and results of previous experiences together with expectations about future experiences. As a result of increasing mobility, there is an increasing plurality of lifeworlds (see e.g. Keupp et al 2000).

According to Heiner Keupp (2002), this plurally constructed world may be an extremely liberating experience for individuals. However, others have argued that networking and globalisation may also cause anguish and fear (see e.g. Castells 1998; Beck 1992; Hlavin 1998) that in the present paper could be described as the certainty-uncertainty dimension of spatial relationships. For example, according to Bauman (see e.g. Bauman 1997 [1995]), when a readiness to learn new rules and to take account of the potential risk involved in encountering different cultures is limited, a feeling of uncertainty could follow. Hence, an 'open' personal spatiality — comprising the skills of operating in different lifeworlds — can be seen as an important resource today. Closed political systems such as the Soviet Union, impeded the reproduction of this resource.

One of the influential factors in opening society and building up democracy is societal trust, defined by Piotr Sztompka as '*a bet about the future contingent actions of others*' (Sztompka 1999: 25). Familiarity of the 'lifeworld', among other factors, is important in conducting the trust culture (Sztompka 1999: 122–125). The present article compares the relationships between societal trust with personal spatiality of inhabitants in Estonia and Sweden, a 'new' and an 'old' EU member state, in the context of EU enlargement and general globalisation. Subsequently, I will give an overview of the peculiarity of representations of spatial relationships in both societies.

In the Soviet time, the spatial perceptions in Estonia were characterized by the detachment from the Western world. Although, during the Soviet time real travelling opportunities were wide ranging from the Baltic States to Caucasus, the space was still imagined as narrow and limited because of some single Western media channels, especially Finnish TV-channels that promoted knowledge of cultures outside the Iron Curtain. Therefore, on the one hand, a one-sided world produced by the official media existed in the consciousness of people where capitalist countries were seen as a collective enemy, and, on the other hand, an informal so-called 'world of desires' that was created by following some Western media channels where the West became a certain metaphor of freedom at the grass-roots level (see Jakobson 2002).

In the beginning of the 90's, a sudden shift from East towards West took place in the Estonian economic space. Besides economic and social changes, there have been significant cultural changes in Estonia, especially for one third of the population, the Russian-speakers. They discovered themselves being a minority group after the collapse of the Soviet Union and have been confronted with changes in identification (see e.g. Vihalemm and Masso 2003).

In connection with these changes, I can bring out the following spatial developments in post-communist Estonia: (1) In public discourse, the West as an ideological-mythical metaphor has disappeared and Western countries defined as the former single bloc are represented in the media as a heterogeneous mosaic picture. (2) Former representations that were ideologically controlled by the socialist union are replaced by market-driven (commodified) representation. According to empirical analyses conducted in Estonia, travelling has become a part of the post-Soviet consumption culture (Keller and Kalmus 2004). (3) Romantic discourse of freedom in the Western world has been replaced by rational (projects, money, policies) discourse. For example, Sweden has been portrayed in Estonian newspapers as a positive reference in the social policy context of the welfare in Nordic countries (Sooväli 2000). (4) The rest of the world as the former collective desired object has become (through contacts) the fatal distinguisher of individuals. According to empirical studies, contacts in the Western world have become one of the most important bases of self-positioning (Lauristin 2004). Therefore, public space offers numerous opportunities to relate to the outside world, to mentally capture the opened space.

The present article uses as the basis of comparison Sweden, a welfare state of stable development in a non-central position in the EU. Despite relative stability, several changes in the last decades also describe this society. For example, despite the stable economic growth (between 1994–2000 3.2% per year on the average), Sweden has lost its leading position in economic wealth to Finland (Hedegaard and Lindström 2003) in using more effectively the benefits of common economic space of the European Union.

Unlike in Estonia, the immigrant groups in Sweden consist mostly of residents from Finland and other Nordic Countries, as well as from Yugoslavia,

Iraq. The spatial distances are among other factors created in the context of a new kind of nationalism, where minority languages are viewed positively and the importance of Swedish for national identity is much less evident, for example compared to France (see e.g. Graf 2002).

In Sweden, the media and state borders have been opened in parallel with general globalization trends. Still, events reflected in the media are often 'old-fashioned'. For example, the media does not want to 'admit the agenda of development of actual relationships', so inertia of the image from the beginning of the 90's is dominant in discussions, the habit of taking Estonia as a non-equivalent partner (Vaino 2004). According to Swedish media researcher Jan Ekecranz, Swedish news media about Estonia reflects a certain colonialistic way of thinking. There are two metaphors prevailing, one of the *Hansa,* a celebration of commerce across borders, the other of *Backyard,* a warning about terrible and potentially dangerous conditions beyond the border (Ekecranz 2004).

Thus, spatial relations have changed in both cases (more in Estonia than in Sweden). The spatiality disseminated and constructed by the media is heterogeneous, offering different interpretations of an open space (national, consumerist, the dichotomy between East and West). Personal contacts with other countries have also become more frequent over the past decade. The changes should also have been reflected in peoples' spatial perceptions.

Method and questions of the study

The main assumption of analysis is that the elements of personal spatiality are quantitatively measurable.

In the present paper, personal spatiality is operationalised through three questions that were formulated in the questionnaires of Estonia and Sweden in the same way (1) *How close, understandable the following cultures seem to you? (2) How interested are you in getting news about the countries named below, keeping in touch with the events taking place in these countries?* (3) *Different contacts give a more specific idea about life in other countries. What are your contacts with the countries given below?* In the present article, responses to these three questions have been used in reference to 12 countries: Latvia (neighbouring country with a similar position), Finland and Sweden (neighbouring countries with better living conditions), Poland/Czech (transition countries), Germany (EU 'great power' that historically had cultural hegemony in Estonia), England/Ireland (EU 'great power' that is linguistically 'embraced' due to high competence in English), France (EU 'great power'), the USA/ Canada (world's 'great power', global cultural hegemony), Arab countries (potential 'dangerous area' created in the media), Russia ('dangerous country'

based on direct experience as depicted in the media), Latin America (represented as a distant area through soap operas), Asia (distant exotic countries).

The analysis uses data of the sociological survey conducted in Estonia and in Sweden. The Estonian empirical data is based on the representative survey 'Me, the Media and the World', that was carried out by the Institute of Journalism and Communication of the University of Tartu in co-operation with the research company Faktum during December 2002 and January 2003. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with 1470 respondents according to a territorially representative population model of Estonia.

Simultaneously with the survey in Tartu, a similar questionnaire was also prepared and conducted in Sweden. Media researchers of Södertörn University College, in Huddinge, a suburb of Stockholm carried out the survey 'Changing Mediascape'. A postal questionnaire was conducted in the South-Stockholm district with 1271 respondents from December 2002 to March 2003. Thus, the data collection method used in the two surveys was somewhat different, since the most reliable study method in the given culture was chosen, i.e. the highest response rates in Estonia have face-to-face interviews, on the other hand postal survey in Sweden. However, I am aware of the possible difficulties (bias) in interpreting the data derived from different samples and with survey design, and from different cultural, societal etc backgrounds. The structure of the samples is given in Table 1

Table 1. Sample Structure of the Survey

	Estonia	**Sweden**
Total size of sample, incl. %	1470	1272
Males	47	45
Females	54	54
Born in country	81	80
Born outside of country	19	21
15–29 year-olds	28	21
30–54 year-olds	45	49
55–74 year-olds	27	30
Primary, basic education	23	23
Secondary education	57	45
Higher education	20	32

In order to analyse the relationships, personal spatiality indexes are calculated in a way that in the case of a particular country, all three significant components of personal spatiality described in the previous sections, were summed – interest in the news (as an indicator of virtual spaces of the media), cultural closeness (as an indicator of cultural certainty), and contacts with other countries (as an

indicator of face-to-face spatial relations related to individual economic opportunities)[1]. Instead of grouping the countries, the single country indexes were analysed since the spatial dimensions meaningful for Estonia and Sweden differ significantly, and are analysed in a separate article (Masso 2008). Only the countries with small absolute values were merged for the analysis (USA, Arabic countries, Asia, Latin-America). The statistical criteria for calculating index variables were the correlation coefficient Although the correlations were rather moderate (r=.265) in the case of contacts and media interest, the correlations were significantly higher in the case of contacts and cultural closeness (r=.355), and between variables of cultural closeness and media interest (r=.55). The reliability coefficient Cronbach Alpha had a size of .7, that is acceptable in the social sciences, and hence the used set of variables measures well the latent construct – personal spatiality. For more detailed description about calculating spatial indexes see Vihalemm (2006).

Multinomial logistic regression was employed to analyse the relationships of the indexes of personal spatiality to the independent variables, and the program SPSS was used. Unlike the regular linear regression, the logistic regression enables to analyse the categorical variables, e.g. to estimate the logits of having high value in the contrast of having low value in personal spatiality index. The relationships with the following variables are analysed: socio-demographic variables, trust (general trust, or trust towards media or institutions), and feeling of belonging to various social groupings.

Based on the abovementioned theoretical and empirical presumptions, I am looking for answers to the following questions:

1. What are the peculiarities of personal spatiality in transitional Estonia, which recently came out from behind the 'Iron Curtain', compared to Sweden, a country of stable development? Is the personal spatiality of inhabitants in Estonia more or less 'open' than the inhabitants of Sweden? The initial hypothesis is that the decades-long cultural closeness of Estonian society has created a specific personal space, characterized by more modest readiness to communication over the state borders, at least compared to the Nordic welfare state Sweden.

2. As regards personal spatiality, is the population of Estonia socially more or less differentiated than the population of Sweden? Is spatial security/insecurity related to the social integration of certain groups of people, i.e. does it

[1] For obtaining the index of personal spatiality, all three groups of variables were recoded first on a three-point scale as follows: 2 – cultural closeness *to a great extent, very interested* in media, and *longer contacts*), 1 – cultural closeness *to some extent*, *somewhat interested* in media news, and *brief contact*, 0 – cultural closeness *not at all, not interested* in media news, and *no contacts*. For every 8 groups of countries these three variables were summed up. The calculated index variables ranged from 0 to 6 (the higher the value the more open one is in reference to a particular country). The 8 index variables were shortened into two categories, low personal spatiality (less that average), and high personal spatiality (higher than average).

vary from country to country according to the social group, or are the differences between countries, which are in different stages of development, more important? According to the initial hypothesis, personal resources and clear identities could support the personal cultural opening in the transition societies.

General tendencies in spatial practices

From 1991–2003, all social space indicators discussed in the present research have changed significantly, including media, cultural closeness, and contacts.

Results in Table 2 show that between 1991 and1994, after opening the Iron Curtain, no sudden interest was seen among inhabitants in Estonia towards the news of other countries. Interest in events taking place abroad has increased foremost in the process of joining the European Union between 1994 and 2003, the purpose of which was structural 'catching up with' Western countries and following the requirements of joining the European Union. Between 1994 and 2003, increasing interest did not involve only the EU member states. It was important for Estonians to also compare themselves with other transition countries in the same position (e.g. Poland), Western bigger countries in a better position, and Russia, 'the dangerous country' as depicted in the media. Thus, the change in media space is not created by opening of state borders but rather by a change in collective self-positioning (i.e. becoming a candidate country), which is supported by their comparisons with as diverse references as possible.

Interest in the news of different countries varies significantly more in Estonia (the data range between the largest and smallest values is 41) than in Sweden (data range 8), at least based on the data of 2003. For example, there is a great interest in the news of geographically and culturally close Nordic countries, while no interest is taken in the events taking place in Asia, Arab countries, and Latin America. The interest of the Swedish people has a consistently high economic influence concerning the EU countries, culturally and geographically distant countries, and the global cultural hegemony in the USA; the latter tendency has, compared to Estonia, been longer supported by routine spatial structures of consumption practices (e.g. McDonald's) (see e.g. Dickhard and Hauser-Schäublin 2003). In general, Swedish interest in foreign news is on an average 10% greater than the respective Estonian results. It is probably due to circumstance that in a stable country, which has gradually opened to the world, people have gradually got accustomed to receiving foreign news.

In the dimension of perceiving cultures as close and clear, there is no common distinctive tendency between Estonia and Sweden as it emerged with interest in the news. In many cases, the higher degree of cultural closeness with different countries imagined by inhabitants of Estonia is the same or even more common than in Sweden. Still, the way the cultures are imagined differs in comparison of these two countries. For inhabitants of Estonia, Finland and

Table 2. Relations to different countries and cultures (% of the population aged 15–74)

	Interested in news about other countries**				Closeness to other cultures***		Have visited at least once			Relatives and friends in other countries		Work and business relations in other countries	
	Estonia 1991	Estonia 1994	Estonia 2003	Sweden 2003	Estonia 2003	Sweden 2003	Estonia 1994	Estonia 2003	Sweden 2003	Estonia 2003	Sweden 2003	Estonia 2003	Sweden 2003
Latvia	75	68	77	75	56	18	63	65	4	8	0,4	3	1
Finland	50	58	82	82	66	59	20	39	35	15	14	5	22
Russia	82	80	88	76	76	19	70	56	10	31	1	4	2
Sweden (Estonia)	41	52	77	76	52	22	11	28	15	9	1	3	2
Poland, Czech	26	22	51	74	25	21	16	22	14	2	3	1	2
Germany	45	51	77	79	61	57	12	24	36	11	7	3	2
France	*	*	63	78	43	43	*	9	35	2	2	1	2
England, Ireland	33	35	66	79	57	68	2	7	33	5	6	2	2
Arab countries	*	*	52	77	16	16	*	1	6	1	2	1	1
USA, Canada	55	57	76	81	51	68	1	5	20	13	13	1	2
Latin America	*	*	47	77	24	24	*	2	6	1	3	1	1
Asia	*	*	54	77	27	17	*	1	13	1	3	1	1
Mean	51	53	68	78	46	36	24	22	19	8	5	2	3
Std. Deviation	19	18	14	2	19	21	27	22	13	9	5	1	6
Range	56	58	41	8	60	52	69	64	32	30	14	4	21

* Was not included in the questionnaires conducted in 1991 and 1994

** Interest in news: *great* or *quite great*

*** Closeness to the culture *to some extent* or *to a great extent*

Source about the year 1991 and 1994: TU Institute of Journalism, project Balticom

Sweden are culturally clear and create little uncertainty. At the same time, Swedish inhabitants consider the USA and England cultural hegemonies closer than Finland, with whom they have more real (economic) contacts. Contacts with different countries also show that in Sweden, Nordic identity means a belonging that is rather based on certain symbolic values than relationship networks, i.e. despite economic contacts with Finland (22%), the inhabitants of Sweden have been there more seldom (35%) than inhabitants of Estonia who have visited their neighbours Latvia (65%) and Russia (56%). For Estonia, the Nordic countries connote with a desire to belong to the Nordic cultural space. The roots of this, among other things, date back to Soviet times when Slavic people saw the Estonians as similar to Nordic people; 'different by their looks' compared to the Slavs and as a nation 'with better living conditions' (see e.g. Masso 1999, 2002). The desire to belong to the Nordic cultural space is supported by friendship ties with Nordic countries.

Estonian inhabitants' activity in creating personal contacts is comparable to the inhabitants of Sweden, including the countries where there is not a considerable number of foreign Estonians (e.g. Germany, Latvia). In 1994–2003, the number of people in Estonia who have been to Germany, Finland, and Sweden has doubled. During 10 years Latvia, Czech Republic, and Poland are still often visited. This Eastern orientation is not supported by increasing business contacts but primarily by the existing blood relationships and friendship ties and by representation of these countries in the media. Estonia is characterised by few economic contacts with Finland and Latvia where, unlike in Russia, there are no obstacles for it.

Russia with mainly the personal experience of the Soviet time has fallen in the ranking of visited countries, primarily because many young people have not been there. Decreased contacts between Estonia and Russia show the certain spatial homogeneity between Estonia and Sweden. Still, it is not purely cultural convergence as behavioural patterns of the past, the impact of the media and narratives depicted there have created different understandings for Estonian and Swedish inhabitants about strategically important spatial nodal points.

In 2003, the number of contacts in Estonia was significantly lower than in Sweden primarily for such geographically distant countries like Japan, Latin America, and the USA but significantly fewer visits have been made to such Western European countries as England, France, and Germany. The narrower contacts of Estonian inhabitants are due on the one hand, from poorer financial opportunities. On the other hand, the reason is how the question is raised in the study, and also the time factor – as for most Estonians, these countries have been accessible for only about 15 years.

In summation, if Sweden is characterised by a media society of late modernity, then Estonian inhabitants are adapting to the benefits of modern society (e.g. increasing mobility, growing number of contacts) but also in keeping control of uncertainty arising from foreign cultural contacts. In Estonia, the

basis of self-identification is quite concrete, the narrative being based on particular events reflected in the media. Thus, the results show that in the formation of attractiveness of different countries and personal spatiality, historical impact, neighbourhood, cultural hegemony today (how much the language is spoken, economic power, mass culture production), and other factors are becoming more and more important. Therefore, the following subsection is focused in greater detail on these aspects of personal spatiality.

Characteristics of personal spatiality

Next, the characteristics of personal spatiality are analysed more closely. In tables 3 and 4 the results of multinomial logistic regression are presented. As a dependent variable, 8 index variables of personal spatiality are used and are described in more detail in the section 'Method and questions of the study'. In the tables logit coefficients are provided. In multinomial logistic analysis, the comparison is always with the last value, i.e. the logits of explanatory variables (B coefficients in the ordinary linear regression) are used to estimate the log odds that the dependent equals its highest/last value. Since the high personal spatiality values regarding a particular country are compared to the low values, the last are a reference category, which are set by SPSS zero, and hence not presented in the tables. In tables 3 and 4, only statistically significant logit coefficients are presented.

It appears from Table 3 that Estonia is characterised by relatively high heterogeneity of personal spatiality in socio-demographic groups. Estonian higher personal spatiality value in the case of Russia often expresses the collective social memory of the Russian-speaking people who have not adapted to cultural changes that well. Higher personal spatiality index in the case of Germany, France, England/Ireland, and the USA rather describes younger groups of people with somewhat better cultural adaptation to Western orientation. At the same time, Estonian neighbours Latvia, Finland, Sweden, and other countries (mostly more distant countries like Latin America, Asia, and Arab) have in some degree a so-called more democratic representation, and they are not very different by their socio-demographic variables. Earlier studies have also shown that modernisation patterns, which, among other things, are also expressed by personal spatiality, may be different by their socio-demographic variables. One of the best examples here is Africa where the limits of democratic development, economic liberalisation, etc do not emerge in the case of particular countries but rather in numerous ethnic groups in these countries (Neuberger 2001).

In Estonia, personal spatiality is mostly related to general trust towards social groups (i.e. the entrepreneurs, scientists, politicians etc). Therefore, personal spatiality is related to social trust which Sztompka, Inglehart, and other authors (see e.g. Sztompka 2004) have interconnected with the development of

Table 3. Personal spatiality in Estonia by the characteristic variables (results of multinomial logistic regression)

		Latvia (1)	Finland	Russia	Sweden	Germany	France	England	Other
Socio-demographic variables	Born in country (2)	0.335*	0.528***	–1.200**	0.295*				
	Men (3)	0.205*	0.226*	0.484***		0.242*			
	Age: 57–74 (4)	0.459***				–0.594***	–0.473***	–0.737***	–0.578***
	Age: 42–56	0.799***						–0.477***	
	Age: 29–41	0.551***		0.339**					
	Education: higher (5)	1.272***	1.163***	1.282***	1.312***	1.595***	1.375***	1.255***	1.228***
	Education: secondary	0.296**	0.367**	0.456***	0.408***	0.658***	0.486***	0.370**	0.419***
	Income: more than 4001 (6)		1.06***		0.902***	0.608***	0.419**	0.387**	
	Income: 2001–4000		0.584***	0.299**	0.448***	0.498***	0.410***	0.611***	0.448***
	Income: 1501–2000		0.297*		0.325*	0.393**	0.274	0.334*	
Trust	General trust: high (7)	0.558***	0.494***	0.623***	0.521***	0.361*	0.413**	0.476***	0.783***
	General trust: average		0.564***	0.249	0.346**	0.531***	0.307**	0.371**	0.463***
	Trust in state institutions: high								
	Trust in state institutions: average								
	Trust in media: high	0.443**							
	Trust in media: average	0.305**							
Identity (feel any affiliation)	Estonians (8)	0.593***	0.794***	–1.033***	0.796***	0.410***	0.199	0.348**	
	All people living in Estonia			0.302**	–0.386***			–0.354***	
	Fellow citizens								
	Europeans	0.429**	0.390**		0.638***	0.624***	1.011***	0.956***	0.497***
	Humanity					0.280*	0.02		0.506***
	Nordic people		0.704***		0.380**	0.424**	0.03	0.572***	
	People with similar views of life	0.276**					–0.068		
	People with whom I have common interests			0.281**			0.243*		0.344**
	People with whom I share experiences, memories		0.294**			0.242*			
	Intercept (B)	*–2.392****	*–2.602****	*0.314*	*–1.545****	*0.216*	*–1.582****	*–1.364****	*–1.53****
	Chi-square	*210.718****	*326.217****	*253.797****	*270.487****	*324.902****	*185.371****	*268.111****	*209.815****
	R-Square (Nagelkerke)	*0.19*	*0.282*	*0.226*	*0.242*	*0.216*	*0.17*	*0.237*	*0.189*

Logit coefficients estimated for the model: * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01; (1) reference category is low personal spatiality value regarding a particular country (is set to zero, and hence excluded from the table), (2) reference: not born in country, (3) reference: women, (4) reference: 15–28, (5) reference: basic education, (6) reference: les than 1500 Estonian crowns per family member in a month, (7) reference: low trust (8) reference: do not feel any affiliation.

democratic culture. The results of the present study enable to assume that the mechanical expansion of borders (e.g. new EU member states) without overcoming transition trauma and formation of trust culture may cause certain cultural isolation, even xenophobia.

Based on the number of relations, the next factors are age and education; the lower value in personal spatiality index of younger people with an education who have more evaluated the skills in foreign languages when in contact with other cultures was a self-evident result. Cultural resources available to these groups of the Estonian population decrease the occurrence of cultural trauma arising from social changes. Earlier analyses have also shown that due to explosively increasing foreign language knowledge in Estonia (besides Estonian and Russian, English and also Finnish, German, French and other languages have emerged), the foreign languages have in general become the capital (Masso, Vihalemm 2005).

Economic capital in the form of income appeared to be less important in describing personal spatiality; the income was an important factor primarily in the case of economically and culturally hegemonic countries (England, Germany). Besides, other studies made in this field have shown that the perceived social status (e.g. being on a higher social scale today and 20 years ago) could also be an important factor resulting in more open personal spatiality (especially with Western countries) (see e.g. Lauristin 2004), which reflects the important role of *habitus* in transforming the cultural experiences. On the other hand, in Soviet times, foreign experience was consciously a scarce resource, by which one could share the Western consumption culture. According to empirical studies (see e.g. Masso, Vihalemm 2005) the impact of entrepreneurial practices (assessment of enterprise, provision of extra services, participating in business projects, etc) could also be one of the indicators of personal spatiality that describes it as a rational activity.

In Estonia, greater personal spatiality value primarily results in global identification, i.e. being Europeans, which refers to certain preparedness for coping with cultural risk with the purpose of accomplishing particular political goals or social welfare. Identification with other Nordic people has a rather concrete meaning, i.e. it means more open personal spatiality with regard to the neighbouring countries Finland and Sweden. Personal spatiality could be described by identification with Estonians, an Estonian majority nation, which confirms the results of earlier studies (Jamieson 2002, Masso 2002) that emphasize primariness of local identities in formation of pan-regional affiliation. Personal spatiality has a relatively modest role in the formation of social solidarity (i.e. identification with all people living in Estonia, fellow citizens).

From Table 4 it appears that, unlike Estonia, Sweden is characterised by lower differentiation of personal spatiality in socio-demographic groups. Various socio-demographic groups are relatively equally open to EU and other Western countries, and, to some extent, more closed to former Eastern Bloc and

Table 4. Personal spatiality in Sweden by the characteristic variables (results of multinomial logistic regression)

		Latvia (1)	Finland	Russia	Estonia	Germany	France	England	Other
Socio-demographic variables	Born in country (2)	0.517***	0.445**				0.505***	0.719***	
	Men (3)	0.517***			0.4***				0.237*
	Age: 57–74 (4)					0.806***	0.660***	0.442**	
	Age: 42–56	0.364*		0.421**	0.438**	0.899***	0.850***		
	Age: 29–41				0.427**	0.620***	0.408**		
	Education: higher (5)		0.430**	0.548***	0.343*	1.400***	1.657***	1.664***	1.006***
	Education: secondary		0.293*			0.642***	0.945***	0.922***	0.340**
	Income: more than 601 000 (6)		0.538**			0.684***	0.624***	0.758***	0.390*
	Income: 401 000–600 000		0.589***			0.676***	0.044	0.379**	
	Income: 301 000–400 000		0.465**						
Trust	General trust: high (7)	–0.656***		–0.666***	–0.522**		–0.546**		
	General trust: average							0.315*	
	Trust in state institutions: high						0.446*		
	Trust in state institutions: average			0.368**					
	Trust in media: high			0.431**					
	Trust in media: average	0.581***	0.424***	0.384**	0.560***	0.271*			
Identity (feel any affiliation)	Swedes (8)	–0.335*	–0.362*						
	All people living in Sweden	0.314*				–0.310*			
	Fellow citizens								
	Europeans			0.299*		0.812***	0.511***	0.507***	
	Humanity	0.560***	0.423***	0.621***	0.491***	0.405***	0.439***	0.417***	0.603***
	Nordic people								
	People with similar views of life								
	People with whom I have common interests								
	People with whom I share experiences, memories			–0.355**		0.330*	0.304*	0.0312*	0.361**
	Intercept (B)	*–2.180****	*–1.393****	*–1.859****	*–1.971****	*–2.514****	*–3.067****	*–2.621****	*–1.599****
	Chi-square	*134.931****	*154.643****	*145.298****	*142.594****	*245.439****	*238.382****	*256.838****	*173.611****
	R-Square (Nagelkerke)	*0.15*	*0.173*	*0.158*	*0.156*	*0.259*	*0.25*	*0.272*	*0.187*

Logit coefficients estimated for the model: * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01; (1) reference category is low personal spatiality value regarding a particular country (is set to zero, and hence excluded from the table), (2) reference: not born in country, (3) reference: women, (4) reference: 15–28, (5) reference: basic education, (6) reference: less than 3000 000 Swedish crowns per family member in a year, (7) reference: low trust (8) reference: do not feel any affiliatio

geographically distant countries. Similarly to Estonia, one of the relevant distinctive factors was ethnic or cultural background, i.e. the Swedes born in Sweden are culturally more open towards the 'old' and 'new' EU countries such as Latvia, Finland, France, and England, which may express the ethno-cultural belonging of the national minorities and their difficulties in identifying themselves on the basis of international organisations inherent for the region. Also, similarly to Estonia, the income was a moderate factor describing personal spatiality in Sweden, which confirms the hypothesis of the importance of a trust culture in decreasing cultural uncertainty.

The most important factor in the formation of personal spatiality in Sweden appeared to be trust in the media, i.e. greater trust in the media mostly elicits greater value in personal spatiality index. While analysing personal spatiality in reference to Estonia, the results are controversial, i.e. average media trust brings along a higher value of the personal spatiality index, if there is low or high media trust the value of the personal spatiality index is higher in reference to Estonia. Similar trends appeared in the case of other countries (e.g. Arab, Latin America etc), which may express potential feeling of cultural uncertainty and risk in reference to these countries. In addition to media, another institutional factor emerged in differentiating personal spatiality in Sweden, which was education. Similarly to Estonia, trust in state institutions in Sweden was not an important factor describing cultural certainty-uncertainty. Probably, the reason for this is the relatively high prestige of state institutions (e.g. the church, the government, and the police) among all groups of the population in Sweden.

Similarly to Estonia, personal spatiality is related to global identification. A bit greater number of relations than in Estonia reflects the longer experience of this country as a civil society, which is based on the global space and (transnational) networks. While in Estonia, important variables describing the personal spatiality were (desired) identities of the Europeans and Nordic people, in Sweden the dominant factor was identification with humanity, which refers to post-modern identification based on common ideas and beliefs. The latter is also shown by relations with identification based on spiritual interests (i.e. people with whom I share a common memory). Weak relations in identification with fellow citizens and people living in Sweden, on the other hand, shows little impact of personal spatiality on the established social solidarity and the functioning of civil society.

In summation, different patterns in personal spatiality in Estonia and Sweden come from different modernisation patterns, individual experiences and interpretation patterns of social groups. Socio-demographic difference of transition countries is expressed in different perception of today's economic-cultural hegemonic countries, i.e. the greater the cultural and economic capital of the social group, the more secure one feels about these cultures. Estonian inhabitants certainty-uncertainty about other (i.e. neighbouring) countries, which are more familiar and create less feeling of risk and uncertainty when in contact with them, depends more or less on personal 'capitalisation' of the people.

Although Estonia has quickly moved to the global space (of identity), the formation of personal spatiality may not mean the formation of a civil society that unites all the members of society; it is rather about diverse (transcultural) networks characteristic of certain single groups. Cultural opening also takes place in the form of defensive community identity, i.e. through identification with local or territorially close culture. Unlike individual resources, which were the main distinguishers in the Estonian society, there were important institutional factors in Sweden (e.g. media), which derives from the country's longer traditions of global space and stronger civil society.

Conclusion

In the present article, personal spatiality was analysed using the example of two EU countries with different economic, political, and cultural background, Estonia and Sweden.

It emerged from the results of analysis that for the inhabitants of Estonia as a transition society, the average number of personal contacts with other countries is similar to that for the inhabitants of Sweden. On the other hand, in Sweden, interest in the news about other countries is significantly higher than in Estonia where the media usage differentiates, similarly to cultural contacts, the social groups. Perceived cultural closeness was in Estonia homogeneously spread among social groups and higher than in Sweden. Thus, readiness for cultural contacts as well as for economic and other types of innovation could become a considerable social resource in transition countries, at least using Estonia as an example.

In the personal spatiality of Estonian inhabitants, the neighbouring welfare states (Finland, Sweden) were attractive. In Sweden, there was a greater symbolic impact of the so-called economic-cultural hegemonic countries (the USA/Canada, Germany, England/Ireland) on the formation of personal space of the people, which is expressed in both interests in the news and in perceiving these countries as culturally close. Thus, if in Estonia, a greater role in personal spatiality is played by territorial closeness, then in Sweden territory plays less of a role and media representations are more important.

In Estonia, greater cultural closeness with EU hegemonic countries characterises the inhabitants with greater social capitalisation level, which shows the 'EU as an elite project'. Other sources confirm that the categories referring to global cohesion may rather acquire the connotation of successful self-identification, not to become the marker of our-feeling that unites all the society members in Estonia (see also Vihalemm and Masso 2004). In this way the space creates a material/social hierarchy, due to which EU enlargement may cause splitting in the societies of transition countries. Thus, personal spatiality may become a factor, which separates the society into a personally 'globalised'

group, and a group that feels uncertainty in connection with EU enlargement and globalisation.

Personal spatiality appeared to be the indicator of internal trust culture in the society. The personal spatiality, trust, and identity do not differentiate social groups in Sweden. In post-communist Estonia, personal spatiality has opened up together with the 'opening' of Estonia to the Western world and in the context of development of a democratic culture. For example, when in Sweden the relations between personal spatiality and trust in the media could be an indicator of a stable media society, then in Estonia the higher trust towards social groups (i.e. the entrepreneurs, scientists, politicians etc.) is connected to personal spatiality, which could show the importance of spatial perceptions in the development of a democratic culture. The results show that the formation of a trust culture and overcoming transition trauma is essential in avoiding cultural isolation.

To summarise, the results of the analysis show that the fast geo-cultural opening up of Estonia due to economic and political transformation is not necessarily expressed in a more modest readiness for transcultural communication compared with Sweden. However, perception of spatial certainty-uncertainty in a post-communist country is related to the social integration of certain groups of people, i.e. open personal spatiality is in Estonia common among the groups with larger social resources.

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II

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READINESS TO ACCEPT IMMIGRANTS IN EUROPE? INDIVIDUAL AND COUNTRY LEVEL CHARACTERISTICS

This paper focuses on one aspect of spatial reflexivity – individual readiness to accept immigrants. The singularity of the article is an attempt to include in the analysis both micro and macro-level characteristics of migration attitudes. European Social Survey data from 23 countries are analysed with a multilevel modelling method. In the theoretical part, Anthony Giddens' structuration approach is used. The results of the analysis have shown that although the interests of ethnic groups are important at the micro level, the civil commitment to the country is dominant in encouraging individual readiness to accept immigrants. An integrated approach to ethnic question is required at the macro level; a country's investments in innovation and human resources in addition to multicultural politics are essential. A combined analysis of micro and macro-level variables reveals that individual characteristics tend to equalise different migration policies. The analysis has shown the universality of the structures of agencies and the heterogeneity of the structures of a system when comparing attitudes to migration. The paper suggests that in countries where ethnic minorities are perceived as culturally more different there is a greater need for 'skills to translate multiculturalism', mostly in the form of language and media education.

Keywords: Attitudes to Immigration; Structuration Theory; European Integration; Multilevel Modelling

Introduction

Many European countries face the situation where different forms of intercultural communication such as foreign language expertise and intercultural contacts have turned out to be basic but extremely necessary proficiencies. These communication skills are crucial in assuring the legitimacy of common laws and institutions and the sustainability of supranational structures – political, economic and cultural – and thereby help in the search for opportunities in creating a common public sphere. Multi-cultural societies that do not sufficiently develop such intercultural communication skills could meet several challenges such as those that occurred in France and Denmark in 2005. The challenge in France was the violent expression of immigrants' discontent of the government's politics that couldn't handle the unemployment etc problems. The Danish example was the clash of Islamic cultural norms and values and the Western media's enshrinement of the freedom of speech that occurred in

September 2005 when one of the leading dailies in Denmark published cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad.

The European Union (EU) is only able to formulate declarative policies on the issue of multiculturalism. Defining the reasons for EU's inability to formulate a regional multicultural policy is inherently difficult. One reason could be that the proportion, composition and cultural backgrounds of immigrant communities differ considerably from one EU member country to another. Another reason could be that the public sphere does not wholly support the concept of multiculturalism. The current debate, for example, about immigration in Europe focuses on the 'integration of immigrants' into 'host societies' although as Zapata-Barrero (2003) argues there is also a third party – the 'citizens of the host society' who should be able to integrate with immigrants and emerging multicultural societies.

Until now, a significant part of the research on immigration has focused primarily on the political aspects of immigration (Alexander, 2003) or the economic (Mettam and Williams, 2001). Whereas the influence of these two aspects on the shaping of attitudes towards immigration is widely acknowledged very little research has analysed either those attitudes towards immigration other than Maddens, Billiet and Beerten (2000) or the methodological issues of immigration studies as Smith (2004) conducted. There are no studies combining methodologically the factors characteristic of attitudes towards immigration. This article examines one aspect of intercultural communication: the individual's readiness to accept immigrants. The article takes into account both the individual and the national-level characteristics and using the European Social Survey data analyses the degree of readiness. One methodological ambition of the article is to find the micro and macro-level factors that are important in developing individual readiness to accept immigrants. I believe that an integrated analysis is worthwhile, as it helps to evaluate the viability of social scenarios and to plan institutional activities.

Policy and public construction of immigration

Immigration in Europe, after the Second World War, changed from movement of populations to the movement of labour. Labour market policies, for example, varied at the level of specific countries from the active recruitment policies of Germany, Austria, and Switzerland to the liberal immigration policies of Great Britain and France (Gabriele 1992)[1]. The underlying aims of immigrants have

[1] The suggested division of immigration policies is only one of many possible ways of classification. E.g. researchers have divided countries also into classical countries of immigration (Sweden, Canada, Australia), guest-worker exclusionary regimes (Germany, Austria, Switzerland), and quasi-assimilationist or post-colonial regimes (France, Britain, the Netherlands) (Castles and Miller 1998)

changed in recent decades from an individual's desire for a better standard of living to the desire that 'any standard of living is better than none'. The result is that there is the need in national immigration policies to recognise the importance of supranational human rights over the needs of the labour market. There is, however, a high level of pessimism regarding society's ability to ensure full equality to all its cultural minorities through policy decisions, although there are some overall principles of multiculturalist ideas (see Parekh 2000).

Due to the changes in the causes of immigration and lack of common awareness about immigration policies in Europe, immigration has become one of the crucial themes in the public discourse. Public discontent with integration policy, for example, in The Netherlands has even been associated with voting against the EU Constitutional Treaty in the spring 2005 (O'Sullivan 2005). Generally, the prevailing discourse of European immigration is the conceptualisation of security. Allessandra Buonfino (2004) analysed, for example, the public immigration discourse of the European Union, and concludes that the public, the media and the governments of particular countries want to preserve the existing socio-political and power boundaries between different national groups.

European public discourse also uses the theme of immigration to secure identity. Maddens et. al. (2000) argue in their research in Belgium that the creation of Flanders' local regional identity is directly linked to the region's more negative attitudes towards immigrants whereas the same negative attitudes in Wallonia are due to the region's strong identification with Belgium in general. Anna Triandafyllidou (2000) provides the contrasting view, from research in Greece and Italy, that although the perceptions of immigrants are not always positive, they are not necessarily an impassable obstacle to integration.

The situation of many Eastern European countries (former Soviet Socialist Republics) is unique. The overwhelming majority of population flows within the borders of the Soviet Union were work related, as either part of Moscow inspired settlement programmes or enforced penal movements eastwards. Immigrant status did not exist for people moving from one ethnic region to another within the borders of the Soviet Union until the fall of Communism; the subsequent transition of state borders from administrative to national ensured that all the migrants acquired the status of immigrants. These countries before or after joining EU, were expected to adjust to the principles of the EU, which in the local context may not offer good solutions. According to empirical studies conducted in the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland (Mitsilegas 2002) there are no acceptable Schengen standards to be applied to candidate countries, which increases mistrust between the those countries.

In Eastern European transitional countries, attitudes towards various ethnic groups have become more tolerant and instead of actual ethnic conflicts, countries are dealing with the construction of an ideological enemy as part of their identity construction (for border constructions see van Dijk 2005). An

empirical analysis conducted in Estonia supports the theory that other issues (like the 'brain drain') are becoming more acute topics in public discourse than ethnic relations (Oja 2005).

My conclusion, based on the aforementioned arguments, is that both the public discourse and policies are about to change, as well as individual relationships to different cultures. In doing so I claim that subjective factors, specifically the individual readiness to accept immigrants – are important in a broader context of immigration. The main question in the field of immigration will be: which is more important in forming higher intercultural communication readiness – the macro-level context, where a particular individual lives, or individual micro-level differences? There is also a third or local cultural level for (multilingual) minority population groups. This latter group should, according to surveys (Wright 2000), find it easier to switch to new communication networks, since they already participate in and understand these 'diglossic situations'.

The authors have no agreement regarding the importance of any particular local macro context in creating behavioural patterns. Researchers have found that an important role in adjusting to migration is played by the social capitalisation of both the state and individuals (see e.g. Sanders, Nee, Sernau 2002; Portes, Sensebrenner 1998). The individual readiness for intercultural communication – the readiness to accept immigration – could, for example, be a function of individual characteristics such as education or followed media channels, and country characteristics such as an ethnic inclusion-exclusion policy of the country and investments in social capital, etc. This analysis is focused on the above-mentioned aspects, which are conceptualised in the following overview of the theoretical framework of the study.

Theoretical and methodological issues

This paper focuses on analysing individual readiness to accept immigrants in European countries. Previous studies about migration and ethnic relations have been mostly based on the theories of nationalism, which is just one possible framework for the analysis.

According to John Rex (1994b), the theory of ethnicity should not necessarily always be related to studies of nationalism, since in many cases (e.g. migration) the groups do not always have nationalistic ambitions. Rex suggests going back to the classical comparative approach in order to understand the political structures in the contemporary world, especially after the political changes in Europe in the 1990s (Rex 1994a). Anthony D. Smith has also criticized the social sciences, since the studies have mostly concentrated on analysing the impact of policies on ethnicity and nationalism. Smith suggests instead the study of the opposite relationship – the way in which the cultural

elements shape the policies (Smith 1996). John Hutchinson has stated similarly that nationalism is not a static movement incompatible with modernity, but rather a cultural process of 'recurring conflicts with "external" others and between competing "insiders"' (Hutchinson 1999: 391).

This article offers an alternative approach, based on the structuration theory and offers a new methodological approach. The structuration theory, in the field of migration studies, was thoroughly discussed theoretically by Martin Cadwallander (1992). Both macro and micro-level approaches must, according to Cadwallander, be involved in the explanation of migrations phenomena.

According to the structuration theory of Anthony Giddens, when analysing the psychological qualities of individuals and the interactions – in this paper the readiness to accept immigrants – it is necessary to take into account temporal and spatial situativeness (Giddens 1989). According to this, the inhabitants of a particular nation-state are not only mobile passive bodies, whose readiness to accept immigrants depends only on the limits, but they also make intentional use of resources created by the nation state with its institutions (or the term 'locale' used by Giddens). For example, regions where people are more ready to accept immigrants from more distant countries are mostly characterised by a higher degree of institutionalization, i.e. in the present case, it means more clearly defined policies of inclusion and exclusion of ethnic groups.

The ways in which one or another culture is perceived depends on (mediated) contacts with and physical distances from different cultures and the development of transport and communication technologies in the given region (Giddens uses the term 'presence-availability') (see Graph 1). However, according to this approach, following the news about another culture or having contacts with the members of an ethnic group (e.g. travelling, migration) does not necessarily mean greater readiness to accept immigrants as the individuals may consciously use the resources created by structural conditions and use different ways to avoid restrictions. To summarize, Giddens combines the activities of 'agents' at the micro level and the 'systems' of the macro level that are related to each other through certain 'structures' or structurised practices (e.g. moral rules and material resources) in his theory of structuration.

While Giddens's structuration theory is valued primarily because of its system of terms (see Soja 1995, Cadwallander 1993), it has been an object of criticism and suggestions. The structuration theory is criticised mainly because structuralist arguments tend to assume a far too rigid causal determinism in social life; there are no explanations for social change, and the term structure is used in apparently contradictory senses in different social scientific discourses (Sewell 1992). Instead, William H. Sewell emphasises interpretational aspects of the individual and points out that it is equally important to focus on the structural patterns at the individual level as well as on the macro level structures of system that organizes our activity.

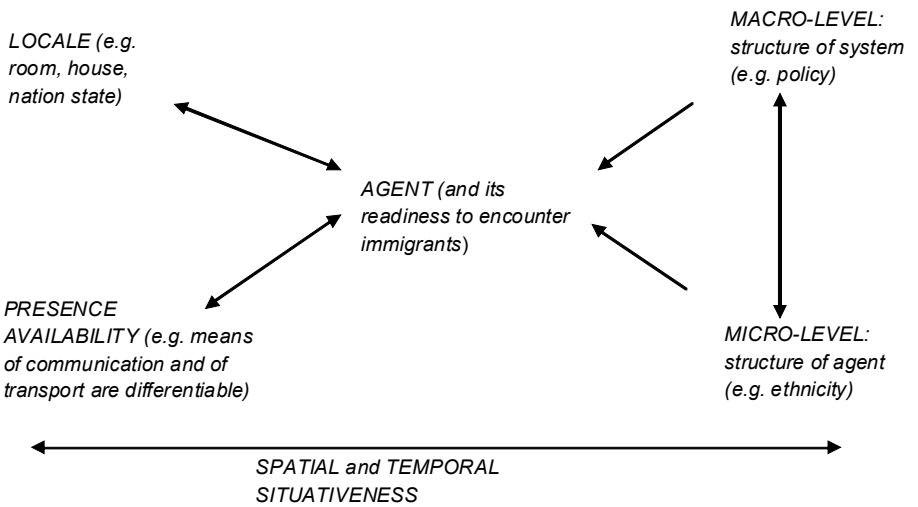

Figure 1. Readiness to encounter immigrants in the framework of structuration theories

According to Margaret Archer, Giddens ignores the existing efforts to perform the same task of re-uniting structure and action from within general systems theory (Archer 1982). Studies into migration have shown that there are limited efforts in investigating the structure-agency boundaries in family migration research (Smith 2004). Giddens's structuration theory has its disadvantages in the context of my present study also, because it does not consider the simultaneous effects of individual actors and the broader context created by country politics. Communication patterns described by Giddens, for example, concentrate on the single level of interaction (e.g. local community) rather than seeing opportunities for concurrent interactions on several levels (e.g. individual, national, international) that I consider substantive in analysing the rather complex cultural phenomena like immigration and readiness to accept immigrants in a globalizing world. Because of this a synthesis of macro and micro approaches is most likely to provide a unified yet flexible theoretical framework for investigating migration behaviour and attitudes.

Graph 1 illustrates schematically in the context of this study the links between the main terms of Giddens's structuration theory and their further development by Sewell. When analysing migration and cultural attitudes, I have considered it important to look at the structure as a cultural phenomenon (similar to the opinion of Sewell), in that the structure always derives from the character and distribution of resources in the everyday world and is hence dynamic rather than static. According to the scheme, even the more or less perfect reproduction of structures (e.g. migration policy) is a profoundly temporal process that requires resourceful and innovative human conduct (see

also Sewell 1992). My present analysis attempts to overcome the limitations attributed to Giddens's theory by determining the important micro and macro level structural elements that are important in shaping attitudes towards migration. The analysis aims at estimating which resources of individuals (e.g. ethnicity, etc.) support the macro level structures (e.g. government policies) in creating individual readiness to accept immigrants.

To summarize, the relations between individual characteristics and state policies in regulating cultural relationships are changing. Empirically, this is expressed by misunderstandings between ethnic groups in several European countries (however, I do admit that often these are economic problems that are 'translated' into ethnic issues). A theoretical challenge is to explain through empirical analyses how the relationships between individuals and the structure have changed and to show the structures of agents involved in the creation of macro level structures. On a more particular basis, the following questions are posed in the study: 1) What are the general patterns of readiness to accept immigrants in different European countries? 2) To what degree could the individual readiness to accept immigrants be described by individual or country level characteristics? The data, principles of empirical analysis and research instruments used in the study are described in detail in the following section.

Method and data

This paper uses the data from the European Social Survey (ESS) conducted in 2004–2005. The European Social Survey is an academically driven multi-country social survey designed to chart and explain the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviour patterns of Europe's diverse populations.

This paper uses ESS data covering 23 EU countries, (EU25 excluding Cyprus, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania and Malta but including three non-member states Iceland, Norway and Switzerland) which can be split into two groups. The bigger group includes those 'old' European countries that have a diverse multi-cultural background while the second and smaller group comprises the 'new' European transition countries where, as a result of the former Soviet Union's forced migration policies, a high proportion of the minority groups have Slavic background.

The data in ESS refers to people 15 years or older who were resident within private households, regardless of nationality and citizenship, language or legal status. The survey involved strict random probability sampling, a minimum target response rate of 70 per cent and rigorous translation protocols. The hour-long face-to-face interview included (amongst others) questions on family, work and well-being, health and economic morality. The general sample structure is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Sample Structure of the Survey (row per cent)

		Age							Level of study			Gender		Member minority ethnic group in country	
	N	Under 19	20–29	30–44	45–54	55–64	65–74	Over 75	Primary and secondary (lower level)	Secondary (upper and post level)	Tertiary (1st and 2nd stage), adult education	Male	Female	Yes	No
Total	**45681**	**7**	**15**	**26**	**17**	**15**	**12**	**8**	**39**	**42**	**19**	**46**	**54**	**4**	**96**
Austria	2256	13	14	31	17	13	7	6	66	26	8	46	54	4	96
Belgium	1778	8	16	27	18	13	12	7	34	39	27	49	51	3	97
Switzerland	2141	5	12	31	15	17	11	9	17	67	16	44	56	7	93
Czech Republic	3026	5	13	24	18	19	14	7	17	75	8	47	53	3	97
Germany	2870	8	12	27	19	16	13	6	18	61	21	48	52	4	96
Denmark	1487	7	13	28	17	18	11	7	24	49	26	49	51	2	98
Estonia	1989	10	15	22	17	15	13	9	26	47	27	41	59	21	79
Spain	1663	7	18	30	15	12	12	8	63	18	19	51	49	3	97
Finland	2022	7	14	24	16	18	13	8	36	35	28	47	53	1	99
France	1806	4	13	27	16	18	13	9	51	24	25	47	53	4	96
United Kingdom	1897	6	13	30	14	14	14	10	10	38	52	46	54	7	93
Greece	2406	4	14	26	14	14	17	10	55	33	12	44	56	4	96
Hungary	1498	7	16	24	20	16	11	6	55	30	15	43	57	4	96
Ireland	2286	6	15	25	17	19	12	6	44	42	14	43	57	2	98
Iceland	579	8	18	29	18	14	7	7	35	32	34	48	52	2	98
Luxembourg	1635	9	16	28	19	14	9	5	45	38	17	52	48	5	95
Netherlands	1881	4	10	29	19	18	13	8	44	32	25	42	58	5	95
Norway	1760	6	14	30	19	16	9	6	22	43	35	52	48	4	96
Poland	1716	10	21	25	18	12	8	5	54	35	11	49	51	1	99
Portugal	2052	5	16	24	14	14	17	11	74	16	11	40	60	2	98
Sweden	1948	7	15	25	17	16	11	9	48	22	30	50	50	2	98
Slovenia	1442	9	17	25	16	13	13	7	54	35	10	46	54	2	98
Slovakia	1512	10	19	27	20	12	8	5	21	68	11	50	50	6	94

This paper uses two groups of questions as the main variables in analysis:
Group 1 three questions about general attitudes to immigration:

1. Would you say it is generally bad or good for the country's economy that people come to live here from other countries?
2. Would you say that the country's cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries?
3. Is the country made a worse or a better place to live by people coming to live here from other countries?

Group 2 three questions about individual readiness to accept immigration:

1. Would you allow many/few immigrants of same race/ethnic group as majority to come and live here (in your country)?
2. Would you allow many/few immigrants of different race/ethnic group from majority to come and live here (in your country)?
3. Would you allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe to come and live here (in your country)?

The main variables are first analysed in the form of general frequencies. Second, in order to generalise the results and in order to analyse the relationships with other background variables index variable of readiness to accept immigrants was calculated. The index is calculated by summing up all 6 variables (general attitude variables varied from 1 to 4 and individual readiness variables varied from 0 to 10), so as a result of this calculation, the maximum score of index is 42 and the minimum is 3.

The following socio-demographic variables are used, as micro-level background variables: age, education, ethnicity[2], being citizen of country or not, being born in country or not, and gender. In addition, the following index-variables were calculated and used in the analysis: use of internet, social capital, discrimination rate, trust in people, and civil commitment. Macro-level variables used in this analysis originate from the Statistical Office of the European Communities (Eurostat, March 2006); the variables used are the following: population size, migration rate, asylum applications, public expenditure on human resources, IT expenditure, and expenditure on research and development[3]. Micro and macro variables were chosen according to theoretical considerations and the final analysis contains only statistically relevant relationships. Therefore, several micro level variables (being citizen of country

[2] Another potential macro-level variable is the nation, since it is often constructed by the State, national elite or a larger collective. Ethnicity, in this paper, is regarded as a micro-level variable, since it is based on the self-assessment of the surveyed individuals.

[3] The quantitative macro-level variables were divided into three categories in such a way that the initial symmetrical shape of distribution was retained, i.e. a 'low rate' accounts approximately for 25–30 per cent of cases, an 'average rate' for 40–50 per cent, and a 'high rate' for a further 25–30 per cent of cases.

or not, television watching activeness, radio-listening activeness, newspaper reading activeness, life satisfaction, political trust) and macro level variables (student mobility, foreign language teaching, internet access), which at first seemed important, were left out of the final analysis. A detailed description of the used micro and macro level variables and shortened index scales are provided in the Appendix in Table 2.

In analysing the relationships between individual readiness to accept immigrants and other background variables, the multilevel modelling method is used. Originally, this method was used in order to analyse data with complex patterns of variability, with a focus on nested sources of variability (see Snijders and Bosker 2004, Luke 2004). In this paper, multilevel analysis is mostly used in the form of 'contextual analysis', i.e. I have focused on the effects of the social contexts (micro and macro-level) on individual behaviour. The aim is to analyse the patterns of individual readiness to accept immigrants by independent variables operating at different levels, from the micro level to the macro level.

The main argument in using multilevel modelling instead of ordinary least squares regression model is that the phenomenon and theories regarding human communication within and between spaces are multilevel in nature (i.e. including interdependencies of individual actor and collective agencies)[4]. The following analyses were conducted using the programs MS Excel, and MlwiN a software package for fitting multilevel models. The results of the analysis are presented in the following parts of the paper.

[4] The multilevel modelling method allows taking into account the variability of both individual and State levels. By using, in the analysis, ordinary linear regression with the method of least squares it is not possible to take into account the two possible sources of variability. The focus of a multilevel analysis is not on the individual countries in the sample, but on estimating the patterns of variation in the underlying population of countries. The general model used in this analysis could be summarised in the following formula: $Y_{ij} = \mu + U_j + R_{ij}$, where Y stands for the dependent variable *individual readiness to* accept *immigrants*, i and j designate different levels of analysis (i – country, j – individual), where μ is the population mean (i.e. constant), U_j is the specific effect of a macro unit and R_{ij} is the residual effect of micro unit i within this macro effect.

Table 2. Individual and country-level characteristics used in the study

INDEX	BASED VARIABLES	SCALE
Individual readiness to accept immigrants	General attitudes to immigration (6 – immigration positive, 0- immigration negative) plus individual readiness to accept immigration (6 – allow many, 0 – allow none)	1 – low, 12 – high
Ethnicity	Belong to minority ethnic group in country	1 – yes, 2 – no
Born in country	Born in country	1 – yes, 2 – no
Education level	Highest level of education	1 – primary and secondary (lower level), 2 – secondary (upper and post level), 3 – tertiary (first and second stage, adult education).
Age	2004 less year of birth	1 – under 19, 2 – 20–29, 3 – 30–44, 4 – 45–54, 5 – 55–64, 6 – 65–74, 7 – older than 75
Gender	Gender	1 – man, 2 – woman
Use of internet	Use of Internet	1 – less than once a month, 2 – once a month, 3 – several times a month, 4 – once a week, 5 – several times a week, 6 – every day
Social capital	Frequency of socialising with friends, relatives or colleagues	1 – several times a month, once a week, 2 – several times a week, every day, 0 – all other values
	Anyone to discuss intimate and personal matters with	1 – yes, 0 – no
	Particpating in social activities compared to others of same age	1 – about the same, 2 – more than most, 0 – other values
Trust in people	Most people can be trusted or you can't be too careful	scale from 0 to 10
	Most people try to take advantage of you, or try to be fair	scale from 0 to 10
	Most of the time people are helpful or mostly looking out for themselves	scale from 0 to 10
Civil commitment	Citizens should spend some free time helping others	2 – agree strongly, 1 – agree, 0 – other values
	Society is better off if everyone looked after themselves	2 – disagree strongly, 1 – disagree, 0 – other values
	Citizens should not cheat on taxes	2 – agree strongly, 1 – agree, 0 – other values
Discrimination	Member of a group discriminated against in this country	1 – yes, 2 – no

INDEX	BASED VARIABLES	SCALE
Population size	Total population	1 – low, 2 – average, 3 – high
Migration	Net migration, including corrections (proportion of total population)	1 – low, 2 – average, 3 – high
Asylum applications	Asylum applications (proportion of total population)	1 – low, 2 – average, 3 – high
Spending on human resources	Spending on human resources (Total public expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP)	1 – low, 2 – average, 3 – high
IT expenditure	ICT expenditure – IT expenditure (as a percentage of GDP)	1 – low, 2 – average, 3 – high
Expenditure on research and development	Gross domestic expenditure on research and development (as a percentage of GDP)	1 – low, 2 – average, 3 – high

Results

General tendencies in individual readiness to accept immigrants

An overview about general tendencies in individual readiness to accept immigrants among European countries is given in the first part of the analysis.

The results concerning general attitudes to immigration and individual readiness to accept immigration are presented in Table 3. The table shows that when analysing individual readiness to accept immigration, the highest level of openness is directed towards the same race/ethnic group as majority to come and live in the country. The least willingness is held for immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe. These results show that the individual readiness to accept immigration is carried by the nation and welfare state concept that functionally tends to contrast different groups on the base of ethnic and economic background. Using the terminology of van Dijk's ethnic group limits, the attempts to construct both ideological and cultural enemy are equally important and intertwined with each other (van Dijk 2005).

When individuals in a particular country are personally ready to accept immigrants of the same ethnic groups as the majority to enter the country, they are also ready to accept immigrants from different ethnic groups or from poorer countries outside Europe. The exceptions are Luxembourg, Denmark, and Germany, where the higher degree of individual readiness to accept immigration is foremost towards other ethnic groups. These results could characterise a rather high degree of empathy in the 'social welfare states' and the valuation of universal values related to broader terms like *humanity* rather than to a particular interest group. Another exception is Spain, where individuals would rather accept the same ethnic group as the majority rather than other groups that enter the country. These results confirm the theoretical assumptions of this article, according to which the lack of tolerance and fear of strangers is not necessarily directed towards specific individuals or groups; these may be activity or value patterns acquired in the course of socialisation in a closer or more distant social context, expressed in a cognitive orientation to different cultures.

Individual readiness to accept immigration is higher than average in Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Ireland, Switzerland, Denmark and Poland. Smaller than average migration rates could explain the cultural openness displayed in these countries (with the exception of Switzerland), in that the relative scarcity of previous negative/positive experiences could be a favourable prerequisite for any consequent successive contact and irrespective of the immigration policy – the classical liberal or the guest-worker exclusionary regimes (Castles and Miller 1998).

Average individual readiness to accept immigration is present in countries like Spain, Finland, Austria, Germany, Slovakia, UK and Belgium, who on the one hand are characterised by average or higher degree of innovation (e.g. IT expenditure, level of internet access in households), and on the other hand have average or higher ratio of asylum applications (except in Spain). These results show, that the countries' experiences with different minority groups who need economic or political support, and the individual spatial reflexivity encouraged by digital media could form more cautious attitudes towards possible future contacts.

A third group of countries has lower than average individual readiness to accept immigration – Luxembourg, Slovenia, Greece, the Czech Republic, Estonia, the Netherlands, France, Hungary and Portugal – where the total rate of immigration is average or lower, but also the country's spending on human resources, IT research and innovation is rather moderate. To summarize, the relative scarcity of negative/positive experiences with different immigrant groups does not necessarily lead to general individual readiness to accept immigration, when the general individual social capital and openness is not supported by the state. Some of these countries, such as France, are characterised by the post-colonial type of immigration politics (see Castles and Miller 1998) and others are the new EU member states with a communist past. The analysis enables the argument that belonging to the bloc of Communist or former colony-owning Empire countries and the relevant immigration policy may hinder the creation of coherence between cultures.

The second group of variables analysed in this subsection characterise general attitudes to immigration regarding influences on the country's economy, cultural life, or general life quality. The results presented in Table 3 show that although most of the individuals have pointed out that immigrants could enrich the country's cultural life, the judgements are more sceptical regarding the positive influences on the country's economy and on the general quality of life (i.e. that immigrants make the country a better place to live). Such opinions may be influenced by public discourse, which indicate that many immigration host countries have difficulties in introducing social policy and educational systems, which would secure social integration. Cultural and economic benefits of immigration are especially obvious in the cases of Poland and Sweden. In the case of these countries, defensive attitudes to the countries' economy emerge, i.e. these are countries that would like to maintain their economic welfare in the conditions of general population ageing (Sweden) or have high purposes achieving the western-style life standards, etc. (Poland).

Table 3. Individual readiness to accept immigration, general attitudes to immigration (order of countries, 1 – highest, 23 – lowest) and index of individual readiness to accept immigrants (average)

	Allow many immigrants of same race/ethnic group as majority*	Allow many immigrants of different race/ethnic group from majority*	Allow many immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe*	Immigration good for country's economy**	Country's cultural life enriched by immigrants**	Immigrants make country better place to live**	Index of individual readiness to encounter immigrants***
Iceland	1	2	2	2	3	1	7,54
Sweden	2	1	1	8	2	2	7,26
Ireland	6	7	3	1	13	3	6,66
Switzerland	4	4	6	4	5	6	6,64
Finland	11	10	10	7	1	4	6,48
Norway	5	3	4	6	6	10	6,46
Spain	12	5	5	5	9	9	6,38
Denmark	3	8	9	11	10	5	6,32
Luxembourg	10	18	18	3	4	8	6,26
Poland	7	6	7	16	8	7	6,24
Netherlands	19	14	14	12	7	11	5,83
Germany	9	15	17	15	11	14	5,83
Austria	14	11	11	9	15	17	5,79
Belgium	13	17	15	14	12	13	5,77
United Kingdom	15	13	12	13	16	12	5,73
France	18	16	13	10	14	15	5,72
Slovakia	8	9	8	22	18	19	5,54
Slovenia	17	12	16	18	17	16	5,53
Czech Republic	22	20	19	20	22	20	4,83
Greece	21	19	20	19	23	22	4,8
Estonia	16	22	22	21	21	23	4,76

	Allow many immigrants of same race/ethnic group as majority*	Allow many immigrants of different race/ethnic group from majority*	Allow many immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe*	Immigration good for country's economy**	Country's cultural life enriched by immigrants**	Immigrants make country better place to live**	Index of individual readiness to encounter immigrants***
Portugal	23	21	21	17	20	21	4,75
Hungary	20	23	23	23	19	18	4,62
Total mean							*5,9*
Within countries st.dev							*2,31*
Between-group variance components							*0,58*

* The scores are sorted according to individual readiness to accept immigration (allow many and allow some or few) and the ordinal number is ascribed to every country.

** Mean scores of general attitudes are calculated, countries are ordered descending and ordinal number is ascribed to every country.

*** Index of cultural openness is calculated by summing up single variables of individual readiness to accept immigrants and general attitudes to immigration. Mean scores for every country are calculated (minimum 1, maximum 12, higher value describes bigger openness)

The groups of countries formed according to attitude towards immigration are rather similar to those formed according to individual readiness to accept immigration. The group with rather positive attitudes to immigration comprises Sweden, Luxembourg, Finland, Switzerland, Iceland, Ireland, Norway, and Spain. Countries with scores more similar to the total average regarding attitudes to immigration are Denmark, Netherlands, Poland, Germany, Austria, France, UK, and Belgium. Countries with scores lower than the average considering general attitudes to immigration are Slovenia, Estonia, Portugal, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, and Greece. These results show, that more positive cultural attitudes could be explained by a country's investments to social capital (i.e. foreign languages learnt per pupil, and science and technology graduates) that enables the more thorough evaluation of the processes in society. The more negative attitudes are related to the average or smaller ratio of asylum applications, coupled with a country's average or smaller spending on human resources (i.e. on education) and on innovation (i.e. information technologies, research and development).

The analysis has shown that in most situations if a particular country has a higher individual readiness to accept immigration to that country, there are also higher positive general attitudes to immigration. The biggest differences between these two groups of attitudes are visible in the case of Luxembourg that has highly positive general attitudes to immigration, but relatively a low individual readiness to accept immigration. In this instance, the existence of numerous previous contacts with different ethnic groups and the country's quite moderate investments in human resources compared with investments in IT, and in research and development could explain the individual cautiousness. Another country, where a gap appeared between higher individual readiness to accept immigrants and lower general attitudes, was Norway.

The results of the analysis of individual readiness to accept immigration and general attitudes indicate that the creating of boundaries between ethnic groups is not necessarily related to the country's immigration policy and other policies; it is a more complex phenomenon. Moreover, the analysis of variability has shown that standard deviation is almost four times higher within countries than between countries (see Table 3). Likewise, differences between two groups of variables, i.e. individual readiness to accept the immigration and general attitudes, are greater in the case of individuals (and correlation lower, r=0.616) than in the case of countries (r=0.774). These results show that even if immigration is regarded as positive for the country's economy, culture, and general life quality, the obstacles could turn out to be the lack of consensus among individuals regarding individual readiness to accept immigrants. This argument pays attention to the importance of the individual level structures, but the analysis at this stage was unable to show their nature. The hypothesis concerning the individual and country-level variation differences tested by multilevel modelling, as well as by the order of possible indicators essential in

explaining the individual readiness patterns to accept immigrants is discussed in the next subchapter.

Individual and contextual characteristics of readiness to accept immigrants

A key aim of the original analysis was to establish whether some countries were more 'effective' than others in promoting individuals' readiness to accept immigrants, taking account of variations in the characteristics of inhabitants. The analysis now looks for factors associated with any country differences found.

In the multilevel analysis, the countries are thought of as a random sample from a large underlying population of countries and 'country' is referred to as a 'random' classification. Individual countries, like individual inhabitants, are not of primary interest. Our interest is rather to make inferences about the variation among all countries in the population, using the sampled countries as a means to that end. First, the general results from analysis of variance have shown, that the mean square within countries is 57.006 (the F value is statistically significant $p<0.001$). The variance partition coefficient is 0.103, which means that about ten per cent of the total variance in individual readiness to accept immigrants may be attributed to differences between countries.

Table 4 includes three individual models, the first includes only the micro level variables, the second includes the macro level variables of any relevance to the subject and the third includes all micro and macro level variables together. First, individual readiness to accept immigrants and the characterizing *micro-level* variables are analysed. Table 4 shows the effects of micro-level individual variables on the index variable called 'readiness to accept immigrants'. The likelihood ratio test comparing the single level linear regression model with the multilevel model, where the estimate the between country variation in the intercepts, is 208021–207401=610 with one degree of freedom. The conclusion, therefore, is that there is significant variability between countries even after adjusting for the individuals' ethnic background in that ethnic minorities in the country are more open the idea of accepting potential immigrants. Being born in the country has similar influential effect, except the regression coefficient is to some degree even higher. In addition, the variability between countries in the degree of individual readiness is much smaller (variation difference 3400), adjusting for the individuals' birthplace. A significant difference between individual and the multilevel model is noticeable in the case of age (3319), there is also significant variability between countries even after adjusting for the individuals' age. The results indicate that there are considerable socialisation differences between countries, at least regarding the ways individuals express their own cultural attitudes. Despite that, we may see a general tendency that younger generations are cognitively more open to cultural diversity and thus individually more ready to accept immigrants.

Education turned out to be to some degree an even more important factor than, for example, ethnicity – the more 'higher education' opportunities available the greater is the individual's readiness to accept immigrants. The variability between countries in the degree of individual readiness for immigration is also significant after adjusting for the individuals' educational background (difference 3145); however, the variability is a little smaller than in the case of age, but much higher than in the case of ethnicity. To summarize, the variability between countries created by different social capital acquired through education is smaller than the variation created by local ethno-cultural composition of the country and the broader socialisation context formed for different generational groups.

When analysing how individual readiness to communicate with immigrants is characterised by the media, the Internet was chosen for the model presented in Table 4 as it appeared to be a more important factor than radio, TV and newspapers. First, the results show that the difference between country and individual-level variances is in the case of the media smaller than in the case of socio-demographic variables. This means that although the individual variance is still higher than country-level variance, in the case of media activeness, the individuals in different countries are to some degree more similar. The importance of 'new media' could be explained by the manner in which the new broadening mediascapes are increasing the number of mediated contacts and raising the challenges for adjusting and coping in situations accepting people with various cultural backgrounds. The importance of 'new media' could also be related to age in that younger individuals are more open to new technological innovations than older age groups.

Social capital and trust, from the societal commitment variables appeared to be the most stable creative influences of personal readiness to accept immigration. There may, for example, be cultural readiness for different cultural contacts irrespective of the existence/lack of social networks or trust/mistrust in people. Perception of discrimination is also an important factor in creating tolerance towards immigration, which can be explained as empathy with regard to potential new inhabitants in the territory of the country, created through ethnic belonging and cultural environment.

Beta coefficients of macro level variables are presented in the second column of Table 4. These factors were important in forming individual readiness to accept immigrants. When analysing the macro-level variables that describe the individual readiness to accept immigrants, it appeared that one of the influential factors is the country's immigration policy. However, the results are, to some degree, controversial in that on the one hand the higher the migration rate, the cultural openness is generally lower; or in other words that having more negative/positive experiences and opportunities to compare one's own cultural features with others' could cause a more cautious attitude to various cultures. On the other hand, the higher the number of asylum applica-

tions, the higher the rate of cultural openness. The results are controversial for the reason that asylum applications do not necessarily affect a particular individual, because the general level of applications is much smaller than the immigration rate.

A negative regression coefficient is the population size as the smaller the country, the higher the general cultural openness; however, since the coefficient is close to zero, its power of description is very small. The country's higher general investments in human resources (education) significantly increase individual readiness to accept immigrants; investments in research and innovation have a similar effect. The conclusion is that forming the population's cultural capitalisation and openness requires a certain integrated political approach. General investments in human capital should receive even higher priority than immigration and integration policies. While the Internet is an important medium broadening the individual cultural spectrum, state investments appeared to be less useful compared with other factors. A negative beta coefficient indicates lesser cultural openness. This is the result of the fact that using the Internet is a cultural practice characteristic of younger generations, a habit that is practiced individually or among the family. State investments may be more important in supporting the development of businesses and economy.

In the third column of Table 4, the variables of both the micro and the macro level are presented in the same regression model. The objective of the analysis is to establish how differently state level policies can be interpreted due to individual structuring agents. As readiness to communicate with different ethnic groups and the creation of boundaries between own and other groups is shaped by compact multilevel factors, an integrated model enables the determination of the most important of the numerous factors. Table 4 shows that there is almost no change in the individual level indicators with the inclusion of the model country-level variables. When including in the model both micro and macro-level variables the importance of country's immigration policy in describing individual readiness to accept immigrants is decreasing, primarily taking into account the countries' asylum policies. The importance of state investments in human capital is also decreasing. This indicates that on the one hand, when drawing a line between own and other groups, the existing narrower socialisation environment is more important than the State context with its investments. On the other hand, personal educational level rather than State investments in education is important in shaping personal cultural openness; the level of education, educational objectives, opportunities, and benefits are interpreted differently depending on the narrower individual environment.

Table 4. Explaining individual readiness to accept immigrants by means of micro and macro-level variables

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Fixed Effect	**Coefficient**	**S.E.***	**Coefficient**	**S.E.**	**Coefficient**	**S.E.**
Ethnicity	–0,26	0,06			–0,25	0,07
Born in country	0,69	0,04			0,61	0,05
Education level	0,49	0,02			0,48	0,02
Age	–0,13	0,01			–0,14	0,01
Gender	–0,17	0,02			–0,16	0,02
Use of Internet	0,11	0,01			0,11	0,01
Social capital	0,09	0,01			0,09	0,01
Discrimination rate	–0,33	0,05			–0,33	0,05
Trust in people	0,08	0,00			0,08	0,00
Civil commitment	0,19	0,01			0,20	0,01
Intercept	*3,93*	*0,20*	*3,77*	*0,56*	*2,73*	*0,55*
Population size			–0,04	0,13	0,02	0,13
Migration			–0,27	0,16	–0,26	0,16
Asylum applications			0,69	0,21	0,52	0,19
Spending on human resources			0,49	0,16	0,38	0,16
IT expenditure			–0,23	0,19	–0,53	0,21
Expenditure on research and development			0,37	0,14	0,42	0,15
Random Effect	**Parameter**	**S.E.**	**Parameter**	**S.E.**	**Parameter**	**S.E.**
Level-one (i.e. country) variance	0,31	0,09	0,17	0,06	0,14	0,05
Level-two (i.e. Individual) variance	4,44	0,03	5,26	0,04	4,39	0,04

* S.E. = standard error

Taking into account the existence of individual level factors, State investments in IT, and research and innovation become important in creating individual cultural contacts. This indicates that the level of innovation of the country and the level of innovation of an individual in terms of cultural openness are clearly related. The negative beta coefficient of investments in IT shows lesser cultural openness related to bigger investments. Age is probably the main reason, as investments are largely directed to and used by younger population groups who are also culturally more open.

Discussion

The aim of this paper was to analyse one aspect of spatial reflexivity, i.e. the individual readiness of inhabitants of European countries to accept immigrants.

The combined analysis of micro and macro-level characteristics of immigration attitudes showed the domination of individual features over the country-level characteristics. Moreover, the analysis of variation proved that only ten per cent of the general variability in individual readiness to accept immigrants could be explained by the country-level differences. Earlier studies have also shown a tendency that in relation to general modernisation the country's ability in regulating different processes should decrease and the role of individuals should increase (see Masso to be published). To summarize, this paper showed, that besides structures of systems described by Anthony Giddens, the importance of the agent-level structures is growing, at least when analysing cultural attitudes and subjective factors of immigration.

I believe that besides the analysed macro level variables historical relations of a country as a post-Imperial colonial country (e.g. France) or as a country annexed by a larger country (e.g. Estonia) are an important additional factor in shaping individuals' cultural attitudes that should be studied further. Such ethnic relations supported by power connotations and created by the structure can be characterised as lower readiness of agents to accept immigrants. The findings indicate that the groups of countries, formed according to how much cultural diversity is valued and immigrants allowed in the country, overlap to some extent with the dimensions included in liberal-conservative and inclusive-exclusive strategies of earlier researchers (e.g. Gabriele 1992, Castles and Miller 1998).

The results have shown that the experience of living together with various ethnic groups in the territory of one country and the values acquired in the local education system, linguistic capital, etc. create an important basis at individual level, which is even more important than the State strategies of allowing ethnic groups into the country or rejecting them. Education, in the case of majority and minority groups, as well as expenditure on research and development should therefore become a more important priority of policies, including immigration

and integration policies. Moreover, media education could have an important role, since encouraging the ability to orient in the multiplicity of information created by the development of communication technologies, can strengthen the individual behavioural reflexivity. This is especially so in those countries where ethnic minorities are perceived as culturally more different and as a result there is more need for training in the skills to translate the multiculturality.

The methodological aim of this paper was to show that multilevel modelling offers excellent opportunities to study complex phenomena, such as cultural globalisation. However, care must be taken when reaching any conclusions because all micro and macro-level indicators, which may be important when analysing individual readiness to accept immigrants, may not be measurable and available. This analysis is one possible way of rating micro and macro level variables based on theoretical starting points. The created model of individual readiness showed that an analysis of actual cultural relations in different cultural contexts may not be described according to a simplified Marxist scheme where 'society is produced by space' and the space in its turn is involved in the reproduction of society (see e.g. Soja 1995). It is more essential to take into account temporal and spatial situativeness of both macro-level structures of systems and micro-level structures of an agent.

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VI

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About linguistic constitution of social space.
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ABOUT THE LINGUISTIC CONSTITUTION OF SOCIAL SPACE: THE CASE OF ESTONIA

Abstract. The article uses a theory of social space by Henri Lefebvre and is based on the assumption that analysing motivations for foreign language learning could help to understand the changes in social space. Using Estonia as an empirical example we are arguing that the country is moving from a transitional phase of social space to a post-transitional phase, i.e. the fast changes in language learning motivations and curricula, as well as the increasing number of personal or mediated contacts with different countries are replaced by a relative „calming down" of social space, where the individual relationships with the geo-cultural world are developing. Using qualitative in-depth interviews as the empirical basis, the analysis found four different individual linguistic-spatial strategies – spatial production based on unchanging morphologies; spatial production based on historical and power connotations; spatial production based on connotations of consumerism and spatial production based on cultural meanings. In our opinion, the last strategy supports social change most positively. Taking into account the importance of the consumerist and spatial meanings of language, we believe that these aspects should be taken into account in developing language policies.

Keywords: language learning motivations, social space, spatial triad of Henri Lefebvre, spatial transition

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1. Introduction

We begin from a suggestion made by Henri Lefebvre that language plays a crucial role in the constitution of social space (Lefebvre 1991). In this the emphasis of our article differs to some degree from previous studies, that have mostly analysed languages in terms of power relations (Méndez & Cañado 2005, Guilherme 2007) or in terms of minority-majority relations (Wawra 2006, O'Rourke 2005). Few researches have focused on the relations of language learning with social space (Blommaert, Collins, Slembrouck 2005, Collins, Slembrouck 2005). The present article aims at developing further this line of

research by analysing the roles that foreign languages and language learning motivations in particular play in creating spatial perceptions and practices.

There are many examples of how (foreign) language skills create opportunities for acting in a specific social space and different contexts for interpreting the activities in different spatial units. A good example is the so-called Bronze Soldier crisis in post-communist Estonia that reached the international media threshold (see e.g. Tanner 2007) – at the end of April 2007 the Estonian authorities removed the Bronze Soldier statue from its previous location in the center of the capital and exhumed the nearby war grave. While the Russian-speaking minority in Estonia regard the statue as a shrine many ethnic Estonians consider it a painful reminder of the Soviet occupation.

Another example comes from the time Estonia joined the European Union when population groups who lived in same country but in different information spaces exhibitied different behaviour. Namely, different language groups expressed different fears – while Russian families bought up kilograms of salt, Estonian families bought up kilograms of sugar, in anticipation of a post-accession price rise – at least according to the media channels they followed (Russian faimilies live mainly in the Russian language media environment and Estonian faimilies in the Estonian and Finnish language media environment).

Therefore, it is important to examine how social reproduction through languages could develop into a social change. In the present analysis Estonia is used as an example of a post-transition society. This article aims at answering the following general research question: how are the motivations for learning foreign languages and the perception of social space related to each other? We will try to include all possible interactions between language and social space, as analysed by Henri Lefebvre, and will analyse below these interactions in more detail.

2. Language in theories of social space

Although there are many theories and empirical analyses concentrating on social representations of language (see e.g. Heinz, Cheng, Ako 2007), there are almost no studies concerning the construction of social space. This article focuses on the latter aspect and uses mainly the ideas of Henri Lefebvre[1] formulated in his book *The Production of Space* (1991).

[1] Similar fields are often analysed using different linguistic theories (e.g. van Lier 1996, Gardner 1985). However, systematic research of language as a system has been criticised because it has excluded the subject from the analysis (Lefebvre 1991, Ahearn 2001). For example Henri Lefebvre has criticised the earlier linguistic theories by Noam Chomsky, since these *'completely ingore the yawning gap that separates the linguistic mental space from that social space wherein language becomes practice'* (Lefebvre 1991: 5). In an alternative sociological approach more attention is paid to the activities

The most important part of Lefebvre's theory is the idea that space is fundamental to our lived experience and that the spatial lived experience is always produced socially[2]. Social space in a narrower sense comprises architecture and landscapes and social space in a wider sense comprises the relations between the representatives of different cultures. Although the notion of production in Lefebvre's works have been interpreted as the economic production of things (Elden 2004), the authors of this article believe that the philosophical meaning of production, i.e. the creation of knowledge or institutions, is more important. For example, in modern European societies it is expressed by the orientation of individuals to recreational activities and by active promotion of specific tourist attractions by relevant institutions.

According to Lefebvre's theory, to understand production of a specific space we should analyse the three different aspects of spatial experience: representations of space (conceived space), spatial practices (perceived space), and representational space[3] (lived space). In the context of this article spatial practices include, for example, contacts with various cultures, motivation for travelling, etc. Representations of space is a space created by politicians, planners, etc., e.g. the opportunities of geo-cultural mobility offered or missing in Estonia under different regimes and ideologies. Representational space marks individual meanings given to specific cultures or geographical regions.

Despite the fact that all three parts of space are closely linked, in a specific spatial experience one may dominate the others. The most problematic situation occurs where representations of space and spatial practices dominate the spatial event. An excellent example is the Soviet era during which the limited opportunities to travel to the Western countries could create in the Estonians a certain feeling of deprivation. While spatial practices and representations of space must have an inner consistency, such rules of integrity and coherence do not apply to representational spaces. Therefore, the meanings given to representational spaces may arise from various sources, e.g. from personal experiences related to specific countries, from the media and also in the process of learning a foreign language (see also Figure 1).

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and understandings of an individual. Therefore combining linguistic theoretical approach with sociological approach is the only way to analyse the role of foreign languages in the creation of social space.

[2] Although Lefebvre uses in his theory of space many terms used by Marx (production, relations of production, class struggle, etc.), he is influenced by a wider range of philosophers, such as Hegel, Nietzsche, Heidegger (see e.g. Elden 2004).

[3] The term *espace vecu* (lived space) used by Lefebvre has also been translated into English as „spaces of representation" (see e.g. Watkins 2005, Shields, Soja). In this article we use the term „representational spaces" used in „The Production of Space" translated by Nicholson-Smith in 1991. In our opinion, this term is more accurate as it refers to the construction of space by an individual.

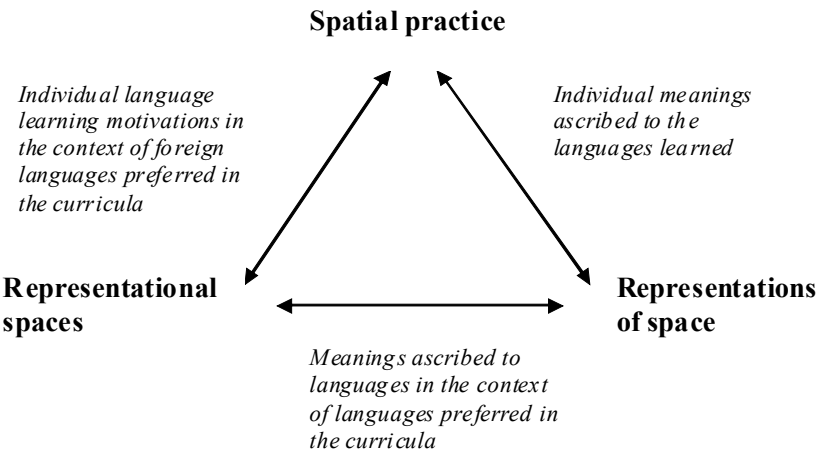

Figure 1. Analytical scheme for analysing connections between language and space (based on Henri Lefebvre)

Although the role of language in the construction of social reality have been analysed by several other authors (see e.g. Fairclough 1995), Henri Lefebvre is distinguished by his idea that language is one of the most important means of production of social space. Despite the fact that he fails to answer unequivocally the question whether language comes before or after social space or exists in parallel with it, Lefebvre is convinced that each spatial experience is characterised by specific linguistic codes (e.g. words, music, buildings). According to this approach language is not just the means of distributing information, a channel reflecting the existing social reality, but it also helps to construct the reality, i.e. language is the means of living in a specific space and understanding it. Lefebvre's notion is supported by Laura Ahearn (2001) according to whom in order to analyse spatial textures[4] and the personal conception of a person's cultural position, one should analyse the (foreign) language usage patterns. This is what we are doing in this article.

Meaningful production of space, which for an individual means the creation of important cultural relations, can happen only when knowledge (including motivation for language learning based on personal choices) replaces the ideology (including strictly defined state policies on foreign language learning). According to Lefebvre, such creative capacity is possible only in the course of general social transformation. A system of linguistic codes formed during the

[4] This means that certain textures, i.e. the meaning of linguistic and spatial forms for the actors in the space, are important, not the forms of language and space (e.g. geographical center-perifery, languages spoken to some extent).

transformation consists of knowledge that tends to attribute a privileged status to a specific time and space in which the language is used. In nowadays multicultural societies it means, however, that preferring one space should not be in contradiction to other spaces.

According to linguistic theories, an important factor in the formation of preferences is the motivation for foreign language learning. Most authors distinguish between integrative and instrumental motivations (see e.g. Spolsky 1969, Crookes & Schmidt 1991 etc). Neither of these motivations excludes the active role of an individual in the formation of representational spaces – in the first case the learner identifies himself with speakers of the target language, in the second case certain pragmatic goals dominate within a specific space (e.g. finding a job, sitting a language exam, etc.). This division of language learning motivations has been often criticised (see e.g. van Lier 1996) because it does not enable us to explain how is knowledge related to specific spatial units, also called individual innate curiousity, created. Instead, Leo van Lier has pointed out that in the case of a specific individual the intrinsic and extrinsic motivational factors should be balanced. We presume that these different motivations are more characteristic of people who are over 25 years old and learn foreign languages outside the formal educational system. Therefore, this article is focused on that group of population.

Empirical studies have shown that foreign languages play an important role in forming social space mainly in transition societies. In Estonia, for example, fluency in foreign languages has obtained, in addition to the connotation of establishing power relations between different groups, the connotation of social success. Language has become capital in its broader meaning and it affects people's mobility, perception of social space, collective self-determination and the way people position themselves within social hirerarchy, etc. (T.Vihalemm, Masso, P.Vihalemm 2004, Lauristin 2004). More recent analysis has indicated that as the transition progresses the instrumental meaning of language may diminish and the symbolic meaning may increase (Masso, Tender 2007).

In conclusion, although Lefebvre's spatial theory may have its drawbacks[5], using his scheme in this article enables us theoretically to join the analyses of social space and languages. Including the three spatial elements – spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces – in the empirical analysis enables us to compare individual experience with other spatial (see e.g. Schütz 2003) or language theories. Estonia as a post-communist

[5] Lefebvre's theory makes it difficult to apply Marx's concepts in spatial analysis because Marx never focused on spatial analysis in his works. Also, space-forming progressive and regressive forces are intertwined in space reproduction theories, which makes it difficult to explain how a specific social space is formed. His argument that class struggle is inherent in space is also questionable, mainly in the light of the plurality of life styles characteristic of post-modern societies, which has replaced the earlier strict class boundaries (see e.g. Lash and Friedman 1992).

society allows us to analyse how is social space created. However, it has to be borne in mind that in a certain development stage of a society „production" may be the production of things rather than the production of space as the relationships creating space might not develop so fast. Next, we will give an overview of the Estonian population's spatial relationships and language learning policies during the last decades.

3. Language and space in a post-transition country

The role of foreign languages in constituting social space is in the present article analysed using Estonia as an example of a post-transition country. Research has so far not provided an answer to the question why has Estonia's transition been so successful. Although it has been argued that the main reason for success has been liberal economy (see e.g. Anderson, Romani 2005), we argue that spatial element is also important in interpreting social changes. The Estonian example enables us to analyse how social (spatial) reproduction through languages could develop into a social change.

Over time, Estonia has been influenced by many different languages and geo-cultural spaces, mainly as a result of wars of conquest[6]. The present language learning motivations and spatial visions have been affected by three main periods: (1) Soviet occupation that entailed the domination of the Russian language in official communication channels and spatial separation from the West; (2) people's recollections of the pre-occupation time when there were no restrictions on travelling and fluency in several foreign languages was promoted, led by example by the cultural elite, as well as people's recollections of Estonia as a country belonging to the Nordic cultural space[7]; (3) the time after the restoration of independence of Estonia after the collapse of the Soviet Union – gradual geo-cultural opening up together with more frequent personal and economic contacts with Western countries, new economic opportunities and reduction of insecurity caused by the Soviet time closed borders (Masso 2007).

In his analysis of social space Henri Lefebvre called a space based on socialist principles (in this case the Soviet space) a failed transition (Lefebvre 1991) because (e.g. in the case of Estonia) it changed only ideological superstructures without being demonstrated in real life, i.e in language and space. Lefebvre's argument can be accepted with certain reservations. Under the

[6] Over centuries, Estonia was under the rule of the Danish king (North Estonia in the 13th century), Germany (14th and 20th centuries), Poland (South Estonia in the 16th century), Swedish king (17th century) and Russia (18th and 20th century).

[7] The Nordic identity that is these days so important to the Estonians is confirmed by various empirical studies (see e.g. Vihalemm, Masso 2007) and it is among other things based on the recollections of the Swedish rule that was culturally productive for Estonia.

Soviet rule, Estonia was physically cut off from the Western world and social space was shaped mainly by direct contacts with other Soviet republics. However, watching/listening to Western media channels (e.g. Finnish TV, etc.) compensated for physical spatial isolation. Although the cultural value of Soviet architecture is to a large extent questionable (see e.g. Tarand 2007), the Soviet urban and rural space was still characterised by public buildings (Sakala Centre, Tallinn City Hall) and dwelling houses (concrete blocks of flats) built in a certain style.

The example of the Soviet Union is unique because the aim of the power structures was to use the Russian language (taught to the Estonians at school as the first foreign language) to create Soviet territorial nationalism – „proletarian internationalism" or a union of members of the working class comprised of different nations (see e.g. Ussubalijev 1984). Although in theory such internationalist policy „took into account the characteristic features of different nations" (*ibid* 5), in effect it often resulted in cultural and linguistic assimilation of ethnic groups. Neither did such ideology support the identity creation in ethnic Russians. Therefore, the authors of different studies agree that during the Soviet era the Russians did not identify themselves through their ethnic origin (Castells 1997, Brubaker 1997)[8].

Because in Soviet Estonia it was compulsory to learn at least two foreign languages (the second (after Russian) being one of the following: English, German or French), people often used it as a form of resistance to the ideological socialist internationalism. The so-called „elite" schools that were established in the 1960ies and provided in-depth language learning became one of the few possibilities for cultural or other elite to secure cultural capital for their children at the time when access to economic capital and consumption was limited.

The period after the restoration of independence was characterised by fast and profound changes in social space and its linguistic reproduction. The primary spatial ideal was „return to Europe" (see e.g. Feldman 2000), which was mainly expressed by the entering of Finland and Sweden into the Estonian public space. Besides the Scandinavian countries, one of the main (travel) destinations was also Germany (see e.g.Vihalemm 2007, Masso 2008) – a country carrying a positive connotation in historical memory where the Estonians could enjoy western consumer culture. The importance of Nordic countries as a strong spatial alternative can be explained by both cultural closeness and historical memory. It is not less important that already in early 1990ies Nordic countries were accessible to the Estonians, i.e. through travelling it was possible to experience personally the Nordic welfare model. In

[8] Only Neil Melvin (1995) has presented a counter-argument, noting that ethnic self-consciousness of the Russians strengthened in the 1970ies in peripheral Soviet republics.

the early 2000s the institutional dimension was added, i.e. the desire to join the spaces of the EU and NATO. Intensive spatial changes were supported by the foreign language policy that had changed after the restoration of independence in 1991 (learning Russian at school changed from compulsory to voluntary) as well as by new language learning choices (the number of learners of the Russian language dropped dramatically on account of those learning Scandinavian languages, English, German and other languages). The number of foreign languages taught at school increased – a third foreign language (C-language) was added to the curriculum of upper secondary schools (see e.g. Tender 2007). Such changes in preferences reflected a protest against the toppled regime and a desire to find a new basis for self-determination.

The period of intensive changes should create prerequisites for a new space to be formed in Estonia during the „calming down" or post-transition period. By now, the majority of students (80%) clearly prefer English, which is similar to the trends in Western Europe (see Key data…2005). After decline, the interest in learning Russian has slightly increased, the number of learners being twice as much (40%) as the number of learners of German. It is possible that for the younger generations the Russian language carries weaker connotations of power and they wish to learn the language of a neighbouring country for practical reasons. The number of those who wish to learn a smaller or more „exotic" language (Finnish, Swedish, Latin, Spanish, Japanese, Hebrew, etc.) is much smaller.

Although language learning preferences have reached certain stability, the spatial reproduction relations characteristic of a post-transitional period are only forming. This article aims at finding an answer to the question – which individual linguistic strategies for constituting social space could characterize a post-transitional society? In order to answer this question we will first establish how social space and the changes in space are perceived by individuals, and which are the motivations for learning a foreign language? In order to answer these questions we will provide an overview of the methods used to collect data for the analysis.

4. Sample strategy and methods of data analysis

To collect answers to the above-mentioned questions, we used the non-standardised in-depth interviewing technique. The interviews included three main topics – foreign languages (languages learned, usage of languages, learning motivations, etc.), experiences and contacts with different countries and media consumption. To make the interviews comparable, the interviewers used various basic and probing questions. However, according to the method of

semistructured interviewing (for different methods see e.g. Trost 2004) the sequence and wording of the questions were not pre-determined.

Interviewees were selected by strategic sampling (see e.g. Trost 2004). First, the age variable was selected on the basis of the subject of the study, i.e. the interviews were conducted with people aged 25 and older learning a foreign language at a language school. This enabled us to focus on people who were learning „actively" a foreign language outside formal educational system; learning a foreign language while working full-time means that an aware choice is made about a specific language. We presume that these people are implementing spatial strategies more actively because they have already put into practice the knowledge acquired within formal education. Excluding younger people allows us to keep the sample homogeneous in terms of institutional changes (curricula, etc.).

According to the requirements of strategic sampling, the variety of opinions was ensured by differentiating the languages. Interviews were conducted with the learners of the following languages: languages that are spoken in countries that are geographically close to Estonia (Finnish, Swedish); languages that carry the connotation of power (German, Russian, Swedish); languages spoken widely in the world (English) and more „exotic" languages, i.e. languages that have a smaller number of learners (French, Spanish, Italian, Japanese). A total of 18 interviews were conducted. Six interviews were conducted with the Russian-speakers in Estonia, the rest with those speaking Estonia as mother tongue. Dividing the sample into groups whose native language is different enables us to analyse more thoroughly the meaning of the foreign language in interpreting social space.

The interviews were recorded and transcribed. First, the texts were summarised and analysed in the form of structural analysis (for different methods see e.g. Mayring 2003). The material was divided into 126 categories that were grouped into seven „code families": socio-demographic data, foreign languages learned, spatial contacts, meanings ascribed to foreign languages and geographical regions, cultural adaptation in case of migration, media consumption habits. The first two parts – language learning motivations and spatial meanings – were analysed by using structural analysis. Although this technique of analysis is primarily inductive, previous theoretical/empirical approaches were used to derive substantial categories from the texts.

In addition to traditional qualitative analysis done „by hand" we also used software Atlas.ti. Mike Fischer has appositely described the advantages of using software in the process of coding – we have the choice to go through the discovery process by foot (i.e. traditional analysis „by hand") or by air (i.e. computerised analysis) (Fischer 1997: 39). In this study the advantage of using computer analysis was most obvious in the third part that focuses on the complex hidden phenomena that can be found in data – individual linguistic-spatial strategies. The software enabled us to increase the validity of the

analysis, i.e. after linking conceptual categories with each other it is always possible to go back to the initial data (see e.g. Dey 2003). Instead of using this function for concept mapping or cognitive mapping as described by Ann Lewins and Christina Silver (2007) the links between categories are analysed in the form of cognitive mapping, which model a theoretical approach.

Next, we will present the results of the analysis in three parts: first, an overview of the meanings attached to space; second, an overview of language learning motivations, and third, the relations between foreign languages and space.

5. Perceptions of space

In this chapter, we will analyse how people perceive social space and the changes occurring within that space. To that end, we will look at the meanings ascribed to different geogrpahical regions; how open/closed social space is and which are the arguments for such labelling. The analysis is based on the opinions expressed by the interviewees in the course of interviews and on the countries/regions marked by the interviewees on an outline map of the world.

Although our aim was to analyse spatial perceptions expressed in the texts, we also used the spatial dimensions described by Henri Lefevre (1991) to identify conceptual categories. Therefore, we focused on spatial practices (foreign or domestic contacts; immediate or mediated contacts) and the perceived spatial representations (diverse, narrow or focussed spatial perceptions).

Some arguments were based on immediate contacts abroad and narrow spatial perceptions. These interviewees have acquired their knowledge about foreign countries through few and unvaried personal contacts. Even if they could name countries and cultures in different parts of the world, the descriptions and perceptions of these regions were relatively formal/abstract. For example, Merilei has lived abroad and thanks to her language skills uses regularly foreign media channels; however, when she speaks about different countries, she mentiones only geographical distance, stereotypes and how appealing/unappealing a country emotionally is to her. No specific reasons for perceiving those countries/regions in a certain way are provided. Even when speaking about the Soviet era, the interviewee recalls mainly (the lack of) mobility and mentions superficial consumerist associations.

> */.../ So, I place Finland here ... and Turkey, etc. I do not like those countries, that region. /.../ I do not like Germany, I do not like the people there…It reminds me that the Germans are so selfish /.../ It was the Russian time and nothing was available here [in Estonia]. So we went to Leningrad or Kaliningrad or what's it called. We didn't have anything; they had all kinds of goods /.../* (Merilei, 27, learning German).

In such construction of space the interviewees used also specific institutional (e.g. EU Member Satets and other countries) or other spatial dimensions (superpowers, such as the USA and Russia) (see also Graph 2). Arguments are based mainly on immediate contacts and therfore, the risks of possible natural disasters (constructed by the media) are not taken seriously. On the other hand, this category is characterised by the important role of language in constructing the social space of the Soviet era. An excellent example is an extract from the following interview in which Nele, who is learning French, had felt the presence of France already in the social space of the Soviet era.

> */.../ Well, I don't know, [they are] our neighbours… Russia is important because we live close by Russia. It is important to have good relations with your neighbours. I have many contacts with these countries. Actually, with many more than on this list. As regards the USA, I wanted to move to America. I have many contacts there, because it is important to me. And also with UK. /.../ I think that [during the Soviet time] these neighbours would have been the same. And Russia, of course. Finland, Sweden, Latvia, Lithuania; also France, because I studied French /.../* (Nele, 25, learning Russian).

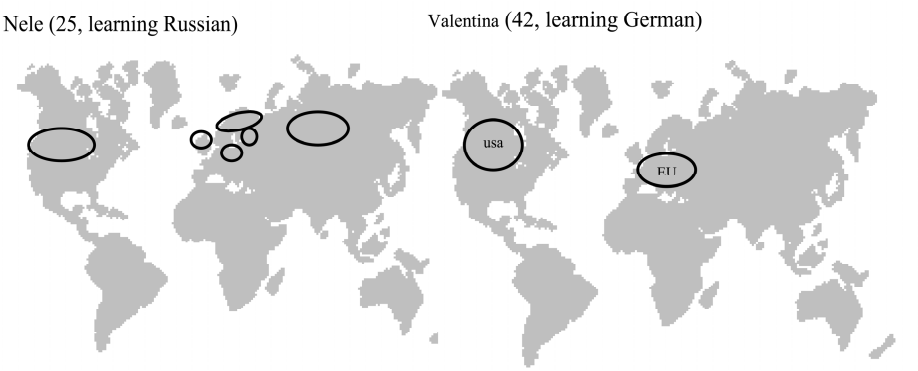

Figure 2. Perceptions of space: Immediate contacts abroad and narrow spatial perceptions

In some interviews conducted with Russian interviewees the production of personal space was based on contacts with friends or relatives living in a particular country. They expressed the importance of a strong local communication network and in this way stressing the links with local Estonian society. However, these arguments were based on the logic of confrontation, i.e. the interviewee raised the question whether Russia can be considered a foreign country at all, as illustrated by the following extract.

/.../ First of all the USA, because my sister lives there. Northern Europe is unimportant; I have no interest in it. My family lives here, I work here. /.../ I have been there [in Northern Europe] only briefly, on a business trip. To Russia, yes. I often have to travel to Moscow but it is not a foreign country to me. /.../ I do not like travelling much. /.../ Although it [Estonia] is a quiet place, nobody bothers you, the Estonians have the psychology of farmers – they do not meddle too much with your life. You couldn't have it in Ukraine or Russia – everybody will poke their nose into your business there /.../ (Valentina, 42, learning German).

Such results indicate that the notion of a common language of the Soviet people promoted during the Soviet era (see Mõistlik 2007) may still occur in the perception of space by some people. However, the interviews show that this does not necessarily exclude the possibility that the person also identifies himself or herself with the local Estonian society.

Other arguments expressed mainly mediated contacts abroad and focussed spatial perceptions. In the case of such perception people are interested in very different cultures (e.g. European, Tibetan, Chinese and Australian cultures) and have many personal contacts in different countries. Some countries/cultures are still preferred to others or people focus on certain spatial perceptions. For example, different countries were divided into categories based on their political impact or political/cultural conflicts highlighted by the media. The latter dimension was often mentioned in interviews with those Russian-speakers whose personal space was limited to superpowers (Russia and USA). Another group of arguments was based mainly on consumerist symbols related to specific countries. This perception of space is characterised by the fact that opinions are based mainly on mediated contacts or what people have heard/read in the media. An example of such perception of space is the following extract from the interview with Nikolai who is learning Finnish.

/.../ I grew up surrounded by Russian culture, my native language is Russian and therefore, to me, Russia is the most important country. My homeland is probably Russia – Moscow, St Petersburg /.../ I think America. Because it is the most advanced and powerful country in the world. Although I do not always agree with their politics, it is a very influential country and has to be taken into account. Many things in the world depend on the USA whether we like it or not. /.../ Italy immediately brings to mind spaghetti, Venice, Colosseum, Ferrari /.../ Germany – Hitler, Mercedes-Benz, German beer /.../ (Nikolai, 35, learning Finnish).

Another perception of space with a similar line of arguments is expressed by immediade contacts in Estonia and focussed spatial perceptions. In this group the interviewees are characterised not so much by mobility outside Estonia as by work-related or personal contacts with representatives of various cultures in Estonia. Similarly to the previous type of spatial perseption people belonging to this group consciously prefer some regions to others (Europe vs. Asia, Europe vs. Russia) and use certain linguistic or abstract cultural notions to describe different countries/regions. Connections with Estonia are strong and therefore,

despite relatively wide cultural knowledge, the repsondents said that they would be afraid to emigrate; they were wary of risks associated with different cultures or regions.

> */.../Japan has a feeling of a small cosy country /.../ European cultures, to my mind, are rather weak… I mean specifically Scandinavia. /.../ I don't actually like that life style…. People travelling all the time… all that spending and polluting. Because of all those planes and… /.../* (Jüri, 39, learning Japanese);

> */.../. We did not talk about Japan at all... That this is also a place that you would like to visit. America is interesting because I haven't been to America. Across the Atlantic, I mean. Well, I am not especially keen on going to Russia. At the same time, it is our neighbour country and we should know the language. There are so many Russian-speaking people in Estonia. If you work somewhere where you have to communicate with people a lot… in a shop or a pharmacy… you just can't manage without the [Russian] language /.../* (Terje, 42, learning English).

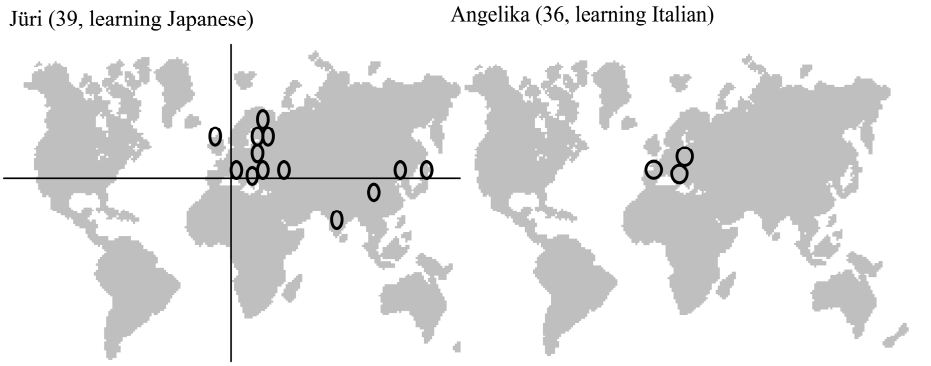

Figure 3. Perceptions of space: Immediade contacts in Estonia and focused spatial perceptions (left) and immediate contacts abroad and focused spatial perceptions (right)

Quite similar is a perception of space expressed by immediate contacts abroad and focussed spatial perceptions. However, immediate foreign contacts dominate in this group, which is especially evident in the interview conducted with Angelika (see the extract below). This group also prefers specific spatial regions (the Mediterranean, Europe) or ascribes specific political, economic or cultural (linguistic, quotidian, national) meanings to certain regions. In several interviews the dimension of power was used to describe space, mainly based on information obtained from the media (e.g. the interview with Arkadi).

> */.../ First is the USA – I am an americanophile; I think that it is the only country determining the world politics now and this is a great responsibility; it is a country of great opportunities and freedom. To me it is a very important country, the leader*

of civilisation. /.../ Israel. This is my historical homeland; what happens in Israel, the situation there, is very important to me /.../ (Arkadi, 46, learning English);

/.../ Well, my sister has been living in Switzerland for ten years and has described everything in detail, the country's nature and... /.../ I just don't like America. I've been to Canada and I lived there for several months but I don't feel connected. I don't know… everything is so big and fake there. Maybe from other people's experiences and descriptions. These come first to my mind… where people have been and what they have told and seen. /.../ (Angelika, 36, learning Italian).

Referring to Lerebvre (1991), such focussed perception of space supports social change because ascribing a privileged status to a specific space ensures that spacial practices are in accordance with representations, i.e. spatial events do not dominate like they did during the Soviet era.

The last form of spatial perception is characterised by a wide spatial perception based on immediate or mediated contacts abroad or immediate contacts in Estonia. In the first case contacts with different cultures are mainly local (e.g. contacts at work with Russians, Koreans, Britons); in the second case opinions are based mainly on the information obtained from the media or books (see e.g. the interview with Tiiu) and in the third case they are based on personal contacts (see the interview with Astrid). A common characteristic is a relatively wide perception of space, i.e. no region is clearly preferred to others.

/.../ I would like to visit South-Africa, I liked Eilenthal's books about travelling; and then there are those Pacific islands somewhere here, Easter Island and others. For example Madagascar. /.../ In Australia, I would like to learn more about the indigenous people, about their culture, about the way they think.../.../ The Estonians are also the indigenous people. The culture and customs, folk culture. /.../ (Tiiu, 42, learning Swedish);

/.../ My first experience with a foreign country… well, then there were Soviet Republics; technically, it wasn't a foreign country then but it was outside Estonia and the first place I visited was actually Ukraine /.../ Differences were big… although Russian was widely spoken in Estonia too… The only air operator was Aeroflot. You couldn't use any other language [than Russian] and the whole culture, how people communicated in general /.../ Actually, it was terrible. The crowd, the scramble…I do not exactly like big crowds and scramble. The first time in a foreign country was after Estonia became independent again and I had my Estonian passport. I went to Denmark. Everything was clean, immaculate. (Astrid, 54, learning Finnish and English).

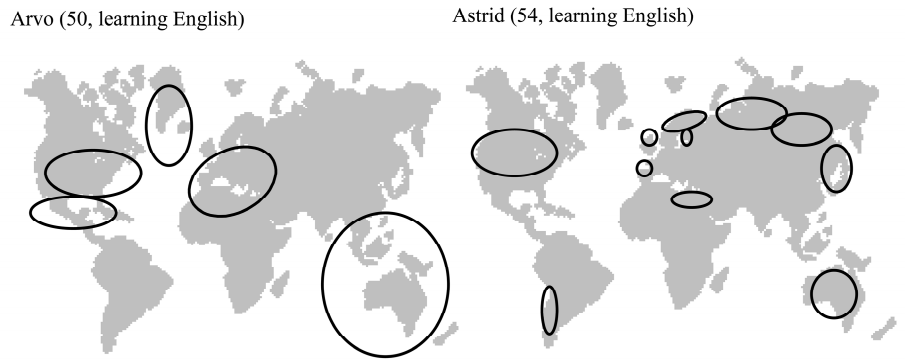

Figure 4. Perceptions of space: Immediate contacts in Estonia and wide spatial perceptions (left) and Immediate contacts abroad and wide spatial perceptions (right)

Based on different forms of perception of space we can assess the state of spatial transformation in Estonia. Successful spatial transformation (see Lefebvre 1991) is supported by the fact that ideological perceptions and connotations of power are rather unimportant. Instead, more important are interpretations based on individual practices (and foreign languages learned). The only sign of danger is the spatial risk dimension, which is acquired from the media, related to possible natural, political and cultural risks. Based on the analysis, we believe that mediated contacts without any immediate cultural contacts may hinder social change, at least in the case of narrow perception of space. Because foreign languages are a contributory factor to immediate contacts, we will next focus on learning motivations.

6. Motivations for language learning

The aim of this section is to establish which are the motivations for learning a foreign language outside the formal educational system. We will focus on establishing and describing the variety of motivations expressed in the course of interviews. Different types of motivation are based on two theoretical approaches: a classic dichotomical differentiation – integrative and instrumental (see e.g. Crookes & Schmidt 1991, etc.) – on the one hand and a somewhat less known differentiation – intrinsic and extrinsic motivation (see e.g. Lier 1996) – on the other hand (see also subchapter 2 2. Language in theories of social space).

Some interviews indicated that motivations for learning foreign languages are intrinsic and integrative. These interviewees valued the language they

learned and the relevant culture; they also valued the aesthetic qualities of the language. Unlike other learners, they enjoyed the process of learning and were less result-orientated. Therefore, the results of learning were not outstanding, at least in the learners' own opinion. Although these learners may not necessarily have immediate contacts with the speakers of the target language, most of them have learned several other foreign languages. A good example is the following interviewee who is learning Swedish and feels certain connection with the Swedish language and culture. Thus, the integrative language learning motivation is directly used to construct a certain space (in the given case – Scandinavian).

> */.../ I don't know why I am doing this… in the past when we could not travel and were kept behind the Iron Curtain… even then I thought…that in addition to English I would like to learn Swedish. Because Nordic countries are close, both physically and emotionally and I imagine that I can use Swedish even in Finland, and definitely in Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland /.../* (Tiiu, 42, learning Swedish).

Another example illustrates vividly the intrinsic integrative motivation that is characterised by the appreciation of the aesthetic values of the language learned. In the case of one interviewee (Jüri), the liking for the sound of Japanese was supplemented by the construction of space through protest – one reason for learning Japanese was disappointment in Western culture.

> */.../ I just like Swedish /.../ a very short and snug language; the self-confidence of the Swedes, the fact that they have enjoyed peace for a couple of hundreds of years or more /.../* (Merle, 45, learning Swedish);
>
> */…/ I have always been interested in cultures that differ from ours. ... Why Japan? Because I have been into martial arts from an early age /.../ Oriental culture is full of meaning /.../ and it is enriching. I am somewhat disappointed in Western culture or I have not found myself in it and am running away /.../ Japanese characters… I like the calligraphy of Japanese characters; art is related to calligraphy /.../ And it is a unique language because it has three different systems of characters /.../* (Jüri, 39, learning Japanese).

These results are similar to previous studies (van Lier 1996), according to which intrinsic learning motivation is not necessarily supporting achievement. This analysis shows that for successful language learning the combination of intrinsic and instrumental motivations should be supported by a third factor – a positive spatial perception of a specific language.

Other interviews indicated intrinsic and instrumental language learning motivation. Although there was no external pressure to learn a foreign language, the interviewees appreciated greatly the value of the language in communication, the language as the means of learning about a foreign culture. In this group the practical aspect of learning was important, i.e. people wished to use the language (e.g. on a trip, in work). The interviewees have learned or intend to learn several languages. A good example is Riho, who is learning Spanish and has set himself

a goal of speaking five languages; to him, learning languages is like a competition with the (abstract) average Estonian.

> */.../ I would like to speak five languages. This is a good achievement for an average Estonian /.../ I haven't been to Spain yet /.../ I would like to travel to Cuba. One reason why I started to learn Spanish is that Latin America, half of South America speaks Spanish /.../* (Riho, 29, learning Spanish).

Another interviewee – Astrid who is learning Finnish and English – is an example of a situation where intrinsic motivation for language learning arises fron the desire to maintain the existing communication network.

> */.../ I visit Finland quite often, my cousin lives there. I also like to go to the opera in Finland in summer. This has had a strong impact on me; it seemed strange not to know Finnish. You go there and cannot speak the language /.../* (Astrid, 54, learning Finnish and English).

Angelika who is learning Italian, has similar cultural motivations plus a pragmatic aim to use the language in business. Terje's job (she is learning English) involves business trips abroad and reading professional literature in English. Proficiency in English offers also career opportunities and therefore, the employer is interested in the employees' progress in language learning.

> */.../I am just interested in Italy and their language and culture /.../ well, I am learning the language because in the future when I will start my own business it will be useful. This is one of the reasons /.../* (Angelika, 36, learning Italian);

> */…/ For work… I was thinking about it for years… that I should learn the language. Because I have to go on business trips. And all materials are actually in English. … And if you wish to… if you have an opportunity to make a career in the company you definitely have to speak English. You cannot do anything if you don't speak the language /.../ The employer is asking how I am doing and well… /.../ no, he is not putting pressure on me, no… But it is good because he encourages me /.../* (Terje, 42, learning English).

Unlike previous studies (see e.g. van Lier 1996) that focussed mainly on individual motivations for language learning this study showed the importance of collective motivation – a collective positive spatial experience may support individual motivations (friends' example, pressure from colleagues, a wish to maintain a communication network).

The third group is characterised by external and instrumental language learning motivations. Foreign languages are learned mainly because this is necessitated by the external environment (a job requirement, desire to live and work in a foreign country). Differently from other groups these learners have an opportunity or even an obligation to implement their knowledge and skills acquired at a language school.

> */.../ I need the language at work. Because time goes on, new equipment is used. Manuals are all in English. I need to know the language. Another thing is that*

children are growing up, I have more time for myself and I would like to travel, to see the world. If you know English, you can manage everywhere … Also in everyday life. And if you want to read professional literature… technical literature… most of it is in English /.../ (Arvo, 50, learning English);

/.../ Because my knowledge [of the language] is inadequate. We receive letters at work in English and I have to reply in English. Some meetings are also held in English /.../ (Jelena, 32, learning English)

/.../ I like Finland and the Finnish language because I am going to move there. I have great expectations; they say that it is a very nice country... /.../ (Merilei, 27, learning German);

/.../ I need it… at work and otherwise too…I use English every day, and Russian too. ... I have to know Russian, at least a little /.../ (Nele, 25, learning Russian).

A slightly different motivation is expressed by Irina who is learning English for practical reasons. To her, English is a lingua franca connecting different spaces, a language that is used in both travelling and business. Although the interviewee admits that other languages are also necessary, she is learning English for practical reasons, which is also expressed by the „division" of languages in her family.

/.../ I would like to travel more. English is used everywhere. It's an official language… I decided to pick up English because I do not know it sufficiently. For example, my husband and I went to Spain. He speaks German but German is of no use in Spain. We also went to Egypt and I did not understand anything /.../ (Irina, 39, learning English).

The analysis shows that the instrumental scope of a language may vary significantly depending on external factors – how much the language can be used at the local, regional or international level. This means that spatial interrelations are expressed mainly when the learner communicates with native speakers of the target language (see e.g. Krashen 1982).

The fourth group of interviewees is characterised by external and integrative language learning motivations. These motivations are integrative mainly because the learners believe that in order to manage in a foreign language environment and in a foreign culture, it is instrumental to understand the culture and the language. It is typical of the external motivation that the interviewees stress that language skills are an indicator of competitiveness.

/.../ This is easy to explain. Because Estonia will soon join the Schengen area, we will be able to travel to EU without a visa… I would like to work in Finland /.../ Aspirations, I think. I want to know the culture, to know the language at elementary level at least and I not to be afraid of difficulties. Because when you live in a foreign country, you are an inferior, a second-rate person. You can find only a difficult and low-paid job /.../ (Nikolai, 35, learning Finnish).

Although the integrative motivation of language learning is often described as identification of a learner with native speakers of the target language (Crookes & Schmidt 1991 etc), this analysis indicates that language learning may be a means of addressing the issue of identity.

In conclusion, the analysis showed that foreign languages are important in the formation of personal space. This means that foreign languages are learned not only because there is an extenral instrumental obligation or a practical necessity. Therefore, we will next analyse how are related the motivations of language learning and spatial meanings at an individual level.

7. Individual strategies of space and language

The above analysis showed that language takes part in the formation of social space and vice versa. Therefore, a foreign language itself may form a part of spatial strategy. In order to analyse various linguistic and spatial strategies we will first look at how similar were the qualities ascribed to foreign languages and countries.

The analysis showed that different foreign languages and countries are perceived quite similarly by the interviewees. Characteristics ascribed to a specific language and culture, i.e. political, economic, national and historical features as well as features related to nature and climate, specific cities/places, cultural and geographical closeness/distance and consumption habits, were rather similar. However, there were some differences. For example, when speaking about languages, the interviewees referred to the aesthetic qualities of different languages or compared the languages based on their similarity/difference. It was surprising that in the case of languages people mentioned more often features related to popular culture or consumerism. This may indicate that foreign languages are not merely the means of exchanging abstract information but play an important role also in forming behavioural practices.

On the other hand, in the case of space people expressed more often feelings that we called „emotional interest" (e.g. *I just like that country*), which is logical – it takes effort to learn a language but travelling is seen mainly as a leisure activity. However, space is not perceived as an object of consumption – this is confirmed by the fact that space was referred to as a specific cultural object.

Four key categories may be distinguished in meanings attributed to languages and space – unchanging morphologies, cultural meanings, consumerist connotations, historical and power connotations. These conceptual categories allowed us to summarise the motivations for language learning, representations of space and spatial practices. Next, we will present the relations between the categories in the form of conceptual diagrams supplemented by

extracts from interviews and interpretations by the authors. The interrelations are summarised by using the following four linguistic-spatial strategies.

We named the first linguistic-spatial strategy as follows: production of space based on unchanging morphologies. By unchanging morphologies we mean general or abstract meanings attributed to space, e.g. peculiarities of the natural world, geogrpahical distance, etc. These meanings are used mainly for countries and languages with which the interviewees have had no personal contacts. We may say that if the person does not know the language that would help to understand a specific culture the space is perceived as relatively distant. On the other hand, speaking a specific language may bring the relevant space closer. In our interviews this phenomenon was expressed mainly in the definition of „neighbourhood". For example, although the repondents referred to the importance of the Russian language in the past, they also pointed out that now Russian may be useful for supporting Baltic cohesion (i.e. for communicating with Latvians and Lithuanians). Such dimension of neighbourhood defined on the basis of language varies from immediate neighbours (Finland, Latvia) to neighbouring regions (Baltic countries, Nordic countries, Europe). It was a little surprising that Poland was also defined as linguistic neighbour (see Graph 5).

Based on Lefebvre's theory of space (1991) there are no personal preferences in a space created by abstract symbols; therefore, the creation of space is based too much on preferences of power and ideology. In the case of production of space based on unchanging morphologies knowledge about different regions is obtained either through personal contacts (in Estonia or abroad), media or formal educational system. On the one hand, such strategy is indicating that educational policy has an important role in the production of space. On the other hand, it involves certain risks, i.e. language learning without intrinsic motivations or real cultural experience may create a formal and abstract space. According to Henri Lefebvre „ A revolution that does not produce a new space has not realized its full potential" and therefore the creation of an abstract space does not necessarily support further economic, political, etc., transformation of society.

The second linguistic-spatial strategy is based on historical and power conceptions. This means that foreign languages are an important factor in inclusion in/exclusion from a specific space (e.g. *Austria belongs to the German language space; France and the French language belong together because the French are proud of their language*). In the case of this strategy the motivations for language learning are different. The construction of spatial meanings is mainly based on personal contacts with foreign countries (see Graph 6).

The interviews showed that such spatial production strategy involves only certain foreign languages. One of such languages carrying the connotation of power is Russian, although in some interviews it was treated differently. Although it was admitted that Russia is an economic and political power in the modern world, the Russian language was mentioned mainly in the context of the

past and therefore, negative aspects prevailed (see Graph 6). Neutral meanings were expressed when speaking about the local Estonian-Russian communication network; however, it was done mainly in the normative form.

Another language carrying the connotation of power was German. Although there have been changes in the meanings ascribed to German (it has become more important, mainly due to the work done by Chancellor Angela Merkel), for historical reasons, the meanings were rather negative. Connotations of power were ascribed to German mainly by Russian-speaking interviewees. This was somewhat unexpected, taking into account the results of previous empirical studies according to which the Estonian Russians visit Germany more often and are more interrested in German culture than the Estonians (Vihalemm 2004). Other languages that carried the connotation of power were large hegemonic languages (Spanish, English).

Such power dimension requires contacts with a specific language or space. If there were no contacts, the interviewees ascribed more neutral political, economic and institutional meanings to languages and spaces or referred to specific official symbols (e.g. the Danish flag, the Union Jack, etc.). One of the techniques used was contrasting a large country/language with a small country/language – the interviewees identified with small post-soviet countries similar to Estonia (Poland) and distanced themselves from large countries (USA, Russia). The Russia-USA dimension was used mainly in Russian-language interviews and by some active learners/users of Russian.

The production of space that is based on „obsolete" history may cause, according to Lefebvre (1991), difficulties in further realization of social changes. Difficulties can be overcome if history is interpreted so that the linguistic meaning does not contradict the territorial meaning (e.g. presently, people express emotional interest in both Russian and Swedish languages but, unlike in the case of Sweden, their associations with Russia and Russian culture are negative). When interpreting history through language learning the motivation for learning becomes more important, i.e. integrative motivation without clear identity solution may not necessarily enable such interpretation of history and production of positive space.

The third linguistic-spatial strategy is based on consumerist connotations. The strategy is expressed mainly by associating specific countries or languages with certain products or tourism. Associating languages/countries with consumption often carries connotations of freedom, i.e. the present availability of goods and consumption possibilities are compared with those of the Soviet time. Only the Latvian and Lithuanian languages are not associated with freedom, probably because Latvia and Lithuania had the same starting position as Estonia and differences in consumption possibilities are smaller. The intervews showed that consumption brings closer a specific culture rather than the language spoken in that country (e.g. people become interested in Chilean culture after having tried a Chilean wine).

The linguistic-spatial strategy based on consumption is most often characterised by instrumental language learning motivations and immediate cultural contacts. People who have no contacts with the specific language/ culture tend to use tourism cliches, symbols of popular culture (e.g. Malta is often associated with Eurovision) and the so-called signal symbols. They talk about languages (e.g. the French language) or official symbols (e.g. the Danish flag, the British Royal Family) as about certain trademarks that are used for marketing the country to tourists.

The strategy based on consumerist connotations is similar to the first strategy, which is based on unchanging morphologies, because the meanings ascribed to space are relatively abstract. However, it can be argued that the consumerist strategy supports social change more because for some people the knowledge of trade marks created in a specific space may act as a unique fixed point to be used for orientating in the space. Such knowledge may support cultural adaptation when having contacts with the relevant country. At the same time the lack of overall cultural openness and interest (e.g. stereotyping by Merilei) may inhibit adaptation. As the consumerist strategy was slightly more often used by the Russian-speaking interviewees, it may mean that the need for cultural-economic adaptation is greater among that group.

The fourth strategy is based on cultural meanings. This strategy is characterised by the fact that when discussing different languages and countries people use „cultural" categories: nationality/ethnicity, daily life, cultural impact and closeness, aesthetic (and other) qualities of the language and „the arts" (e.g. theatre, classical music, fine arts, etc).

As regards the aesthetic qualities of languages it appeared from the interviews that a language itself may participate in creating art and culture (*e.g. Finnish as a language of films, etc.*). Aesthetic and cultural qualities were ascribed also to hegemonic languages (e.g. *I like English very much, especially British English.* See the appendix). Associations with different nationalities were both positive and negative. Negative or simplified stereotypes were used when there were no immediate contacts (e.g. *Helen associates England with rowdy British stag nights in Tallinn*). Positive associations were mentioned by those who are already learning or are interested in learning a language (*e.g. Krista who is learning Geman described Germans positively*).

The strategies described above indicated that people feel abstract fear of Russia. Descriptions of daily life (e.g. transport, general lifestyle) were also subsumed under the category of cultural meanings. The analysis indicated that negative stereotypes about Russians and other Slavic nations based on immediate contacts are becoming a thing of the past. Thus, the results indicate that contacts at the level of daily life open possibilities for mutual understanding between the Estonians and Russians and for creating a common positive space.

It is not unexpected that foreign languages are important in order to understand a specific cultural space (e.g. *you have to speak Chinese to under-*

stand how the Chinese think). However, it appeared from the interviews that only certain languages, which we call the so-called „transition languages", take part in such cultural construction of space. This means that specific languages are used outside their country of cultural origin and this alleviates the feeling of cultural threat (e.g. *you can manage perfectly with Russian in Latvia; the only foreign language that the Polish speak is Russian and therefore it is difficult to make contacts*). These are the cases where spatial and socio-economic closeness may weaken power connotations or other connotations carried by language.

The strategies that are based on cultural meanings are characterised by foreign contacts and intrinsic language learning motivations. Various language learning experiences are decisive in these strategies, i.e. the learners are individuals who are learning the languages that are more „exotic" in Estonia or learned by a smaller number of people.

The linguistic-spatial strategy based on cultural meanings increases the awareness of and openness to various cultural spaces and supports social change. However, diverse language learning experiences with integral motivations but without international communication experience may make cultural experience rather abstract and therefore, the individual lacks the „tools" of interpreting cultural meanings and reducing geo-cultural insecurity.

8. Conclusions

While earlier studies focused on links between foreign languages and economy (Tender, Vihalemm *forthcoming*), this analysis focused on links between space and foreign languages.

The analysis showed that language may participate in the production of social space and thereby either support or hinder social change. The analysis of spatial representations and practices indicated that the discourse of a common Russian language of the Soviet people created by the media during the Soviet era may still be present in individual perceptions of space. However, the (negative) meanings and power connotations associated with the (Russian) language are disappearing. The formation of open perception of space may be hindered only by one-sided linguistic and cultural contacts (e.g. information obtained from the media without immediate contacts) and therefore, space may become a source of (political, cultural, natural, etc.) threat.

The analysis of links between foreign languages and space showed that results in language learning depend, besides the type of motivation, on the spatial meaning of a specific language. Therefore, learning a language without getting to know (and interpreting) the relevant culture may not produce the desired results. These findings are somewhat different from the results of previous studies (see Lehmann 2006), according to which the cultural value of language is manifested mainly at collective level. However, the collective and

individual levels are closely related, i.e. collective positive spatial experience can support individual language learning.

Connection between language and space was evident also in identity creation. The analysis showed that learning a foreign language provides a cultural reference point for identity creation and helps to solve the issue of identity.

The analysis identified four linguistic-spatial strategies: unchanging morphologies, cultural meanings, consumerist connotations, historical and power connotations. The most „successful" in supporting social change is the strategy based on cultural meanings, i.e. learners are culturally open and ascribe either neutral or positive cultural meanings to different geographical regions. The strategies based on unchanging morphologies and consumerist connotations show also great potential. If the strategy is based on language learning without immediate contacts, the result may be rather formal – a social space based on abstract symbols. Such space does not support economic and political transformation of society. The fourth strategy that is based on historical and power connotations, stresses the need for interpreting historical spatial relations. Language learning without such historical and cultural dimension may result in xenophobic spatial attitudes even if the learner is interested in language learning.

Up to now, the language policies have not paid much attention to the spatial and consumerist meanings of language. Therefore, spatial strategies that are based on history and power may result in different behaviour and vice versa. This analysis showed that certain harmonisation trends within EU may not be successful because people who have obtained cultural knowledge through foreign languages would prefer that the diversity of goods at regional level is maintained. Such „commercial" approach may be necessary first of all in the case of languages carrying imperial connotations. Thus, various regional programmes and educational policies should be taken into account in the development of language policies and vice versa[9].

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[9] Please note that the interviews were carried out before the so-called Bronze Soldier crisis in April 2007 that may have changed the opinions of Russians and Estonians about languages and space.

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APPENDIX

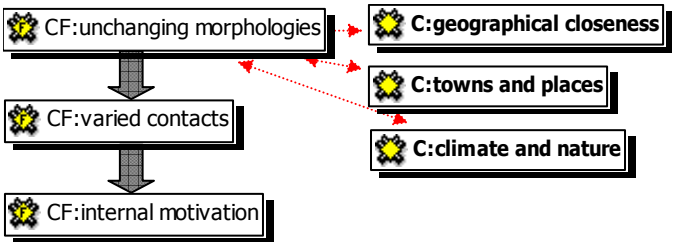

Figure 5. Exemplification of the strategy 1: production of space based on unchanging morphologies (CF = code family, C = code)

Sample of extracts by categories:

GEOGRAPHICAL CLOSENESS

- */.../ Because it is a neighbouring country and one should know the language. Young people also need Russian nowadays /.../ (Terje, 42, learning English, internal, instrumental, focussed space, contacts in Estonia);*
- */.../ And beside those I would place the closest neighbours. European languages are our closest neighbours. Polish, Latvian, Lithuanian and Finnish are close. ... Yes, the closest neighbours. Not in cultural terms but geographically close /.../ (Arvo,50, learning English, external, instrumental, wide space, contacts in Estonia);*
- */.../ These (Latvian, Lithuanian, Bulgarian, Romanian, Slovenian, Slovakian, Czech)are together: I put those together probably because of their geographical location /.../ (Astrid, 54, learning Finnish, internal, instrumental, wide space, contacts abroad);*

NATURE AND CLIMATE

- */.../ Many people, the Estonians, have told that if they had a choice and could live somewhere else they would choose New Zealand. Because of its nature and because there is something very similar. I don't know.. could be. /.../ (Tiiu, 42, learning Swedish, internal, integral, wide space, mediated contacts);*
- */.../ Greece. The mountains, beautiful nature, I have seen many photos /.../ Dutch is also a cool language. And of course… I was there first time this autumn and was amazed by how they live surrounded by water. This is incomprehensible! Gosh, it was amazing /.../ (Merle, 45, learning Swedish, internal, integral, wide space, mediated contacts);*
- */.../ Well, above all the nature of America. What amazed me was, using the words of Zinovi Gerdt, „what can be created by human hands if they are free". He said that and it is true because everybody who knows history knows that people enjoyed real freedom namely in America /.../ (Arkadi, 46, learning English, internal, integral, narrow space, foreign contacts);*

TOWNS AND PLACES

- */.../ Czech Republic is the centre of Europe. Prague. /.../ Maybe Germany, Bavaria, Munich, the Alps /.../ the English language – Big Ben /.../ the Latvian language – Jurmala, Lido, what else…the Gauja River /.../ (Arkadi, 46, learning English, internal, integral, narrow space, foreign contacts).*

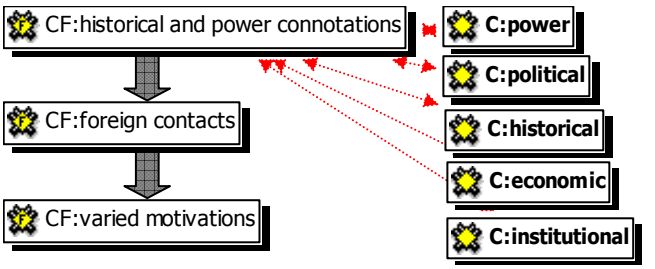

Figure 6. Exemplification of the strategy 2: production of space based on historical and power connotations (CF = code family, C = code)

Sample of extracts by categories:

HISTORICAL

- */.../ No, I do not feel any closeness to the Russian language. I don't know, maybe the Estonians' recollections of the „old good Soviet time"…these mainly /.../ (Tiiu, 42, learning Swedish, internal, integral, wide space, mediated contacts);*
- */.../ Russian… well, at school we hated the language. It was the language of the invaders. We were defiant against the language because we were forced to learn it from an early age. We had no choice. Russian was compulsory, you had to learn it /.../ (Laura, 26, learning German, external, instrumental, focussed space, foreign contacts);*

ECONOMIC

- */.../ China has an important role in our economy, all those gadgets made by their nimble fingers /.../ (Riho, 29, learning Spanish, internal, instrumental, foreign contacts);*

POLITICAL

- */.../ Well, Belarus… all those political scandals last year …/.../ Germany – Angela Merkel is a well-known political figure. If I remember correctly, Germany will be the next presidency of the European Union /.../ (Jelena, 32, learning English, external, instrumental, foreign contacts);*
- *I don't know… there are places in Russia where I would not go. No rules are observed there /.../ I am sure that somewhere in Africa there are countries similar to Russia where power politics is the only politics…or something like that. I don't know, it's a difficult question /.../ (Nele, 25, learning Russian, external, instrumental, narrow space, foreign contacts);*

INSTITUTIONAL

- */.../ In general, our civil servants can use French because of the European Union /.../ Yes, I think that because Estonia is a member state, we are orientated to the West. I don't know, maybe I am wrong about the decline of the importance of Russian but my personal experience is that the Russian language is of no use to me /.../ (Laura, 26, learning German, external, instrumental, focussed space, foreign contacts);*

POWER

- */.../ Polish is the language of a large country. To be honest, I don't like it much /.../ It is probably the arrogance and insolence of a large nation that has influenced my attitude towards their language /.../ (Helen, 28, learning French, internal instrumental, wide space mediated contacts);*
- */.../ The German language is not so important any more. Maybe it was, probably before my time. Germany was a powerful country but now it is like these three – Finland, Denmark and Sweden. /.../ (Astrid, 54, learning Finnish, internal, instrumental, wide space, contacts abroad);*
- */.../ I would say that the United States. The map would probably not be so different. Because there were and still are two dominating powers in the world /.../ I think that the Soviet Union was as influential as Russia is now. It is true, that China did not have the same influence but the situation has not changed actually and the dissolution of the Soviet Union did not change the position of Russia in the world, I think /.../ (Nikolai, 35, learning Finnish, external integrated, focussed space, foreign contacts).*

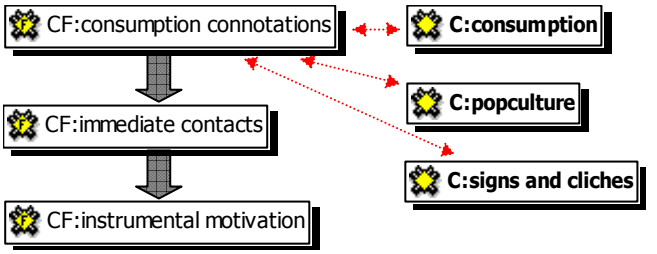

Figure 7. Exemplification of the strategy 3: production of space based on consumerist connotations (CF = code family, C = code)

Sample of extracts by categories:

CONSUMPTION

- */.../ Spanish – well, if you want to have a holiday in the south… to go to the sea… then you should know the language. It won't hurt you to know it /.../ (Arvo, 50, learning English, external, instrumental, wide space, contacts in Estonia);*
- */.../ I associate Moscow with Christmas decorations I bought there many years ago. They've lasted for some 20 years. They used to have those special shops selling the goods of European countries /.../ (Terje, 42, learning English, internal, instrumental, focussed space, contacts in Estonia);*
- */.../ Czech Republic – Czech footwear was very popular during the Soviet time. Czech rubber boots… they had warm lining and high heels and they looked like real boots. These were goods in short supply /.../ (Krista, 38, learning German, internal, instrumental, wide space, foreign contacts);*
- */.../ the Finnish language… Helsinki… rocks, the sea, the Finns, the Stockmann department store /.../ the Czech language – Prague, Czech beer… Although I have never to Czech Republic. Czech glassware. I have never been there. I don't even know why I have those associations /.../ (Jelena, 32, learning English, external, instrumental, foreign contacts);*

SIGNS AND CLICHES

- */.../ Ski resorts in Finland, the Yvasküla rally for example, Finnish TV, the home of Santa Clause… I don't know if he speaks Finnish /.../ (Krista, 38, learning German, internal, instrumental, wide space, foreign contacts);*
- */.../ the French language – French is a romantic language and… it has a beautiful sound, I like it and I think that I am not the only one /.../ (Nele, 25, learning Russian, external, instrumental, narrow space, foreign contacts);*
- */.../ the Danish language –I associate the Danish language with the Danish flag, the red one with a cross. I have never heard it spoken and I don't know how it sounds /.../ (Nele, 25, learning Russian, external, instrumental, narrow space, foreign contacts);*
- */.../ Dutch – Amsterdam, the red-light district (laughs)… I don't know, there are no more associations /.../ (Jelena, 32, learning English, external, instrumental, foreign contacts);*

POPCULTURE

- */.../ Irish. Irish dancing; Irish is associated with Celtic culture… I have met some Irish people. I have not been to Ireland but I associate it with stone fences and old pubs and Irish music, things like that /.../ (Merle, 45, learning Swedish, internal, integral, wide space, mediated contacts);*
- */.../ French – fashion, style, atmosphere /.../ (Irina, 39, learning English, external instrumental, narrow space, foreign contacts).*

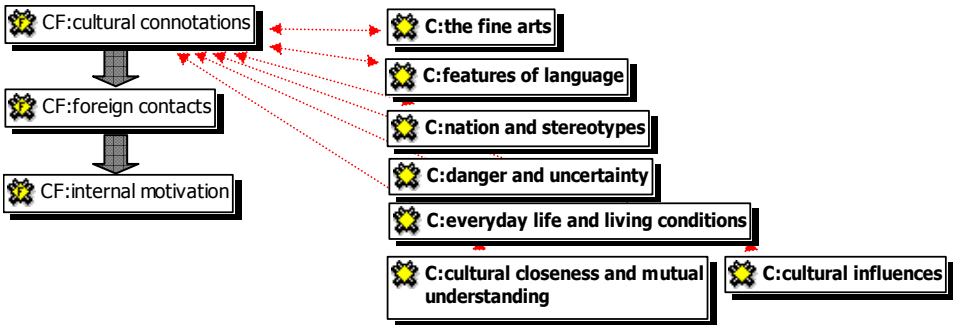

Figure 8. Exemplification of the strategy 4: production of space based on cultural meanings (CF = code family, C = code)

Sample of extracts by categories:

THE FINE ARTS

- */.../ French – Tartuffe, Versailles, Dumas /.../ Polish – Chopin, mazurka, Mickiewicz, Auschwitz /.../ Italian – the Renaissance; Leonardo da Vinci, spaghetti /.../ (Arkadi, learning English, internal, integral, narrow space, foreign contacts);*

CULTURAL CLOSENESS

- */.../ As regards Israel, it is connected with my national identity… but these are passing thoughts because in order to adapt to living in another country you have to know the language and to have a profession that you can practice everywhere; I think that I have achieved in Estonia what I can not achieve anywhere else /.../ (Arkadi, 46, learning English, internal, integral, narrow space, foreign contacts);*

NATION AND STEREOTYPES

- */.../ This is a very lively and active language, like the Italians are: lively and active and talkative and friendly and for some people they even seem too intrusive /.../ (Angelika, 36, learning Italian, internal integral, focussed space, foreign contacts);*

EVERYDAY LIFE AND LIVING CONDITIONS

- */.../ Canada left a good impression. Everybody is very friendly and smiling and helpful… and of course the great difference, we were still within the Soviet Union then and the contrast was enormous. It left a very positive impression on me although I would not like to live there (Angelika, 36, learning Italian, internal integral, focussed space, foreign contacts);*

DANGER

- */.../ Turkish – to me the sound of this language is funny. They have the resorts and bird flu … Trips were cancelled this spring because bombs were exploding. In Islamic countries they like to blow up something from time to time and then others, non-Muslims, should stay away /.../ (Krista, 38, learning German, internal, instrumental, wide space, foreign contacts);*

FEATURES OF LANGUAGE

- */.../ Because nobody speaks like the Chinese. Maybe only the Japanese. Like oriental music, it uses only quarter notes, not half notes like our music, so their language and speech is much more nuanced. I believe that a slight change in tone already means a completely different thing /.../ (Krista, 38, learning German, internal, instrumental, wide space, foreign contacts);*
- */.../ English – the first thing that comes to mind is a very interesting and conservative culture. From the Old World , interesting, independent. At the same time it is actually very strong. I like English very much. Especially the British English /.../ (Angelika, 36, learning Italian, internal integral, focussed space, foreign contacts);*
- */.../ Latvian – the same is valid for Latvia. As I said, you can manage perfectly with Russian in Latvia /.../ (Riho, 39, Spanish, internal, intrinsic, wide space, foreign contacts).*

CURRICULUM VITAE

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Education

1995–1999	Undergraduate study, Department of Sociology, University of Tartu
June 1999	*Baccalaeureus artium* in Sociology, Department of Sociology, University of Tartu
1999–2002	Graduate study (Master's level), Department of Sociology, Tallinn Pedagogical University
Nov. 2003	*Magister artium* in Sociology, Department of Sociology, Tallinn Pedagogical University
2003–2008	Graduate study (Doctoral level), Institute of Journalism and Communication, University of Tartu

Language Skills

Estonian (native), German (upper intermediate), English (intermediate), Swedish (elements), Russian (elements), Danish (elements)

Professional Employment

2005–present	Lecturer at the Institute of Journalism and Communication, University of Tartu
2001–2004	Chief specialist at the Department of Education, Tartu City Government
1999–2000	Senior specialist at the Bureau for Analysis and Development, Estonian Police Board

Special Courses

Oct 2006	*Bayesian modelling method,* Doctoral School, Tallinn University, Estonia
Nov. 2005	*Multilevel modelling method,* Doctoral School, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim, Norway
2004–2005	*Visiting graduate study* (Doctoral level), University of Vienna, Austria (courses at the Institute for Advanced Studies: comparative methodolgoy, grounded theory, participant observation, in-depth interview, logistic regression, multivariate methods)
Spring 2001	*Visiting graduate study* (Master's level), University of Copenhagen, Denmark
Autumn 2000	*Visiting graduate study* (Master's level), Uppsala University, Sweden

Academical Activity

Main research areas:
Personal social space: geo-cultural mobility and perceived cultural distances; the role of media in geo-cultural transformations; identification strategies in a transition society; the role of language in identity construction and spatial practices; research methods (quantitative and qualitative) in social sciences.

Lecturing:
Quantitative data analysis with MS Excel, In-depth interview method (at Bachelor level); Qualitative data analysis techniques and software, Quantitative data analysis with SPSS (at Master's level).

CURRICULUM VITAE

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Haridus

1995–1999	Bakalaureuseõpe, sotsioloogia osakond, Tartu Ülikool
Juuni 1999	*Baccalaeureus artium* sotsioloogia erialal, sotsioloogia osakond, Tartu Ülikool
1999–2002	Magistriõpe, sotsioloogia osakond, Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikool
Nov. 2003	*Magister artium* sotsioloogia erialal, sotsioloogia osakond, Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikool
2003–2008	Doktoriõpe, ajakirjanduse ja kommunikatsiooni instituut, Tartu Ülikool

Keelteoskus

Saksa keel (kõrgem kesktase), inglise keel (kesktase), rootsi keel (põhiteadmised), vene keel (põhiteadmised), taani keel (põhiteadmised)

Erialane teenistuskäik

2005–tänaseni	Lektor, ajakirjanduse ja kommunikatsiooni instituut, Tartu Ülikool
2001–2004	Peaspetsialist, haridusosakond, Tartu Linnavalitsus
1999–2000	Vanemspetsialist, analüüsi- ja arengubüroo, Eesti Politseiamet

Erialane enesetäiendus

Okt. 2006	*Bayesian modelling method,* doktoriõppe kursus, Tallinna Ülikool, Eesti
Nov. 2005	*Multilevel modelling method,* doktoriõppe kurus, Norra Teaduse ja Tehnoloogia Ülikool, Trondheim, Norra
2004–2005	*Enesetäiendus doktoriõpingute raames*, Viini Ülikool, Austria, Austria (ning osalemine Institute for Advanced Studies kursustel: võrdlev metodoloogia, põhistatud teooria, osalusvaatlus, süvaintervjuu, logistiline regressioon, mitmemõõtmesed analüüsimeetodid)
Kevad 2001	*Enesetäiendus magistriõpingute raames,* Kopenhaageni Ülikool, Taani
Sügis 2000	*Enesetäiendus magistriõpingute raames,* Uppsala Ülikool, Rootsi

Akadeemiline tegevus

Peamised uurimisvaldkonnad:
Personaalne sotsiaalne ruum: geo-kultuuriline mobiilsus ning mõttelised kultuurilised distantsid; meedia roll geo-kultuurilises transformatsioonis; identifikatsiooni strateegiad siirdeühiskonnas; võõrkeelte roll identiteedi konstrueerimises ning ruumilistes praktikates; uurimismeetodid (kvantitatiivsed ja kvalitatiivsed) sotsiaalteadustes.

Õppetöö:
Kvantitatiivne andmeanalüüs MS Excel'iga, süvaintervjuu meetod (bakalaureuse tasemel); kvalitatiivsete andmete analüüsitehnikad ja -tarkvara, kvantitatiivne andmeanalüüs SPSS'i abil (magistri tasemel).

DISSERTATIONES
DE MEDIIS ET COMMUNICATIONIBUS
UNIVERSITATIS TARTUENSIS

1. **Epp Lauk.** Historical and sociological perspectives on the development of Estonian journalism. Tartu, 1997, 184 p.
2. **Triin Vihalemm.** Formation of collective identity among Russophone population of Estonia. Tartu, 1999, 217 p.
3. **Margit Keller**. Representations of consumer culture in Post-Soviet Estonia. Tartu, 2004, 209 p.
4. **Pille Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt.** Information technology users and uses within the different layers of the information environment in Estonia. Tartu, 2006, 213 p.