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Describing Russian-speaking youngsters as Estonian citizens

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I have written this Master's thesis independently.

All viewpoints of other authors, literary sources and data from elsewhere used for writing this paper have been referenced.

Anette Parksepp, 16.05.201

Abstract

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The Russian-speaking community in Estonia has remained less active in politics than Estonian-speakers for more than 25 years, regardless of integration strategies aiming to tackle this problem. As youngsters are more receptive, it is important to understand how Russian-speaking students could be engaged in the civic life. To analyze this, the thesis draws upon the changing citizenship theories and the new modes of civic engagement and political participation of youngsters. The thesis aims to give a complex understanding of young Russian-speakers as citizens, compared to Estonian-speaking students.

The research uses a combined method of quantitative and qualitative data analysis, which shows that Russian-speaking youngsters can be divided into three general categories: political activists, civil participants, and passive citizens, whereby ¾ of the respondents belong to the latter group. Russian-speaking students are demotivated by the lack of civically active friends and the disbelief in being able to change something in the society. The fear of being excluded by getting into conflicts also hampers the political participation of the ethnic minority. Meanwhile, school setting and international projects can be effective ways to involve and integrate Russian-speaking youngsters.

Keywords: citizens, political participation, civic engagement, civil society, ethnic minority, Russian-speakers, youth participation

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1. Introduction

A stable democracy requires a cohesive political community where members of the society can form common understandings and a sense of a community (Duvold & Berglund 2013: 342). However, nations such as Estonia encompass different inherent conflicts in these aspirations. Duvold and Berglund (2013: 346) describe Estonia and Latvia as "unrealizable nation-states" – states that aspire for an all-encompassing national identity in a plural setting of large ethnic minorities who have stayed in the country after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the changing borders. It is therefore problematic that the state works conceptually for the good of the ethnic majority while the cohesive community requires the participation of the ethnic minorities as well.

A multi-ethnic nation, such as Estonia where the population comprises 25% of ethnic Russians, holds different relationships with various groups of the population. The institutional relationship between the nation and people is an important factor in this relationship - sixth of the Estonian population does not have the Estonian citizenship and does therefore not have the rights that the majority of the population has, such as voting in the national elections. Ethnicity is an even more complex concept which can significantly alter the sense of belonging to the community and, in turn, create different understandings of how much individuals from different communities should participate in the civic life.

Youth's participation in the political life is also problematic in its essence, albeit not unique to Estonia. The youngest generation has been born in the political context without having had the opportunity to participate in shaping the common rules of the democratic system. Since they are not connected to the society in that sense, it is therefore important to examine what motivates them to engage in this system.

The Strategy of Integration and Social Cohesion in Estonia aims that by 2020 people in Estonia with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds will actively participate in the society and share democratic values (Kultuuriministeerium 2014: 3). The strategy that aims

to integrate the Estonian society sets two goals regarding young people: firstly, young non-Estonian-speaking students will have competitive knowledge and skills to manage in the Estonian-language environment. Secondly, by the year 2020, the non-Estonian-speaking youth will actively participate in youth work and have strong ties with Estonian-speaking peers (Kultuuriministeerium 2014: 21). While the latter goal is partially connected to a civic participation of young people, Estonian integration policies have almost entirely neglected teaching young Russian-speakers about democracy, fundamental rights, social and political participation, even though this knowledge is essential for actively participating in a democratic system (Balti Uuringute Instituut 2012: 3). Another example is the Youth Strategy 2014–2020 which does not specifically outline any of the issues or goals concerning the Russian-speaking youth.

Young people are often categorized in researches between the ages 15-24. However, this classification includes two quite different groups: the younger group (15-19) is likely studying in the secondary school, and the older group (20-24) might be continuing their studies in the higher education or entering the job market. These groups have different relationships to the state and different influences regarding civic life. As the younger group is largely studying in school, it is important to analyze their understandings and engagement in the civic life, because the educational tools and mechanisms can be implemented to improve the civic engagement, if necessary. Furthermore, while Russian-speaking youngsters are often sidelined in the national strategies, they make up 19% of young people aged 15-19 (Statistics Estonia 2011). It is therefore important to understand the civic behavior and peculiarities of this group, in order to shape more informed strategies and policies that not only tackle integration but the society at large.

For this reason, the current thesis concentrates on the youngest ethnic minority group that can take part in the civic life as citizens but has not yet had an opportunity to shape the democratic system – young Russian-speakers aged 15-19.

While young Russian-speakers (15-24) are less likely to participate in civic life than Estonian-speakers, they are more self-confident than older non-Estonians in being able to

change something in the country, and are more trusting of the government (Kallas & Kivistik 2015). Motivations for Russian-speaking youngsters' civic participation has been qualitatively researched by Volkova (2013). Young peoples' interest in participating in elections, non-traditional civic practices, civil society, and voluntary work have been analyzed in the Integration Monitoring (2012, 2015). The current research combines the qualitative and quantitative method to give a more complex and detailed description of 15-19-year-old Russian-speakers as Estonian citizens, to point out the problematic factors of the civic engagement of young Russian-speakers, and to suggest ways in which different institutions could engage the Russian-speaking youth in the civic life.

The theoretical part of the research describes different models of citizenship and examines how the understandings of youth engagement have changed, especially in the light of rapid technological advances that offer new and more inventive ways of civic engagement. The emphasis of this analysis is twofold: on the one hand, it concentrates on the conflicts of youth participation, and on the other, it problematizes the civic engagement of the ethnic minorities, in order to map the factors, which motivate and demotivate young Russian-speakers from civic participation.

In order to empirically analyze the described issues, the research draws on the concepts of nation state, politics, society, citizenship and participation in the civic life. The latter is understood as an inclusive term, which comprises of civic engagement and political participation – a difference will be made between the two concepts, based on the definitions by Ekman & Amna (2012) where they draw a specific line between the latent political participation (or what is more widely known as civic engagement) and manifest political participation.

The quantitative data of this research has been collected by Veronika Kalmus, Andu Rämmer, Mai Beilmann, Ragne Kõuts, Katrin Kello and Signe Opermann for the international project "CATCH-EyoU – Constructing AcTive CitizensHip with European Youth", which is funded by Horizon 2020. The qualitative part consists of nine semi-

structured interviews with young Russian-speakers in Estonia that have been conducted specifically for the current research.

Based on the described data, this thesis aims to give an understanding of Russian-speaking students as Estonian citizens – the quantitative data allows to do this in comparison to Estonian-speaking peers, while the qualitative data gives an insight specifically into the civic behavior of Russian-speaking youngsters and does not therefore concern Estonian-speaking students. The research will give an understanding of Russian-speaking students' interest in politics and the society and where their civic interest is targeted. The research also takes a more holistic look into what kind of factors motivate or demotivate students from civic participation. Lastly, the research aims to describe young Russian-speakers as Estonian citizens by looking at different models of citizenship and comparing them to the respondents' civic behavior.

2. Theoretical and empirical framework

Academics have shown a keen interest in political participation in recent decades, largely because of the decreasing civic engagement, low voting turnout, and skepticism towards politics (Ekman & Amna 2012). The Estonian electoral turnout has remained more or less stable in the recent elections (Estonian National Electoral Committee 2017) but young people (18-24) are less active in all the elections than the average voter. Young people from other ethnicities than Estonian are even less active than their peers (Kallas & Kivistik 2015: 13). The civic participation, however, can be increasingly versatile and creative, so simply looking at the electoral turnout does not suffice. With widening of those horizons, researchers have been puzzled about the line between civic engagement and non-civic social life. In order to take a complex and holistic look at the ways in which young people of different ethnicities relate to the society and civic life, the main concepts have to be clearly defined.

2.1. Citizen and the state

A democratic state holds different relationship with different groups of the society. States have always made efforts to gain the loyalties of citizens, in the name of national solidarity and security (Thornberry 2003: 91). This loyalty and belonging to the community is not self-evident, however, since the relationship between the individual and community can rest on different bases. The belonging can either be based on characteristics or individual choice, which means that the identity can be either given or constructed (Thornberry 2003: 93). In practice, as we know, membership cannot always be left to the individual choice, but also depends on the reception by the community. As nations are "collective products of consciousness", recognition by the members of the community is necessary to be a part of the community (Canovan 2003: 141). Furthermore, while nations are constructions, they

are inherited from one generation to other - being part of the community is therefore also largely inherited and states are largely based on ethnic origins (ibid.).

One of the core indicators of the inclusion or exclusion into the society is citizenship, which the critics have described as the tool for privilege and exclusion:

> "It is no exaggeration to say that one of its principal functions has been as an agent or principle of discrimination. It has been undemocratic in basic ways until and after 1789. It has encompassed and defined privilege and constituted the means to discriminate against non-citizens. In this way, it has favored the few against the many and restricted the full benefits of membership in a community to a minority (Riesenberg 1992: xvii)."

On the other hand, citizenship is one of the core terms used to describe the relationship between an individual and the state, while its definition is an essentially contested one, where reaching a single understanding is impossible and subject to ideological interpretations (Aaviksoo 2013: 26). In ancient Greece, the citizen was a man who had been born to a family of Athens' citizen, had a family, weaponry, and slaves. While citizen's wife and children were also categorized as citizens, although they did not have the right to participate in politics, there were also groups totally left out of the definition – slaves and aliens, who only enjoyed limited rights and had to pay certain taxes (Aaviksoo 2013: 27-28). While societies have later used a variety of citizenship models, there is always an ideological question of who should be included and who should be excluded from the citizenry, to the degree of differentiating between types of citizenship.

Historically, there has been the need to differentiate between citizenship and nationality. Citizenship refers to the citizen rights such as voting and holding governmental positions, but as women and religious minorities have been deprived of these privileges, they have been attributed the term "nationality" (Aaviksoo 2013: 29). Nationality refers historically to heritage (latin "nasci" meaning to be born), but in social sciences it is also used to describe ethno-national identity (ibid.). Citizenship, on the other hand, refers to being a part of a political community ("civis" as a rightful member of a state) (ibid.). Thus, nationality can be described as belonging to an ethno-national group, and citizenship as belonging to a state (Aaviksoo 2013: 30)

As Estonian language does not comprehensively differentiate between the two, it is important to note that the ways in which people use the word "citizen" in their everyday use or in the interviews of the current thesis, can be vague and open to different interpretations. Kross proposed a citizenship model in 1990, according to which all the people who were living in the territory of Estonia at the time of the restoration of independence, would be defined as Estonian nationals (Aaviksoo 2013: 31). To be considered a citizen with the benefits such as voting, people would need to have sufficient language skills and residential qualification (ibid.). This idea was not implemented, but a separate category was created for people without citizenship – often referred to as denizens in English language – who have only certain citizen rights, such as alien's passport, which ensures the right for consular assistance, or an opportunity to travel visa-free in the Schengen area (Aaviksoo 2013: 32). On the other hand, they are not obliged to serve time in the military, they can travel visa-free to Russia, unlike Estonian citizens, and they can vote in the local elections (ibid.).

Maruste differentiates between citizenship in a narrow and wide sense. Citizenship in a narrow sense is the most traditional form of a relationship between a person and the state – where a person with citizenship enjoys all the rights and freedoms, privileges, state guarantees and protection, and fulfils specific duties towards the state, which only apply to the citizens (as cited in Aaviksoo 2013: 34). A citizen in the wider sense, according to Maruste, is a person who is under the jurisdiction of the state, a legal resident of the state and tax-payer who has a specter of certain rights and obligations, which is narrower than that of citizens in the narrow sense (ibid). The current thesis draws upon the latter definition, while emphasizing the difference where necessary.

Not all the residents of the state choose to have a citizenship, since it is required for only a number of reasons, mainly political participation (Thornberry 2003: 96). However, the lack of citizenship among the minority members of the society raises the question of loyalty:

> "In the most basic sense, loyalty concerns the non-contractual ties that bind individuals to a community, in this case the political community. To speak of loyalty presupposes a degree of belief in the legitimacy of the political order, a trust in its institutions and sense of community: legitimacy, trust and community are the defining tenets of loyalty (Delanty 2003: 125)".

When we talk about the loyalty and its relation to community, we are talking about the sense of belonging – this, in turn, is tightly related to cultural bounds (Delanty 2003: 126). In a multicultural society, the community cannot be based on a cultural basis, but it can have the feeling of belonging to a political community, if the values of this political community are inclusive, not exclusive (ibid.).

Indeed, as the world changes and borders disappear, the states become ever more multicultural, while sometimes trying to maintain their nation-state status. Thus, one of the core challenges of current multicultural states is building a community with a common identity while recognizing different group identities that exist in the society (Schwarzmantel 2003: 14). Some authors even think that these kinds of aspirations cannot be institutionalized in the nation-states, because citizenship in these countries is too inseparable from the non-rational emotional aspects of bonding, which are the basis for belonging (Schwarzmantel 2003: 15). These 'essentialist' elements can include religion, race, language and culture, for example (Schwarzmantel 2003: 16). In Estonia, one of the core elements of belonging is language, which is also one of the main requirements – and for some, obstacles – for acquiring citizenship of the country.

The discussion of the European identity can be useful in problematizing the community-building in multicultural states. As the European public sphere consists of multitude of nation-states, it is not plausible for the European identity to be based on the aforementioned non-rational, essentialist elements. In order for the European public sphere to work, the European identity must be separated from all these national identities and the common identity should be built on a more rationalistic basis, i.e. minimal shared political values (Schwarzmantel 2003: 16). This is, again, problematic, since the rational values are less compelling than the emotional ones, meaning that they are less likely to attract citizens and join them together (ibid.).

Schwarzmantel (2003: 16) argues that one alternative would be "to make a concept of broad citizenship synonymous with membership of a national community."

"This position of national citizenship stresses the collective identity based on a shared past, symbols of national identity which have an emotional content and hence considerable mobilizing power which may be more effective in gaining citizen's allegiance (Schwarzmantel 2003: 16)."

The author admits that this kind of approach is too favorable to the majority culture. Furthermore, it is difficult to imagine a coherent community built on a common history in countries like Estonia, where reasons for the disparities among different nation groups are largely historic, and stem precisely from the different understandings of shared past.

Habermas proposes that the nation-state used to be integrative in the past, because "democratic citizenship was connected with cultural membership in the nation", but states are no longer culturally homogenous and therefore, the democratic citizenship has to be separated from ethnicity and nationality (as cited in Schwarzmantel 2003: 17). The new basis of inclusion should be connected to values and the creation of a common political culture (ibid.).

Some authors have proposed "multiple citizenship" which allows people to side with multiple political spheres, instead of a single nation-state:

"What postmodern citizenship demands is that boundaries between political communities are not perpetually closed, either materially or culturally, and that many of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship extend beyond administrative borders (Faulks 2000: 168, as cited in Weller 2007: 36)."

Again, if we look at Estonia, the loyalty of the Russian-speaking community to the Estonian state is one of the core problems that motivates political elites to contribute to the integration policies and which led to the creation of a national Russian-language television channel ETV+, for example. The possibility of Russian-speaking people binding themselves to Russia, instead of Estonia, seems to rather be a source of worry than an opportunity in the Estonian public debates. This, in turn, is related to the very particular relationship between Russia and Estonia.

"The specific situation of Estonians presumes special measures to protect their language and culture, which are threatened not only by the mercerization of the global culture, but also by the pressure exerted by the diaspora of the bigger nation. This pressure tends not only to preserve special language privileges in comparison with the smaller minorities, but also to contest the cultural rights

of the majority, including the right to preserve their own language as the official state language, as a lingua franca between the majority and all minorities (Lauristin & Heidmets 2002: 25)."

Thus, the more liberal citizenship policies and inclusion into the community based on something other than nationality is still problematic and one of the main challenges in integrating the Estonian society.

2.2. Civil society and young people as citizens

Traditionally, voting in elections has been considered the main citizen duty, since the understandings of citizen engagement have largely revolved around institutional politics and ways to affect governmental decisions (Ekman & Amna 2012: 285). With the expansion of civil society theories, the understanding of a citizen participation has also changed. While democratic societies have already for a long time acknowledged the need for informed and active citizens that would prevent the abuse of government power, some civil society authors have noted the need for an even wider conceptualization of citizenship (Eberly 2000: 20). According to Crick, "good citizens will obey the law, but will seek to change it by legal means if they think it bad, or even if they think it could be better (Crick 2000: 6). According to the contemporary understanding, then, citizen's duties do not begin and end with voting, but they include volunteering, being a good neighbor and contributing to the institutions and the democracy of the society, in the name of a humane public order (Eberly 2000: 20-21).

A democratic society needs the participation of its citizens, in order to form policies according to the interests and the needs of the people. A term "civic trinity" has even been used, referring to a good citizen, who should firstly, actively participate in their community, secondly, care for others in the community, and thirdly, participate in public debate and involvement to advance common interests (van Deth & Maloney 2012: 1). This, more participatory democracy has been represented by the civil society. Civil society as a concept has a rich history and different interpretations. It can be defined as a "mediator

between social life and market economy" or "a universal expression of the collective life of individuals, at work in all countries and stages of development but expressed in different ways according to history and context" (Edwards 2004: 3).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the privatization, social and technological advances created insecurities among the people (Edwards 2004: 12). These insecurities could not be helped by the social institutions such as labor unions, so people turned towards voluntary associations – "a reassuring oasis of solidarity and mutual support among like-minded people who provide each other with emotional as well as material support, from soup kitchens to self-help to spiritual salvation" (Edwards 2004: 12-13). As the formation of non-governmental institutions grew, the experts found that voluntary associations are indeed effective tools for affecting the society (ibid). Their usefulness lies in the "synergy between a strong state and a strong society" – the civil society organizations are seen as a counterweight to the vested interests and they hold institutions, markets and decision-makers accountable for their decisions (ibid.). While "civil society" as a term is often equalized with the third sector, it is actually more encompassing and functions in three important areas: economic (providing services that the market does not, supporting institutions that are important for an effective market economy), political (countering states and corporate power, promoting transparency and good governance), and social (caring, culture, teaching) (Edwards 2004: 13-15).

Estonian Civil Society Development Concept defines the civil society as a "co-operation of people for following their interests, discussing public issues and participating in decision-making processes, also the associations, networks and institutions which enable such co-operation (Estonian Civil… 2002)." Therefore, *collective* action or at least discussion is something that is ascribed to the civil society, instead of individual. However, the civic life is becoming increasingly professionalized, leaving the engaged citizens to the role of spectators or impulsive participators (van Deth 2002), which, in turn, can create the feeling of alienation. This professionalization in combination with wider technological possibilities have motivated citizens to move from the collective participation to a more individual one. A prime example is boycotting and buycotting for ethnical or moral reasons, which does

not require collective action and in fact, is thought to eschew organized participation (van Deth 2002: 135). While these actions are in symbiosis with the other forms of political participation, individualists have low support for the norms of citizenship (ibid.). "Their idea of "responsibility taking" is evidently self-centered and based on clear support for the norm to form your own opinions and a reluctance to support solidarity and social engagement (van Deth 2002: 135-136)." Therefore, the civil society and citizen participation is going through important changes.

Bennett outlines similar trends when he describes the changing citizenship models. Traditionally, the ideal type of citizenship has been the dutiful citizenship (see table 1). The dutiful citizen is an "informed citizen" who actively consumes mass media and takes an obligation in participating in elections and other government centered activities (Bennett 2008: 14). However, the Western societies have seen a move from the dutiful citizen model to a new one – the self-actualizing citizenship. Especially young citizens of today are largely considered to be self-actualizing citizens, because of their higher sense of individual purpose and the use of more non-conventional ways of civic participation (ibid.).

Table 1. Changing Citizenry (Bennett 2008: 14)

Dutiful Citizen	Self-actualizing citizen
Obligation to participate in government centered activities	Diminished sense of government obligation – higher sense of individual purpose
Voting is the core democratic act	Voting is less meaningful than other, more personally defined acts such as consumerism, community volunteering, or transnational activism
Becomes informed about issues and government following mass media	Mistrust of media and politicians is reinforced by negative mass media environment
Joins civil society organizations and/or expresses interests through parties that typically employ one-way conventional communication to mobilize supporters	Favors loose networks of community action – often established or sustained through friendships and peer relations and thin social ties maintained by interactive information technologies

The reasons for this change are complex and first, we should look at the wider problematization of youth as citizens. One of the main problematics of the relationship between youngsters and citizenship is the competency – more precisely the incompetency that is often ascribed to youngsters, who are subject to parental responsibility (Weller 2007: 29-30). Although this incompetency has been argued by Marshall, Kant, Plato, Aristotle and Freud, there are also authors who oppose the age barriers as the basis of competency (ibid.). The objections have been presented through the counter-examples of child soldiers,

youngsters who care for their parents, and youngsters' competency in analyzing peer relations, which is sometimes thought to be greater than that of adults (Weller 2007: 31).

Youngsters do have some opportunities to participate in institutional politics: a lot of countries have youth parliaments that are assembled to listen to young people, to raise awareness about parliamentary work, and to empower youngsters to participate in politics and the civil society (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2016). Estonia has held a youth parliament session once in 2014. Another way for youngsters to practice engaging in institutional politics is through the youth organizations of parties and the youth councils that have advisory role in many cities, towns and even smaller municipalities. While the youth organizations teach youngsters to engage in civic life, their decision-making power is usually rather small.

Still, youngsters are usually seen as "citizens in the making" who are subject to constitutional exclusion from full citizenship until they are – in most countries – 18 years old (ibid). This means that before a certain age, young people are largely excluded from institutional decision making processes. As youngsters are not represented in the parliament, their views are often ignored, which might make it difficult for them to relate to the macro level of politics (Briggs 2017: 1). After all, people largely choose to participate in the politics to protect their own interests, meaning that they are interested in participation when it directly affects them (Briggs 2017: 38). However, Children and Young People's Unit in the United Kingdom found in 2002 that students aged 14-19 find politicians to be white, wealthy, patronizing older men who disregard issues that concern youngsters (Weller 2007: 34). In addition to the exclusion of youngsters, many young people feel that youth is often portrayed in a negative way in the political rhetoric (ibid.). As young people are not represented in politics, they also do not have many stakes in the society, which is again tied to the political engagement – paying taxes, for example, connects citizens more strongly to the society and therefore motivates them to participate (Weller 2007: 33).

Another issue is the habit of participation. The voting habit is usually learned only after three elections where a person has participated, meaning that youngsters are simply not

used to participate, which makes them the most volatile group of voters when they finally start their institutional political participation (Maggini 2017: 3). Estonia lowered the local election voting age in 2015, so the first local elections will be held in autumn 2017 where 16-year-old youngsters, including those that are not Estonian citizens, can vote. However, it is important to remember that participation does not need to start with the institutional politics. The Citizen Foundation argued in 1997:

> "We believe that citizenship has a clear conceptual core which relates to the induction of young people into the legal, moral and political arena of public life. It introduces pupils to society and its constituent elements, and shows how they, as individuals, relate to the whole. Beside understanding, citizenship education should foster respect for law, justice, democracy, and nurture common good at the same time as encouraging independence of thought. It should develop skills of reflection, enquiry and debate (Crick 2000: 8)."

This definition emphasizes the importance of the early education that promotes socially responsible behavior towards the authority and other people (Crick 2000: 9). It also stresses the need to teach youngsters about being involved in the social life by volunteering, and the necessity to teach political literacy, which can help youngsters realize their potential in contributing to the public life with their specific knowledge and skills (ibid.). School has proved to be an effective setting for youngsters to practice citizenship, either by opposing the status quo or forming their political understandings (Weller 2007: 72). This can be done through a democratic classroom where students can voice their opinions, through participation in the school council, and through communication in the study breaks (Weller 2007). Teachers can be important contributors to the discussions about problems of the society and controversial issues (Crick 2000: 10).

It is also important to keep in mind that the feelings of inclusion and exclusion are an important component in the youth participation. On the one hand, young people are often disregarded by the decision makers because they are perceived as unknowledgeable or in conflict with the older members of the community (Weller 2007). On the other hand, belonging to a peer group is also a possible point of conflict. This is especially important to keep in mind when we talk about inter-ethnic communication between youngsters,

particularly if they are to discuss social and political issues, which are subject to different world-views and interpretations among different ethnic groups. It can very well be, then, that youngsters refrain from discussing issues of the society with peers, in order to fit in.

While the aforementioned issues with youth participation have existed for a long time, societal developments have, in many ways, excluded youngsters from the institutional politics even further. The digital media has given citizens wider possibilities for defining their personal social identities and their expectations for politics. This has pushed politicians to use new marketing strategies to target more refined demographics (Bennett 2008: 13).

> "The democratic result is that ever larger groups of citizens are excluded from the discourses of elections and policy as they are deemed unnecessary by consultants. Young citizens are among those most blatantly excluded from the public discourses of government, policy arenas and elections. The result is that the world of politics and government seems distant, irrelevant, and inauthentic to many citizens, particularly younger demographics (ibid.)."

As a minority, young Russian-speakers are especially disregarded in national strategies and policies (Balti Uuringute Instituut 2012: 3).

According to the post-materialism theories, the change in the citizenship model can be related to the move from the materialist priorities to the post-materialist priorities, meaning that young people have come to value self-realization, aesthetic satisfaction and quality of life over economic safety (Maggini 2017: 2). Furthermore, since moving to the center is the current main trend in party politics, the lack of difference between the parties is considered to be off-putting for youngsters (Briggs 2017: 4). Coupled with increasing technological possibilities for youth participation, it is clear that the traditional citizenship models do not apply to the young citizens of today.

2.3. New understandings of civic engagement

Academics and media have argued a lot over whether the youth is indeed politically apathetic. Some authors argue that youngsters are disconnected from the mainstream politics, but can be mobilized according to specific political issues, such as animal rights or equality for different groups of the society (Briggs 2017: 4). This has created a theory that young people prefer protest activity, instead of mainstream politics – while this is not yet empirically grounded, authors do agree that there has rather been a transformation, not a decline in the political participation of youngsters (Briggs 2017: 5, 8).

> "Young people's participation takes place on all levels; from the local to the global, from informal settings such as groups, networks and communities, to formal structures such as youth organizations, municipal youth councils, school councils and elections (Muniglia et al 2012: 5, as cited in Briggs 2017: 9)."

Therefore, when we talk about new modes of civic engagement, we are not talking so much about the emergence of new ways of participation, but rather about the changing conceptualizations of the civic engagement by different authors. As the civil society theories have evolved, the understanding of what constitutes civic engagement has widened. The newest and the most precise classification of political participation and civic engagement has been outlined by Ekman & Amna (2012). The empirical analysis in this research does not precisely follow all the categories of this model, but uses it as the most comprehensive basis of analysis (see table 2).

Table 2. Typology of different forms of engagement (Ekman & Amna 2012: 295)

	Non-participation (disengagement)		Civil participation (latent-political)		Political participation (manifest)		
	Active forms (antipolitical)	**Passive forms (apolitical)**	**Social involvement (attention)**	**Civic engagement (action)**	**Formal political participation**	**Activism (extra-parliamentary political participation)**	
						Legal/extra-parliamentary protests or actions	**Illegal protests or actions**
Individual forms	Non-voting Actively avoiding reading newspapers or watching TV when it comes to political issues Avoid talking about politics Perceiving politics as disgusting Political disaffection	Non-voting Perceiving politics as uninteresting and unimportant Political passivity	Taking interest in politics and society Perceiving politics as important	Writing to an editor Giving money to charity Discussing politics and societal issues with friends or on the Internet Reading newspapers and watching TV when it comes to political issues Recycling	Voting in elections and referenda Deliberate acts of non-voting or blank voting Contacting political representatives or civil servants Running for or holding public office Donating money to political parties or organizations	Buycotting, boycotting and political consumption Signing petitions Handing out political leaflets	Civil disobedience Politically motivated attacks on property

| Collective forms | Deliberate non-political lifestyles, e.g. hedonism, consumerism

In extreme cases: random acts of non-political violence (riots), reflecting frustration, alienation of social exclusion | "Non-reflected" non-political lifestyles | Belonging to a group with societal focus

Identifying with a certain ideology and/or party

Lifestyle related involvement: music, group identity, clothes etc.

For example: veganism, right-wing Skinhead scene or left-wing anarcho-punk scene | Volunteering in social work, e.g. to support women's shelter or to help homeless people

Charity work or faith-based community work

Activity within community based organizations | Being a member of a political party, an organization, or a trade union

Activity within a party, an organization or a trade union (voluntary work or attend meetings) | Involvement in new social movements or forums

Demonstrating, participating in strikes, protests and other actions (e.g. street festivals with a distinct political agenda) | Civil disobedience actions

Sabotaging or obstructing roads and railways

Squatting buildings

Participating in violent demonstrations or animal rights actions

Violent confrontations with political opponents or the police |
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Ekman & Amna (2012) differentiate between political participation, civil participation and non-participation. While the latter is a new category, the first two have created confusion among authors for a long time. In general, it is agreed that political participation is connected to some kind of direct political activities, and civic engagement (or what Ekman & Amna call civil participation) encompasses a wider range of activities or ideas.

When discussing political participation, it firstly has to be noted that politics as a concept can be understood in a variety of ways and youngsters can, in turn, interpret politics in their own way. Politics can be interpreted as a wider idea of resource allocation and power relations, but it can also be defined through a very narrow understanding of acting with respect to state, i.e. political institutions (Briggs 2017: 8, 34). The wider definition of politics can encompass all human activities, also the personal ones, since politics is about society's conflicts and disagreements (Briggs 2017: 34). However, Volkova (2013), for example, found that Russian-speaking youngsters in Estonia differentiate between the politics and the society, whereas the former is seen as something boring and dirty. This indicates that youngsters often understand the term in the narrow, institutional sense. Thus, the current research discriminates between the politics and the society for a clearer understanding of what youngsters can relate to.
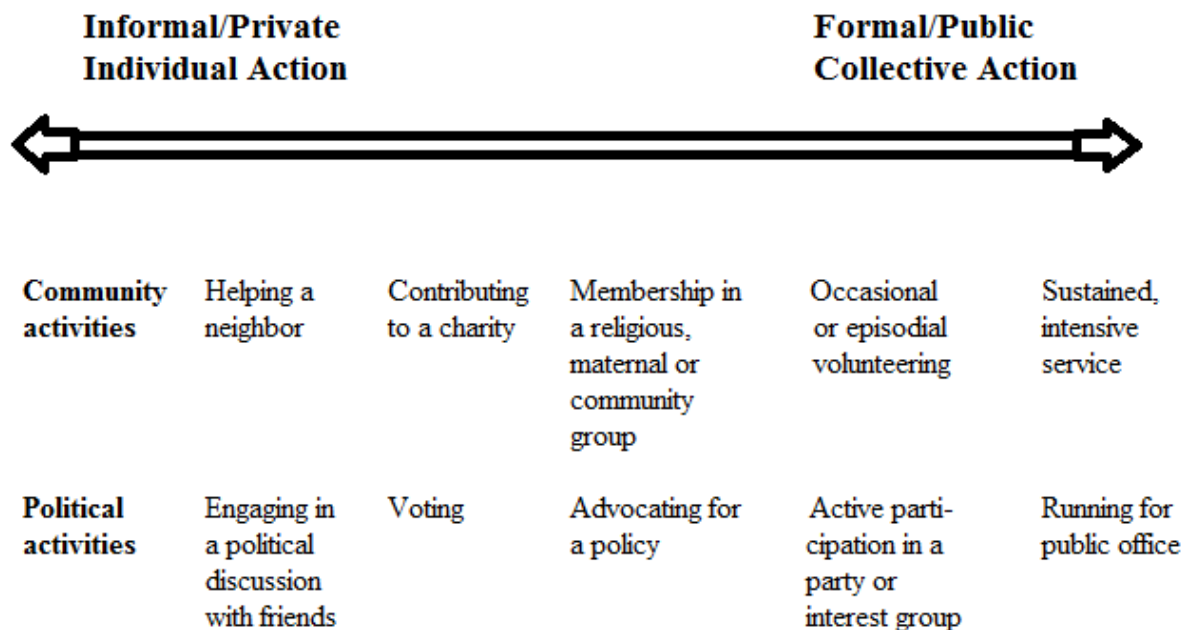
At the same time, the idea of political participation has been problematic, because it is often firmly tied to the political elites, leaving aside private and civil society factors (Ekman & Amna 2012: 286). In search for a more precise definition, Teorell et al (2007) have created a five-dimensional typology of political participation, including voting, party activity, consumer participation (e.g. donating money, boycotting), protest activity (e.g. demonstrations, strikes), and contacting (e.g. contacting organizations or politicians) (Teorell et al 2007: 343). This distribution, however, defines political protest in a quite narrow sense. Therefore, Ekman & Amna (2012) add actions such as casting blank votes in the elections into the typology, and differentiate between formal political participation, legal protests and illegal protests. Political participation in their understanding is then understood as "all actions directed towards influencing governmental decisions and political outcomes. [---] It has to do with the wishes of ordinary citizens to influence

politics and political outcomes in the society, or the decisions that affect public affairs (Ekman & Amna 2012: 289)”.

These actions are goal oriented and observable, whereas civic engagement has been a vaguer concept that has been described as a community service (i.e. voluntary work in the local community), as collective action, as political involvement, and as social change (Adler & Goggin 2005). Adler and Goggin aimed to take in to account different dimensions of the civic engagement conceptualizations and described the concept on an axis (see figure 1) where one dimension distinguishes between the informal (largely individual) and formal (usually collective) activities, and the other dimension between community activities and political activities (Adler & Goggin 2005: 240). They define civic engagement as a way that “an active citizen participates in the life of a community in order to improve conditions for others or to help shape the community’s future (Adler & Goggin 2005: 241)”.

The Continuum of Civic Engagement

Informal/Private Individual Action ⟷ **Formal/Public Collective Action**

Community activities	Helping a neighbor	Contributing to a charity	Membership in a religious, maternal or community group	Occasional or episodial volunteering	Sustained, intensive service
Political activities	Engaging in a political discussion with friends	Voting	Advocating for a policy	Active parti- cipation in a party or interest group	Running for public office

Figure 1. Civic engagement as a continuum (Adler & Goggin 2005: 240).

This definition is rather action-based and includes activities that are usually understood in political and institutional terms, such as running for public office. Thus, the newer literature discriminates between the political participation and civic engagement, whereas in some definitions, the latter might encompass non-observable engagement as well. Putnam, for example, is a proponent of a wide definition of civic engagement, for which he has received a fair amount of criticism. Putnam's approach put an emphasis of the social capital, as he included reading the newspapers, social networks and interpersonal trust as ways of civic engagement, which the critics have deemed as conceptual stretching (Ekman & Amna 2012: 284). Therefore, Ekman & Amna (2012) define civil participation as a way for people to engage in the society "without formally relating to the political (parliamentary) domain – or in ways that are clearly not any sort of political protest – but that nevertheless could be seen as "pre-political" (Ekman & Amna 2012: 291)." This kind of civic engagement might be observable as well, such as donating money and recycling for environmental reasons but it is "latent in relation to specific political parliamentary and extra-parliamentary actions" (Ekman & Amna 2012: 292). Their definition includes civic engagement, which is action based, and social involvement, which does not necessarily require action at all.

Social involvement, which precedes both civic and political activities and does not manifest in direct actions, but in "attentiveness to social and political issues", can be measured by the interest in politics and societal affairs and whether the respondent thinks politics is important, whereas civic engagement can be measured by activities in the civil society sphere (ibid.). The latent factor is an important component in the citizen behavior, because it indicates a "stand-by" mode, which might turn into actual political participation, if something were to trigger the interest of these "stand-by citizens" (Ekman & Amna 2012: 297). The focus here is on the pre-political – authors argue that while a lot of contemporary citizen engagement seems to be non-political on the surface, it is connected to the involvement in society and current affairs, such as discussing politics or reading news (Ekman & Amna 2012: 288). While people might not directly participate in the formal politics, they are aware of issues of the society and have informed opinions about the

politics – these kinds of people are, in fact, usually more active in the society by donating money or volunteering (ibid.).

Kaun refers to this as public connection, which can either mean basic standpoints on issues of public concern that might or might not lead to action (Kaun 2013: 43). Public connection can be expressed in different forms – Kaun distinguishes three categories. Firstly, she brings forth a specific form of media-related public connection that can lead to action – the critical media connection. "Out of common sense, viewers and readers do not uncritically rely on media content but, at the same time, they are being pushed back into a forced reliance out of a lack of alternatives" (Kaun 2013: 64). According to Rojas, people that do not see their own opinions sufficiently represented by the media, are more likely to express their views in online publications and offline conversation (Kaun 2013: 65). Furthermore, people that see news reporting negatively, tend to be more cynical about politics (ibid.). According to the Integration Monitoring, non-Estonians are significantly less trusting of media, compared to Estonians. The most trustworthy source of information for non-Estonians (Russian television channels) gained only 51% of their trust, while the most trusted media sources for Estonians (Estonian-language television channels) gained 70-80% of trust (Seppel 2015: 90). Therefore, non-Estonians might be expected to be more distrusting of politics as well.

The second form of orientation is the playful public connection, which is connected to "enjoyment, voluntary engagement, and an interruption of stream of everyday routine" and has been historically linked to especially young people (Kaun 2013: 81). There are different understandings among authors as to what extent entertainment counts as public connection: some authors argue that the mass entertainment competes with pure political communication, and others argue that even watching fictional television shows that deal with political life, counts as civic practice (Kaun 2013: 82-83). Concepts of "photoshop democracy" and "silly citizenship" have gained relevance with citizens making web parodies of political campaigns, putting together funny Youtube videos and creating social media pages such as Facebook group "Can this trash bin gather more fans than Frederik Reinfeldt?" in Sweden (ibid.). Authors of these concepts argue that playful engagement

changes the way people think about power and brings political discourses closer to citizens' everyday lives: "Citizenship is not simply the cerebral exercise of monitorial scrutiny, it is both a whole-of-body and body-to-body experience, comedic and competitive, entertaining and festive, in the very performance of political deliberation and participation" (Hartley 2012, as cited in Kaun 2013: 83-84).

The third specific form of civic experience that Kaun brings forth, is the historical public connection, which is strongly connected to discourse. Here, it is important to note that historical time is not represented by calendars but also through narratives that are developed by societies, namely by historians (Kaun 2013: 100). These kinds of narratives are presented and reinforced in schools and in media. Media especially can be a point of segregation but also a source of change (Kaun 2013: 108). "Through the narrative mode of articulation, historical time becomes human time and links universal time to the subjective or lived experience of time" (Kaun 2013: 100). This means that something is always left out of the history which can create problems in a multicultural environment – for example, Russian-speakers living in Estonia can have very different interpretations of the Second World War and the collapse of the Soviet Union than ethnic Estonians (Kaun 2013: 101). "If a common historical narrative is, however, understood as being essential for establishing commonality and belonging in a society, tensions inevitably arise" (ibid.). In Estonia, the common narrative largely excludes Russian-speakers which makes it difficult to establish a common narrative which would hold the community together (Kaun 2013: 102).

Besides political participation, civic engagement and social involvement, Ekman & Amna also distinguish between two types of non-engagement. Passive non-engagement refers to the citizens who are not interested in politics and do not feel the need to voice their concerns about issues of the society, whereas active non-engagement refers to the citizens who are disgusted with politics, think politicians are corrupt, and do not vote of principle (Ekman & Amna 2012: 294).

2.4. Minority youngsters as citizens

Estonian ethnic identity was built in the 19th century in opposition to the Germans and Russians who had exercised their power in the country since the 13th century (Lauristin & Heidmets 2002: 20). After the short period of independence between 1918 and 1940, the Soviet occupation brought about colonizing program, with almost half a million Russian-speaking immigrants (ibid.). After the restoration of independence, the Russian-speaking community who had been the ethnic majority in the Soviet Union, found themselves in the position of a minority in the country that started to build market economy and a new democracy. A new language law was adopted in 1995 that defined the ethnic minority language as a foreign language and set the social hierarchy as the principle for language proficiency requirements, meaning that a higher level of Estonian language skills was now required for a higher social position (Hallik 2002: 72). Estonian language was set as an important political capital, which the Russians lacked, thus leaving them aside in the new power relations (ibid.). The language and culture barriers generated a "systematically distorted communication" between the ethnic majority and minority groups (Kruusvall 2002: 118). Although improving, these barriers still exist in Estonia, even among the younger generations.

Currently, 25% of the Estonian society comprises of Russians, while 69% are ethnic Estonians. Out of the young people aged 15-19, 19% define themselves as ethnic Russians (Statistics Estonia 2011). According to the 2011 population and housing census (REL 2011), Estonian citizens make up 85% of Estonian population while sixth of Estonian population does not hold Estonian citizenship. Among ethnic Russians, 54% have Estonian citizenship, 24% have Russian citizenship and 21% are without citizenship (ibid.). The percentage of Estonian citizens among ethnic Russians up to age 24 is smaller than in older age groups. In the young age group, 77% hold Estonian citizenship while 21% are not Estonian citizens (Kallas & Kivistik 2015: 7).

Russian-speaking community has been a culturally and socially closed one, closely connected to their motherland Russia, even though Estonian government has had

integration programs for two decades. The central dividing factor in the relationships among the ethnic Estonian and Russian community is language (Vihalemm 2002: 199). The Estonian language proficiency among Russian-speakers is not only a practical question of being able to follow public discussions and being able to participate in them, but it has wider implications, since most of Estonian-speaking people see the willingness to learn the Estonian language as a requirement for security, tolerance, and openness towards local Russian-speaking people (ibid.). According to the Integration Monitoring, Estonian-speaking people agree that Russian-speaking people have less opportunities to participate in the political decisions and civil society (Kallas & Kivistik 2015: 22). However, the only possibility they see as potentially improving the position of Russian-speaking people, is acquiring Estonian language on a better level – thus, the knowledge of Estonian language is seen as a premise for participating in the society (ibid.). Furthermore, over fifth of Estonian-speakers think that it is not necessary to involve people of other ethnicities into politics at all (ibid.).

According to the Integration Monitoring, formal citizenship is also something that affects participation in the society, meaning that people with the Estonian citizenship are more confident in their ability to change something in the society, regardless of their nationality (ibid.). It is therefore positive that the number of Estonian citizens is growing with each new generation of Russian-speaking people.

While the Estonian society has developed a lot in 15 years, in 2002, Vihalemm & Masso found that civic attachment of Estonian-speakers and Russian-speakers is most strongly connected with territorial loyalty, i.e. state, laws and place of residence (Vihalemm & Masso 2002: 191). This means that people living in Estonia feel an obligation towards the state. However, according to the second model, civic identity can also be based on the feeling of "sharing common future aims, loyalty to the state and common interests in the spheres of economics and culture (ibid.). The main factors that unite Estonian-speaking and Russian-speaking people in Estonia, are common place of residence, economic interests, state, laws, rights and obligations, whereas Russian-speaking people feel civic attachment towards Estonia and cultural attachment towards Russia (Vihalemm & Masso 2002: 195).

Authors argue that Russian-speakers might develop their civic solidarity rather towards the society than the state, as the latter is often seen as hostile towards Russian-speaking people (Vihalemm & Masso 2002: 196).

It is indeed problematic when the ethnic minority feels that they are sidelined in the policies and that the state functions foremost in the interest of the ethnic majority - while Estonians' attitude about politics are largely related to their economic status, the non-Estonians' attitudes depend foremost on their perceived degree of discrimination (Kruusvall 2002: 160). While this was found by Kruusvall over 15 years ago and the situation might have changed since, it is still important to note that ethnicity has a role in the political behavior.

When we talk about young Russian-speakers, we have to take into account that they are twice as vulnerable in the society, because of their ethnic and youth identity – as discussed previously, both of these groups are often left aside in the political discussions and decisions. It is therefore worthwhile to think about the ways in which the youngsters are affected in the school setting, in addition to the youth aspect that was analyzed in the previous chapter. Kalmus found in 2002 that Estonian primers and civic education textbooks are "more ethnocentric, monocultural and exclusive than their Russian counterparts or translations", where minorities are often disregarded or even denied of existence (Kalmus 2002: 262). Russian textbooks are more inclusive of the minorities, putting more emphasis on multiple identities and being less critical of the Soviet Union and Russia (ibid.). While this was a case over a decade ago and the author admits that even by then, the situation had improved over time, it is still important to note that textbooks and the study content overall is of critical importance when constructing the identities of minority citizens. As integration requires participation of all the groups of the society, it is important that not only Russian, but also Estonian textbooks would include ethnic minorities and – what is especially important in the Estonian context – to explain the common history between Estonia and Russia in a way that it would unite, not split the two communities.

Regarding the actual civic participation of young Russian-speakers - little is known about which kind of citizenship do they follow. The Youth Monitoring 2012 found that Russian-speakers are more concerned with self-empowerment and value personal accomplishments, power, and wealth more than Estonian-speakers (Praxis 2013: 60). They are more pragmatic and conservative in a sense that they value rules, modesty, and fitting in with the others whereas Estonian-speakers are more open to changes, looking for new activities and action (ibid.). The focus on individual purpose gives a reason to think that Russian-speakers might be rather self-actualizing than dutiful as citizens.

As discussed in relation to the changing citizenship models, transnational ties are slowly replacing the national ones, which gives way to individualization (Schwarzmantel 2003: 4). Some authors find that this individualization is not necessarily an isolating trend – on the contrary, it can offer new identities and new ways of participation that are not restricted by national boundaries (ibid.). This is an interesting trend that the young, tech-savvy Russian-speaking youngsters can make use of. With the everyday use of social media, the geographical boundaries are minimized, so youngsters keep in touch with their relatives living in Russia and can be informed at any moment about how their friends are doing in the other European Union countries. As this gives them wider opportunities to construct their bonds and identities, it might also make them more inclined to be civically active in other places outside of their national boundaries, which they feel connected to.

2.5. Motivations and obstacles for civic participation

Knowing that Russian-speaking youngsters are a vulnerable and often sidelined group of the society, it is important to understand what motivates them to participate in the civic life. Volkova (2013) has done this in her qualitative research where she conducted interviews with young Russian-speakers. Most interviewees named the influence of peers as the most important external factor affecting their civic activity – friends can either act as informers by inviting each other somewhere, they can be role models, or their actions can encourage other friends to join the activity (Volkova 2013: 27). Teachers were also considered a

motivating factor with informal communication, spreading relevant information, and guiding students to participate in events (ibid.). The third important external factor was media, which acts as an informer about upcoming events and shapes the views of young people (Volkova 2013: 47). Young people are also motivated by personal gain: meeting new friends, spending quality time, gaining approval and satisfying ambitions are some of the factors that positively affect civic activity (Volkova 2013: 67).

The obstacles for participation were mainly internal, but stemmed from negative experiences, for example, having tried to change something, but failing, which led a person to believe that they cannot change societal processes (Volkova 2013: 53). Many of the more passive interviewees did not believe that they are people in the sense of constitution, and they do not think that political processes in the country depend on them (Volkova 2013: 54). Oftentimes when people do want to change something in the society, they are stopped by the lack of time or sympathizers (Volkova 2013: 62).

The level of integration (based on the knowledge of Estonian language and the feeling of political and social belonging) also plays a part in young non-Estonians' activity (Volkova 2013: 68). The feeling of social and political belonging has a larger impact on the activity whereas language proficiency does not have a significant impact (ibid.).

Quantitatively, Kõuts and Opermann (2017) found based on the CATCH-EyoU data that active participation in the civic life is clearly connected to the self-confidence – believing to be able to participate in the society. To some degree, active participation is connected to having active friends, and somewhat to discussing issues of the society (ibid.). Active participation is not, however, connected to family's civic or political activity, the participation encouragement from friends or family, nor to satisfaction in life (ibid.).

3. Research questions

Based on the theoretical and empirical framework, the purpose of this thesis is to describe young Russian-speakers as Estonian citizens, which to some degree - that is quantitatively – will be done in comparison to young Estonian-speakers. To fulfil this goal, the thesis aims to answer the following research questions:

1. What is the interest in society and politics like among Russian-speaking youngsters?
   1.1. Are young Russian-speakers concerned about the issues of the society?
   1.2. Is there a difference between their interest in politics and the society in general?
   1.3. Where is their civic interest targeted?
2. What motivates or demotivates young Russian-speakers for civic engagement?
3. What type of citizenship do young Russian-speakers adhere to?

4. Methodology

This research uses a combined method of quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis. Quantitative research tends to be more reliable and generalizable than the qualitative method (David & Sutton 2004: 36). Measuring different indicators allows to detect fine differences between people and groups whereas the indicators in the qualitative method would be more general and not as specific (Bryman 2004: 66). The quantitative part gives a consistent device to make distinctions between different groups and gives a possibility for comparison with previous related researches (ibid.), such as Mina.Maailm.Meedia and Integration Monitoring. Furthermore, quantitative data analysis gives the possibility for a more precise analysis of relationship between different concepts (ibid.).

This research uses the data that has been collected in the framework of the international project "CATCH-EyoU – Constructing AcTive CitizensHip with European Youth", which joins different disciplines to learn about the factors that influence the youth engagement in Europe and ways in which young people participate in the society (CATCH-EyoU 2017). More precisely, the data in this research has been collected for the project's work package 7 that analyzes factors and processes of societal and political engagement of young people (ibid.). The same survey has been conducted in eight European countries: Czech Republic, Germany, Estonia, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

The research concerns two age groups: the younger is 16-18 years old and the second is 20-26 years old. The current thesis, however, only looks at the younger group and does therefore not describe the methodology or the data concerning the older group.

The data for the study was collected mainly in educational institutions in different locations in Estonia (Rämmer et al 2017). The samples are not representative but they include respondents from different locations – from the capital city of Tallinn, Tartu and Narva, but

from smaller towns such as Põltsamaa, Valga, Otepää, Tõrva, Ahtme and Räpina as well (ibid.).

School principals were contacted for consent to data collection – the data was collected either with researchers shortly introducing the survey and collecting the signatures for the consent forms at the beginning of the civics lesson or with researchers being present during the survey, in which case the consent forms were filled before the survey administration (ibid.). Questionnaires were filled out by entire classes in the computer class or by individual students outside of school. While the individual respondents were not chosen by teachers, some classes completing the survey as a whole assured heterogeneity of the respondents, meaning that both the less active and more active respondents participated.

The current research uses the answers of 574 respondents of whom 350 completed the survey in Estonian and 224 in Russian. Consent forms and questionnaires were administered by the members of the research team – Veronika Kalmus, Andu Rämmer, Mai Beilmann, Ragne Kõuts, Katrin Kello and Signe Opermann. However, the further data analysis has been conducted by the author specifically for this thesis and all the results that have been found outside the current thesis, have been referenced.

The questionnaires were translated into Russian for broader representativeness and inclusiveness (ibid.). In the empirical part of this thesis, the analysis is based on the difference of the questionnaire language, since the native language is more clearly defined than nationality, which, in some cases, is split between the Russian and the Estonian identity. Out of the 347 people that filled out the questionnaire in Estonian language, 322 defined themselves as Estonian and 10 as Russians (see table 3). Out of the people that completed the survey in Russian, 33 people defined themselves as Estonian and 172 as Russian. There were also 10 and 13 people of multiple nationalities.

Table 3. National and linguistic description of the respondents

	Questionnaire language		
	Estonian	**Russian**	**Total**
Estonian	322	33	355
Russian	10	172	182
Ukrainian	1	2	3
Belarusian	1	1	2
Other	3	5	8
Multiple nationality	10	13	23
Total	347	226	573

The questionnaire covered a variety of topics, namely views on the society (what is happening in the Estonian and European society; what it means to be a good European citizen; challenges of the European Union; what the European Union is and should be like; what Estonia is like; the migration crisis, media usage), participation in the society (voting; non-conventional civic practices), and everyday life (school life; self-confidence; future; interest in politics and the society; trust; home town; the ability to solve societal issues; participation in organizations; behavior of family and friends). However, not all these topics were relevant for the current thesis, therefore specific topics were chosen, based on the theoretical framework. To understand both groups' interest in the society and its different aspects, firstly, their interest in the society and politics was analyzed. Furthermore, the analysis concentrates on their concern about different issues of the society, their connection to different institutions and their interest in media topics. The changing citizenship model gave an impulse to analyze interest in voting, participation in non-institutional practices and trust towards different institutions. For the non-institutional participation analysis, organizational participation and extracurricular activities were also included. Based on Volkova's findings, motivating and demotivating factors for civic participation will be further analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. The full survey

questionnaire is included in the appendix 1 for referencing throughout the data analysis. The English version included in the appendix has not been modified for Estonian respondents, since the Estonian survey was conducted only in Estonian and Russian language. In addition to the questions included in the English questionnaire, Estonian respondents were asked their nationality, which allows to analyze respondents based on the language.

While quantitative analysis helps to detect fine differences, and draw more general conclusions, it does not sufficiently answer all of the research questions. Quantitative research is limited in its capability to relate to people's lives: it has received criticism for ignoring the meaning of events to individuals, does not explain how the findings connect to everyday contexts, and "creates a sense of a static social world that is separate from the individuals who make it up" (Bryman 2004: 79). To understand more clearly the motivations of the civic behavior of young people and to understand how they target their engagement, qualitative method was used in addition to the quantitative one and nine semi-structured interviews were conducted.

The qualitative research gives a point of orientation by looking at the perspective of those being studied and gives an understanding of what they deem important (Bryman 2004: 287). Furthermore, the less structured nature of the qualitative method, namely semi-structured interviews, gives the possibility for the emergence of new concepts and meanings through the data collection (ibid.) – this makes the analysis less vulnerable to the preconceived notions of the researcher. Qualitative interviewing, contrary to the structured interviews, put more emphasis on the respondents point of view, often encouraging going off topic to see what the interviewee deems important (Bryman 2004: 319-320).

The interviews were conducted specifically for this thesis and were not part of the CATCH-EyoU research. The interview guide was constructed so that it would give an insight into views and tendencies that the quantitative data outlined, and to help understand what is the reason behind these quantitatively presented practices and attitudes. As the aim of the research is to give an understanding of Russian-speaking students as citizens and to analyze

the motives of their civic behavior, the interviews were conducted only with Russian-speaking, not Estonian-speaking students, so the qualitative results cannot be used for comparison between the two groups, unlike the quantitative data.

The interview guide covers the following topics: interest in politics and the society, interest in the European Union issues, interest in the Estonian issues (i.e. regarding Estonia as a country), interest in Russian issues (i.e. regarding Russia as a country), interest in local life, views on citizenship, participation in organizations and extracurricular activities, views on institutional politics, views on non-institutional political participation, motivations and demotivations for civic engagement. The interview guide is included in the appendix 2.

The interviewees were found in several ways. Firstly, a few teachers from the Russian schools in Tallinn were contacted for finding the students. Since none of the teachers replied, the interviewees were searched for through a call in Facebook to find 15-19 years old Russian-speaking students – the age gap was widened according to the common statistical classification of youngsters, to possibly find more respondents. Teachers from Kiviõli organized four interviews, other interviewees were found through suggestions from other Russian-speaking people. It was not known before the interviews whether the interviewees are active or passive citizens. For the purpose of this research, however, it was important to get insights from both groups. Since most of the interviewees turned out to be rather passive, one student was chosen specifically for his high civic activity which became evident as an Estonian minister shared a photo with him on Facebook precisely because of his civic activity.

The sample includes three male and six female students from different schools. While the sample is not representative, students were chosen from different locations, since according to Volkova (2013), young Russians from Tallinn and Narva, for example, have different understandings of civic behavior. Thus, one student was chosen from a village, four students were chosen from a small town, three from larger cities, and one from the capital city Tallinn.

All of the interviewees speak Russian at home and only one interviewee identified as strictly Estonian. Some interviewees had trouble defining their nationality, for example, interviewee 5 (I5) said that while she knows that the correct term is Estonian Russian, she identifies as Russian Estonian because she does not feel connected to Russia and wants to emphasize that part of her identity. All of them had Estonian citizenship, except for two interviewees with dual citizenships. The profiles of the students are presented in table 4.

Table 4. Interviewees of the semi-structured interviews

	Age	Home language	Nationality*	Citizenship
Interviewee 1	18	Russian	Multiple identity (more Russian)	Estonian
Interviewee 2	17	Russian	Multiple identity (more Russian)	German and Russian
Interviewee 3	16	Russian	Russian	Estonian
Interviewee 4	18	Russian	Russian	Estonian and Russian
Interviewee 5	18	Russian	Multiple identity (Russian Estonian, not Estonian Russian)	Estonian
Interviewee 6	17	Russian	Multiple identity (Russian-speaking but not Estonian Russian)	Estonian
Interviewee 7	18	Talks with father in Russian and mother in Estonian	Multiple identity (more Russian)	Estonian
Interviewee 8	16	Russian	Estonian	Estonian
Interviewee 9	18	Russian	Multiple identity (more Russian)	Estonian

Interviewees defined their nationality by themselves

While the sample is rather small, its function in the research is largely illustrative/ explorative. The interviews are intended to relate to the quantitative data and it is therefore important to note that the research does not attempt to draw general conclusions about the Russian-speaking population of Estonia, based solely on the nine interviews.

The interviews were conducted in schools, university buildings or – if the interviewees preferred – in cafes. The interview guide was followed to some degree, with adaptions according to the preferred topics by the interviewee. Some questions were added case-by-case for clarity or more in-depth.

5. Empirical findings

5.1. Interest in the Society and Politics

This chapter examines young people's interest in the society. As authors have found that young people distance themselves from institutional politics for different reasons, this chapter analyzes both quantitatively and qualitatively whether there is a difference in how the young people view participation in the society and politics more specifically. Furthermore, the chapter aims to answer three research questions by analyzing how concerned young Russian-speakers are about the issues of the society and politics. Young Russian-speakers differ from Estonian-speakers because of their somewhat dual identity – while they are Estonian citizens, they also have ethnic connection to Russia. Because of this duality, this chapter takes a closer look at what entities do young ethnic Russian-speakers in Estonia feel more interested in and connected to. This is analyzed through their interest in news topics and interest in national or European politics but also by analyzing their personal connection to either Estonia, Russia, the European Union or their home town.

5.1.1. Politics and the society

The quantitative data shows that young people of both ethnicities show a different amount of interest for politics and what is going on in the society (Question 97 – from henceforth Q97). While only 16% of Russian-speakers and 14% of Estonian-speakers said that they are extremely or very interested in politics, 40% of Russian-speakers and 42% of Estonian-speakers are extremely or very interested in the society (see figure 2). Both, the interest in the issues of the society and politics, are somewhat lower among Russian respondents.
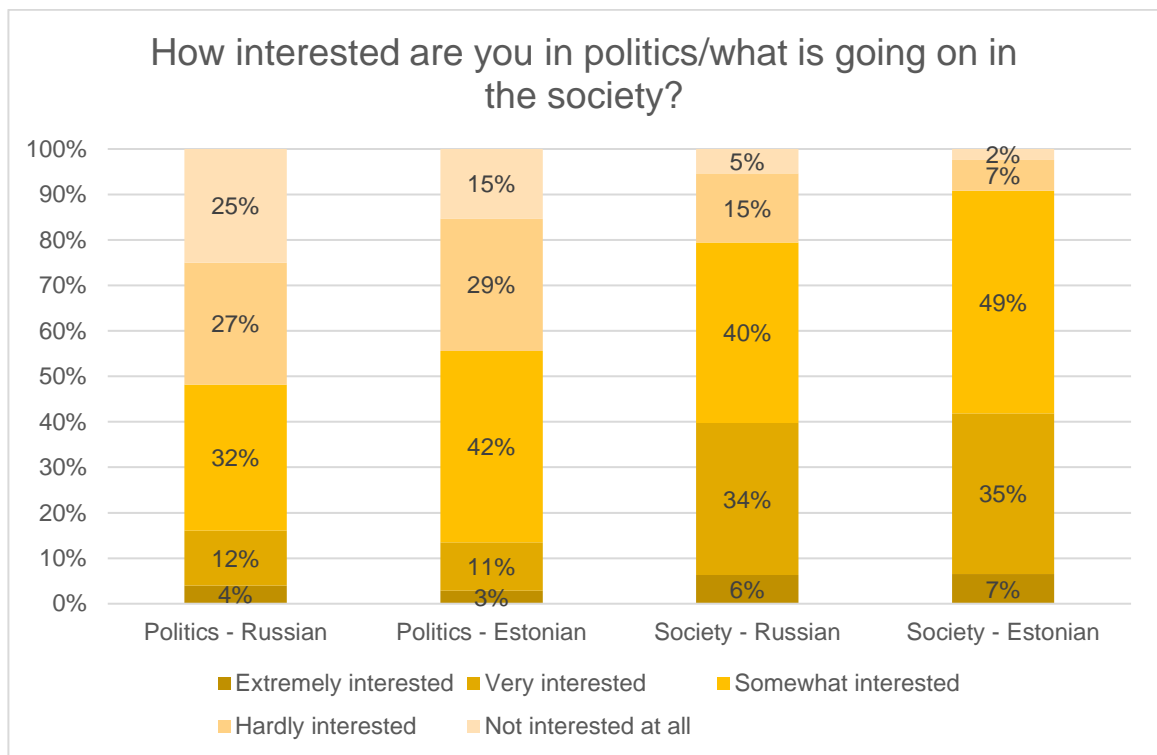
Figure 2. Interest in politics and interest in the society (n=564 – politics; n=563 – society)

There is a variety of reasons why these issues are not interesting for Russian-speaking youngsters. Overall, it seems that they perceive politics as something foreign and distant that is better left to "more informed" others. Only two interviewees said that they are interested in politics, but some students noted that they are interested if the topics directly affect them, e.g. new laws about study language in Russian schools. This means that young people simply might not find enough topics that they see as directly affecting themselves.

During the interviews, students were asked to describe politics. Four students used "difficult" as the main descriptive, either because of complicated words and terms, or because of the lack of understanding of political mechanisms: "I don't understand how everything goes in politics. How people work and things like that. I simply don't understand how they do it (I3)." The students that described politics as a linguistically complicated, did not think that the complexity is related to their Estonian language

proficiency, but considered Russian-language politics to be just as complicated. Other words that were mentioned to describe politics were: unstable, ever-changing, important, connected to everything, power, corruption.

While politics is perceived as complicated, this does not necessarily always push youngsters away from it. One interviewee also described politics as a difficult field:

> "A lot of people's interests are at play in politics. I mean, especially in a sense that in order to reach an agreement, you have to consider a lot of opinions – not only the opinions of politicians but also the opinions that are common in the in the society (I8)."

However, this interviewee is not only socially, but also politically active and is inspired by this complexity. On the other hand, some youngsters have very fixed and often unsubstantiated understandings of the corruptness of politics, which makes them clearly distance themselves from it. Neglect also plays a part in this.

> "I can simply say that those people that are sitting higher up, they couldn't care less how the people are doing – how they act, how they live, it doesn't concern them at all. They are doing their own thing and they are satisfied with it (I4)."

In practice, however, these kinds of students sometimes actually do take part in civil life and even politics. For example, I4 said that he does not care at all about what is going on in the society, let alone care about politics, but during the conversation he described organizing a town concert, talking to the major about the issues of the town, participating in different international projects, and improvising a protest in the town hall to improve the local transport system. He was not the only self-claimed apathetic citizen who proved to be more active in practice than some of those that claimed to be interested and informed about the issues of the society. I5 and I6 both distanced themselves from politics because of lack of knowledge.

> "Actually, I would like to know more about it and be better at politics but I don't watch the shows and I don't listen to the interviews of those politicians and so on. Sometimes I read different articles but it's not politics, it's just what is happening in Russia and Europe and Estonia. But why is it happening – I don't know. And it's too difficult for me! I always tell myself that one day I'm going to sit down and work on it and learn about it, but I never do it. I would like to have a person who

would explain everything to me – when we are debating, there is a person that can explain something to me, and thanks to debating, I know a bit more about this topic. But generally, not so much as to vote on elections, for example, or to sign a petition. And I think that there are a lot of topics where I don't understand anything (I6)."

While they distanced themselves from politics, they later described constantly taking part in different European youth projects and had substantiated standpoints on many societal and political topics, meaning that they actually had some sort of interest towards the issues of the society, but while this was not their "main interest", they did not feel confident enough to present themselves as informed citizens. The lack of self-confidence about their current knowledge and the need to be "fully educated" before participating in the civic life seems to be a significant hampering factor for some young people.

Most of the interviewees said that they rarely think about the issues of the society. By "thinking about the issues of the society", they seemed to mean constantly following the news, because oftentimes they proved to have quite strong opinions on different topics, even when they initially claimed to not think about the societal issues. As youngsters do not often deem themselves informed enough, there seems to be a common understanding that politics is a specific field, which mainly concerns professionals whose job is to be informed about all the issues. When students were asked whether they see topics of the society and politics as the same thing or not, several students differentiated between the two by saying that topics of the society concern everyone, but politics is professionally affecting the society.

"Politics is when you are a politician, this is your specialty. Social participation is when you do not have any personal goals, you are working for the good of the society and it does not have to be your main specialty (I8)."

5.1.2. Interest in news topics

There is a significant difference in what kind of news topics interest Estonian-speakers and Russian-speakers (Q85). While young Estonian-speakers are mostly interested in national

news, young Russian-speakers are mostly interested in the world news – their interest in national news differs by 28 percentage points and the interest in European news by 20 percentage points, meaning that Russian-speaking youngsters are less interested in both. Regional news gain the least amount of interest among both groups (see figure 3).
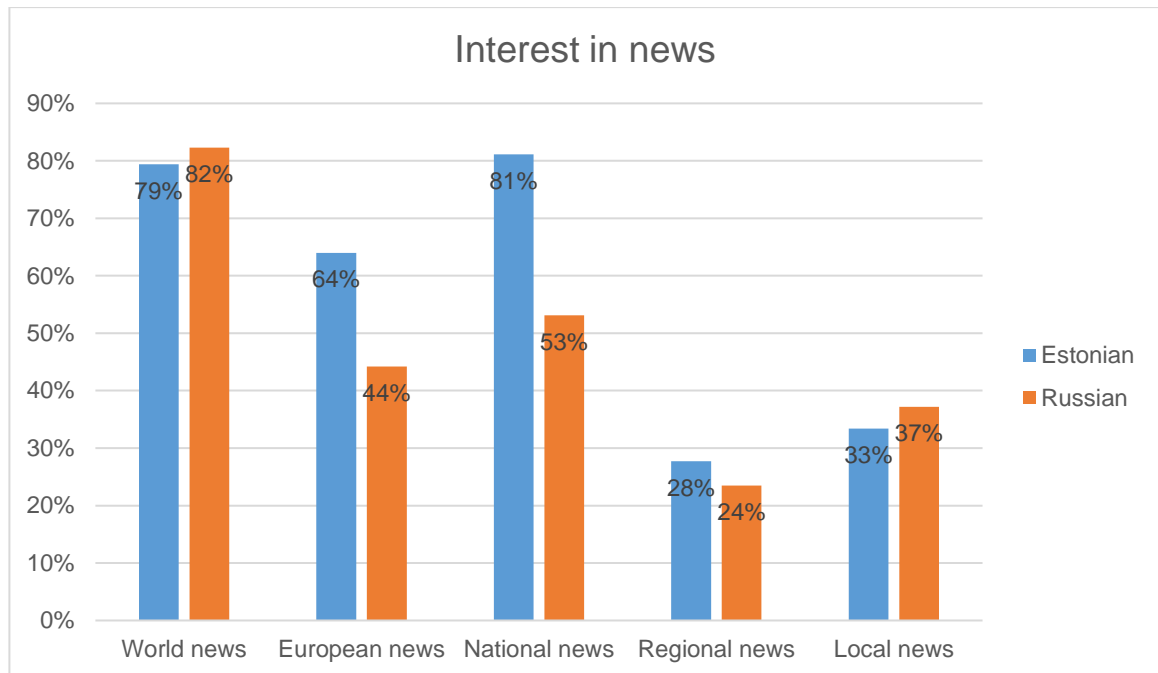
Figure 3. Interest in news topics (n=576)

Interviews also showed that Russian-speakers have less interest in the Estonian news topics, and more interest towards the news topics that concern Europe or the rest of the world, namely Russia, Ukraine, Syria and the United States. Most commonly, students explained this by the insignificance of Estonian political life and the lack of interesting developments in Estonia or their home town, whereas the European Union is undergoing a lot of rapid changes that affect Estonia as well.

It seems that most of the interviewees did not actually have a specific topic or field that they constantly follow but they are rather drawn towards exceptional events or long-lasting, yet newsworthy stories that constantly get media attention, such as Ukrainian or Syrian war, Brexit, president Donald Trump, big events such as the celebration of the Victory Day in Russia, and different terrorist attacks.

Only two interviewees said that they are mostly interested in what is happening in Estonia and only one of them seemed to constantly stay informed about different topics – as he is active in politics, his thoughts and actions are directed towards Estonia, he explained. One interviewee said that she is interested in Estonian news mostly during the elections, which again shows that the interviewees tend to follow big topics that are being constantly covered by the media or somehow exceptionally stand out from the rest of the news flow.

The CATCH-EyoU survey did not ask about the interest in Russian news topics but based on the interviews, Russian-speaking students seem to keep in touch with what is going in Russia to at least some extent, even when they are generally not very interested in what is happening in the society. The interviewees said that they keep an eye on what is happening in Russia because they have relatives living there. Several students said that their parents constantly watch Russian television, so they get second-hand information from them, and named recent terror attacks in Saint Petersburg as a very important event that has affected them recently.

5.1.3. Interest in Estonia, the European Union and Russia

The survey respondents were asked more specifically about their interest in the European Union related topics and national politics as well (Q97). Interestingly, both national politics and European Union related issues gain quite little interest, even though the interest in the news about these entities was much higher. European Union topics are interesting for 13% of Estonian-speakers and 17% of Russian-speakers. National politics are slightly more interesting for Estonian-speakers (20%) whereas for Russian-speakers the percentage

remains quite similar (19%). This can again indicate than young people make a clear distinction between the issues of society and politics, since they are interested in the news but they are not concerned about the politics more specifically.

The mismatch between the interest in news topics and political issues was explained to some degree in the interviews, with the aforementioned tendency to follow extraordinary news topics, whereas students might not have a constant interest towards a wider variety of European Union or Estonian topics. During the interviews, most of the interviewees said that they are mostly interested in what is happening in Europe. However, when asked more specifically about the topics that they follow or the issues that concern them, several interviewees did not even understand how they should interpret the European Union – as an institution, as different countries, or something else. Not many of those that said that they are interested in what is happening in Europe felt personally connected to the European Union or even understood its functioning. For example, I3 noted that 45 or 47 countries belong to the European Union, Greece has left the Union and the United Kingdom is also planning to leave. I9 ascribed NATO's article 5 to the European Union.

In some cases, the lack of interest in the Estonian or European Union topics might be connected to negative attitudes. For example, I4 said that while he notices the topics that directly affect himself, such as new Estonian laws concerning education, he does not generally care about what happens to Estonia, because he is too different from Estonian-speakers and therefore does not feel connected to the country.

> "I4: I will go abroad – what will happen in Estonia and what will come here after, I don't know. But I can say that the population is decreasing.
>
> Q: But personally, you don't feel concerned about what happens when you leave Estonia?
>
> I4: I like to go on a vacation in lake Peipus in Estonia, this is a nicer place. But generally, what happens in Estonia is not important to me."

The relationships between the interviewees and the European Union seems to be mostly affected by the degree to which they have personally benefitted from the institution. There are students who do not think about the European Union or its future at all. However, most

of the interviewees said that they think about being European when it concerns them in practice: when they travel or when they get to use the common currency abroad. However, those students that do not have the means or the wish to travel, do not feel connected to the European Union even in that sense.

When asked to describe the European Union, students also spoke from the personal experience. I9 said that she is very concerned about the UK leaving the EU because her sister's husband is British and she is worried whether he must leave the country. I5 and I6 feel very strongly connected to the EU and they have clearly benefitted the most from its different opportunities. Besides constantly travelling, they have taken part in various EU projects.

> "Q: How would you describe the European Union?
>
> I5: Friendly, I would say, in terms of relationships within the countries because I always encounter this when I go to international youth exchanges. And I really like that at least European Union youth - I wouldn't say that about adults - but European youth is like one very multicultural and different family. But now, it's mainly the negative stuff and actually, I'm quite pessimistic about the future.
>
> Q: Why?
>
> I5: Because now it seems like the tendency is leading the countries to gout of it. And, if the strongest countries such as Britain and Germany and maybe France - I don't know - if they all decide to get out then we'll have no money in the union. But I don't know, I would like it to remain, because as I've said, all these projects and opportunities that the EU offers, they are our century's fortune, I would say."

I4 and I9 were mainly critical towards the EU, specifically about the rules which they deem unnecessary. I4 described the EU as weird: "I mean, everyone is doing their own thing, they use some rules but... I don't see any good from it, it's not useful."

5.1.4. Connection to Estonia, the European Union and Russia

While trust is an important factor in a relationship between the citizen and the state, students did not show high trust towards the European Union nor the national government (Q98). Furthermore, half the students from both groups found that most people in general cannot be trusted (49% Estonian-speakers, 52% Russian-speakers). The trust towards the European Union was very similar (30% Estonian-speakers, 28% Russian-speakers) but Russian-speakers (31%) show slightly more trust towards the national government than Estonian-speakers (24%).

In the interviews, conversely, students seemed to be more positively-minded. Even the students that do not know much about the European Union, seem to have a positive attitude towards it – they said that they are happy to live there and they trust the European Union, even if they actually do not understand it or think about it much. Students that had clearly positive attitudes towards the European Union, noted its openness and tolerant nature.

> "I trust the EU because the principles that they support, are very much to my liking. Democratic polity, open Europe, Europe where you can travel freely, where you can work anywhere you like, where you are guaranteed the freedom of speech (I8)."

Most of the students said in the interviews that they trust the European Union and Estonia. However, these questions were oftentimes answered as "Why not?", not in a substantiated manner. Some students said that they trust the institutions because they have not betrayed their trust. Therefore, students might not know much about the functioning of the European Union institutions, but until there are no well-known scandals, they trust their functioning. There are, of course, very skeptical youngsters as well. I4, for example, has an understanding that all politicians are "paid off" and corruptive, and this is why he distances himself from politics.

As Russian-speakers show less interest in the national news and the European Union, they also feel less connected to Estonia and the European Union than their peers (Q26-34). While 74% of young Estonian-speakers feel strong ties to Estonia, only 40% of Russian-speakers feel the same. Furthermore, only 33% of Russian-speakers are proud to be

Estonian citizens and 23% feel that being Estonian citizen gives them self-confidence while 79% of Estonian-speakers are proud of their citizenship and 55% feel that being Estonian citizen gives them self-confidence.

Estonian-speakers also feel more connected to the European Union than Russian-speakers. For example, 48% of Estonian-speakers said that they feel strong ties to Europe while 39% of Russian-speakers said the same. While 70% of Estonian-speakers feel proud to be European and 52% feel that being European gives them self-confidence, their Russian peers agreed 44% and 32% accordingly. However, when we compare the national ties and the European ties, it is clear that Estonian-speakers have a stronger national than European identity. Looking at Russian-speakers' identities, the picture is more complex. Their ties to Estonia and the European Union are basically the same (40%). However, they are prouder to be European (44%) than Estonian (33%). They also feel that being European gives them more self-confidence (32%) than being Estonian (23%). Therefore, even though Russian-speakers seem to feel a certain connection to Estonia, their identity is not as strongly tied to their citizenship, and being European might be something that they take even more pride in.

Lower pride in citizenship and self-confidence is clearly connected to Russian-speakers' dual identity – interviewees had a hard time defining their nationality, let alone describe their ties to Estonia more specifically. Overall, there were three types of youngsters: those who identity with Estonia, those who identify with Russia, and those who are split between the two identities, so they sometimes make use of the European identity.

There was only one interviewee who had a very clear Estonian identity. While he appreciates the cultural aspects of his Russian ancestry, his Estonian identity is strongly rooted in his satisfaction with his life in Estonia, and his perceived ability to change something in Estonian society.

"I8: I feel very strong connection to Estonia – as strong as can be, because Estonia is my homeland and I don't intend to ever leave here.

Q: Why not?

I8: Because I like it in Estonia and I'm used to Estonia – how can I leave here if it has everything that I like and that I want to do, including friends, parents, acquaintances. And here, I can communicate in the languages that I understand."

Other interviewees see their Russian roots more prevalent in their identity, but they mostly appreciate Estonia as their home country where they have a family and personal roots, since they have lived here their whole lives. Some Russian-speakers have only visited Russia a couple of times in their lives, like I3 who sees himself fully as an Estonian citizen, yet defines his nationality as Russian. Contrary, there are young Russian-speakers who do not feel any connection to Estonia at all – I4, for example. Although he is officially Estonian citizen, he also holds a Russian citizenship and clearly values his Russian identity more than his Estonian one.

"I don't have a connection with Estonia. I am Russian, and Estonian language is simply for me to be able to live here and to communicate with people (I4)."

It came out from the interviews that many Russian-speakers see some kind of distance between themselves and Estonian-speakers. Language is one element in this distance, but historical discourses also play a major role. It is therefore intelligible that Russian-speakers have a hard time feeling proud to be Estonian when their understandings about significant issues differ from Estonian-speakers to such a degree.

"I4: Because I am Russian, I can say that I have totally different ideas about how to live. There are different rules in my family.

Q: Can you explain this a little bit?

I4: It's difficult to say… You are Estonian, right?

Q: Well yes, but you can say anything, I won't take offence.

I4: Okay, well, Estonians are a little bit different. Estonians mostly think that what happened before 1991 was all bad, but I can say that Russians liberated you from the Germans, you had a good life. The only rule was that you had to study Russian language, but because of that, you though that we are such bad people.

Q: So, you feel that because of history…

I4: Well yes, yes, yes, this is the most important fact. If, I don't know, there hadn't been a war and Russians and Estonians could simply talk, then I think that everything would be good."

As mentioned before, I5 and I6 have made use of their European identity. They have participated in a lot of international projects, they travel a lot and therefore see themselves more as European citizens. Since the European identity helps them make new connections, it can give more prestige to the identity and make them more self-confident as Europeans.

"Q: How connected do you feel to the European Union? Do you sometimes think about the fact that you are also a European Union citizen?

I5: Yes, exactly! This is my timeless second answer when people don't understand what I mean when I say that I am Russian-Estonian, and when they are not from Estonia, for example, then I use this. I have used this very often that I am European.

Q: But when you think about your different identities then what is the strongest for you? Do you feel the most connected to Estonia, Russia or to the European Union, for example?

I5: Well, mainly it's European, because I understand that until my Estonian is perfect, I cannot truly be a part of Estonian nation. But I don't have any connections with Russia, that's why I neglect this term of being a Russian person. Once people in projects get to know that my native language is Russian, they start calling me Russian, but I say "No, please don't do that", because I strictly distinguish that while, of course, I love the culture part of my Russian ancestry, but well… as I said, mainly it's Estonian for me, but when we say in general, then European. I'm half there and half there, but I appreciate being a part of Europe and that's why I'm happy that I don't live in Russia."

To conclude, young citizens clearly differentiate between politics and the society by showing less interest in the former – either because of negative stereotypes or by thinking that they are not knowledgeable enough to participate in politics, while they might be actually interested in the society. Russian-speaking students show a higher interest towards news topics outside of Estonia and feel much less connected to their Estonian identity than Estonian-speaking students, sometimes because of the mismatch with the Estonian-speaking people.

5.2. Civic behavior

All the students were asked to describe a good citizen in the interviews. The most common features that were mentioned were following the rules/not breaking the law, voting, being considerate towards the others, staying interested in what is happening in the society, offering the solutions to the problems and following traditions. Individual responses also included trusting the state, loving the home country, getting along with the others, speaking the national language, knowing the country, following politics, and even contributing to the society by getting a higher education and staying in the country. Therefore, students do not look at the idea of a good citizen in strictly institutional terms, but they attribute quite a lot of duties to citizens.

When we look at the citizen duties in practice, we have to take into account different aspects of it. Firstly, it is important to view the civic behavior in a complex way. As this research largely draws upon the civic engagement and political participation model by Ekman and Amna (2012), the citizen behavior will be looked at from a wider perspective than simply voting in the elections. Furthermore, since we are dealing with young people whose lives are very strongly connected to school, their participation in extracurricular activities is also taken into account as an indicator of civic participation. Secondly, the research is based on the linguistic differences among youngsters, which, as previously presented, is connected to different understandings about history, citizenship and personal identity. Because of these differences, the direction of the civic participation is also analyzed in this chapter – whether students might direct their civic activities to Russia, for example, if they feel more connected to it.

5.2.1. Extracurricular activities

The most popular forms of participation for students (Q102) are leisurely activities, e.g. music, art, sports etc. However, participation in these activities differs somewhat between groups. While 72% of the Estonian students do, or have participated in leisure groups, 57%

of Russian-speakers have done the same. This means that almost half (43%) of Russian students have not participated in leisurely organizations in the past year.

Participation in student activities outside of classroom (Q91) is quite similar for Estonian-speaking and Russian-speaking students. Representing other students in the student council or in front of teachers or the school principal was not very popular – 27% of Estonian-speakers and 24% of Russian-speakers have done it. More students – 40% of Estonian-speakers and 41% of Russian-speakers – were active in a student group or a club, and 47% of Estonian-speakers and 41% of Russian-speakers were active in school sports group or club.

Student or youth organizations are not very popular either – and again more popular among Estonian-speakers. Among the respondents, 47% of Estonian-speakers are or have been in student organizations while Russian-speakers are more passive with 32%.

There are no significant differences among participation in the other organizations (Q102) – trade unions, political parties or their youth organizations, religious organizations or groups, and organizations or groups for social issues – around quarter of the students are involved or have been involved in such activities and around three quarters have never participated in them.

There are students who do not take part in any extracurricular activities simply because they do not feel so. I1 and I2, for example, said that they used to take part in different extracurricular activities, e.g. singing, dancing, skiing, but currently do not participate in any of them (except for I2 going to the music school), because they are too lazy. Most of the students said that they take part in extracurricular activities, because they want to improve as individuals - several students have studied in music schools, for example. Thus, their emphasis is more on the self-beneficial, not civic aspect. However, some people see extracurricular activities and hobbies as ways to become more informed about the society.

"Q: What does debating give you?

I6: Okay, firstly, it is a chance to see other people's point of views and it gives a lot of erudition and you start thinking about things that you don't think about much in your normal life. And you can learn to give good speeches. As for me, I can learn about politics and economics, because I don't know much about them, I don't read a lot about them in my usual life, but when I want to prepare any topic for the tournament, then I learn and discuss that and listen to others."

The students that are interested in more than simply having a good time, but also improving themselves in different aspects, can have difficulties in the school settings or small towns to fulfil their potential. It is also important to note that these very active and aspiring youngsters might not consider themselves to even be civically active, such as I6 and I5.

"I used to be in the student council in my school, but it functions very badly in our school. We should be the organization that could help students resolve their problems with teachers, but we are the kind of organization that simply organizes school events (I6)."

"I think that we have quite many opportunities to organize our free time in my home town. We have two art schools, two music schools, one choir school, a lot of places to do sports, even some smaller groups, but still not enough. Because for me, for example, theatre is my main interest and we currently don't have any nice drama clubs, which is quite depressing for me. If you want to take everything you want out of this place, you can. I feel like I've sucked everything I could out of this town, because I finished art school and then I attended drama club for one year and then I gained primary music education, so it's like I visited everything. And we have a cinema, which is quite nice, although I wait for some films for like half a year, before they show them. So quite a lot of positive things, but it's a disastrous lack of young people who can be interesting for me (I5)."

Projects are a very important opportunity for many students to take part in the society and to think about different issues. Projects can offer participation opportunities even for those students who consider themselves to be apathetic towards the society.

"I4: I have participated in a lot of Estonian projects and some kind of international projects and I don't know… projects overall.

Q: What kind of projects?

I4: They were all related to politics, but I just wanted to participate to meet new people, to talk to them. It was all in English, which I also liked, I would like to have more practice. I was in children's camp many times as well, it was near lake Peipus, this is where I actually started speaking Estonian

at all. At first, all my friends were Russians, but later I met Estonians and started trying to speak to them a bit, and then more and more and now I can speak the way that I do.

Q: What does participating in the projects give you, besides language skills and new acquaintances?

I4: I can practice leadership skills. I also researched politics a bit, Estonian politics as well, because when we travel somewhere, we have to prepare an assignment and it's related to politics. So, I have to research some information, put it on slides and later tell others in English what is happening.

Q: So, I understand that you are actually not very interested in politics, but…

I4: I'm interested in the situation, yes-yes-yes."

Again, it is important to note that students might not perceive these projects as political, but it might affect their civic behavior in different ways. In practice, I4 is also quite active in improvising local political activities. When students continuously take part in such projects, it shapes them as young citizens and offers them an opportunity to meet people who might be different from what they are used to. Language skills were also mentioned by several students as a motivating factor to participate.

"Q: What do you get from participating in such projects?

I5: One of the main things for a young person to participate in such things is of course language practice, then some kind of insight into what is happening in the heads of peers from other countries, and a chance to know their opinions and maybe their attitudes towards the things that are happening in their countries. Then, a lot of contacts. I still keep in touch with some people that I've met years ago in projects. And also, the last thing, I would say – it's more of an abstract thing – this is actually what made me feel like a European citizen. This, as I said, a feeling of very diverse and interesting family. A European family. Because I love this moment when you stand in the middle of the kitchen and an Italian guy is speaking with Spanish people and an Estonian guy from your team comes in and starts shouting at you in all Russians words he knows and someone is making French baguette in the cooking oven and you're standing there… So, a lot, really. I wouldn't be myself without those projects."

Often students start participating for personal gain – to meet new friends, to improve their language skills, to travel inexpensively – but end up learning new things, which might benefit the society in the long run.

"Q: You said that you have participated in different projects. As I understand, they are largely European projects. What has motivated you to participate in them?

I6: I like to travel, to meet different people. Actually, these kinds of Erasmus projects always have some kind of topic, but that's always not so important, many people come there to meet each other and to have a good time and I really like it as well. Maybe I started, so that I could travel. It's not very expensive – of course I don't have so much money as to travel a lot, but when I take part in different projects, then I can see a lot for a little pay. And it turned out to be very beneficial and I really liked it. And when we talk about the important parts of projects then in Romania we watched how mining looks like and now I know how it damages the ground when there's 12 square kilometers of mining, where they produce and mine the goal. We had approximately the same thing in Naples, where there was a project about immigrants, and Naples is a part of Italy where it's the biggest problem. There we saw people who came from Africa and how they feel and what their plans are for the future and what they want to do. And that's a really important thing in the projects. When a project lasts for a week, for example, there is at least one day where we see all of this and where all this important stuff happens and it's not like we only discuss this project and only research a certain topic but actually I heard a lot of interesting stuff about this problem and the country too."

5.2.2. Voting and institutional politics

Most of the students considered voting to be an important citizen duty, except for I3 who has a very clear understanding that voting is not something that everyone has to do. On the other end of the spectrum is I8, who thinks that voting should be an obligation.

"Q: Why do you think that voting is so important?

I8: Because every citizen has to voice their opinions. If he doesn't want to do it – I don't know – in the form of opinion articles or somehow publicly, then he has the opportunity to it confidentially. Why don't you do it?! Why do you need the citizenship if you don't want to participate in the decision-making process of this country? Overall, I'm the kind of person who favors people having a bigger decision-making power, for example, a right to initiate a bill, to choose the president. We could move more towards Finland and Switzerland – they have proved that this system works. The current system simply creates distrust and misunderstanding between people and the power, because people simply don't understand what kind of decisions the state makes and ignores and then… feels kind of excluded."

The age group who was surveyed has not yet had an opportunity to vote, because the voting age limit is 18 years in the Estonian and European parliament elections. In the autumn following the publication of this thesis, Estonia will hold the first local elections where 16-year-old youngsters can vote.
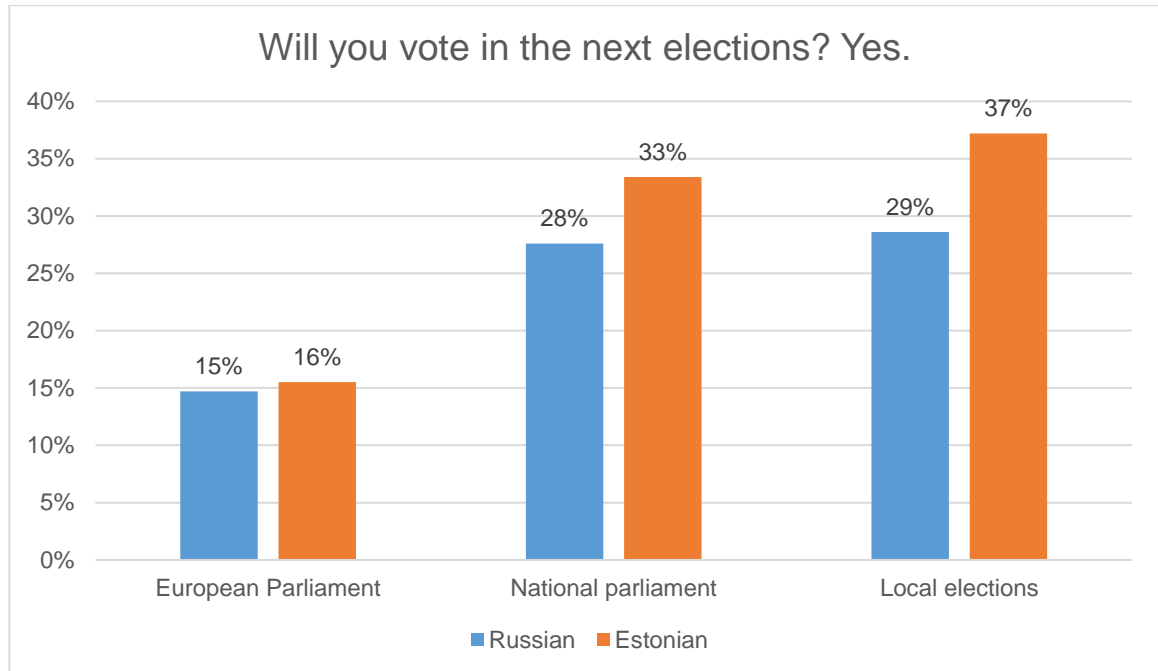
Figure 4. Voting in the next elections (n=566)

According to the survey results, young people are overall not very interested in voting (Q88) – all the percentages of interest remained under 40% (see figure 4). The will to vote varies between different institutions, however. As seen on figure 4, young people are mostly interested in participating in the local elections, although this is also the election with the biggest disparity between the two groups: young Estonian-speakers are more willing (37%) to participate in the local elections than young Russian-speakers (29%). Interestingly, 10% of Estonian-speakers and 14% of Russian-speakers explained not voting in local elections by being too young to vote. However, the voting age in the local elections

is 16 years, so all the respondents should, in fact, be able to vote. This percentage therefore shows that a lot of the respondents are not actually aware of their opportunity to vote. Russian-speakers showed smaller interest towards all the elections: 20% of them said that they do not care about these elections while 9% of Estonian-speakers felt the same.

As the next national and parliamentary elections will be held in 2019, youngsters have probably not yet had the reason to think about their voting behavior. It is important to analyze, however, what it is about voting that interests or seems uninviting for young people. One demotivating factor seems to again be the perceived corruptness of politics, which seems to sometimes be based on stereotypical or general understandings, not specific cases from the political life that have disappointed the youngsters and created this resentment. For example, I4 illustrates his unwillingness to vote with the example of choosing a president, which is actually impossible in Estonia, since citizens cannot vote for president.

> "Q: Would you like to participate in the next elections?
>
> I4: I don't know if it's beneficial. Well, okay, they say in Estonia that everyone's voice counts, but I don't know… We all know that it's paid off. Those people that want to have a certain person as a president will get their way. We cannot change this at all."

Another big obstacle in voting seems to be the lack of information. Most of the students named voting as an important civic duty and argued that citizens should vote, because they are the ones that should make decisions in the democratic society. However, based on their interviews, students' behavior in practice is quite different from their own ideal citizen model and it seems to be mostly related to their knowledge about the elections. Only one student out of nine interviewees knew which elections are held this autumn. When asked whether they plan on voting in the elections, most of the students answered, "Why not?" but also admitted that they have no idea who the candidates are, or – in some cases – what they can elect in the local elections. I2 noted that she is mostly interested in the local elections, because she does not know much about the people who are running for national parliament, but she knows the local people at least a little bit.

"Q: Do you plan to go voting this autumn in the local elections?"

I7: I don't know, in order to do so, I would first have to look through all the candidates and work on it, there's not much use to simply fish around and write a random name.

Q: But when you think about the elections overall – in two years we will have national elections – is voting at all important for you?

I7: I wouldn't exactly say that it's important… Well, it definitely should be, but for some reason it somehow doesn't attract me.

Q: But why not?

I7: I don't know, I simply haven't researched them so much. In order to do so, you have to know certain parties and those people and what they are promising."

There was only one interviewee (I8) who wants to participate in institutional politics. He belongs to a youth wing of a party, to the youth council of his city and is running to be the president of his school student council. He was not motivated to join any of the unions by someone else, but rather has a high intrinsic wish to improve the life in Estonia.

"Q: How did you end up joining the youth wing of a party? Did someone invite you or did you think…

I8: Totally by myself. I wanted to find a political youth organization that I could join. After long deliberation, I decided that Young Social Democrats is the most reasonable choice.

Q: But where did you even get the idea that you want to join some kind of union? Why did you think that?

I8: What I wanted – I wanted to affect the processes of the society. Then I started thinking how could I do that, what could I start from. And out of all the options, the most reasonable seemed to join a youth organization, because I can actually be involved there, to have a job role, maybe meet some people through this, and overall prepare for the kind of life that I want to have in the future. This is a very good opportunity if you want to become a politician and you are a member of some political youth organization."

For him and probably his peers in the organization, participating offers a way to discuss issues of the society. In order to have debates on such a level, however, requires a self-

confidence that a lot of the previously described interviewees do not have, even though they might be more or less informed about the issues of the society. All the other students said that they have not even considered joining a party, mostly because they had not been offered the opportunity or did not even know that parties have youth wings.
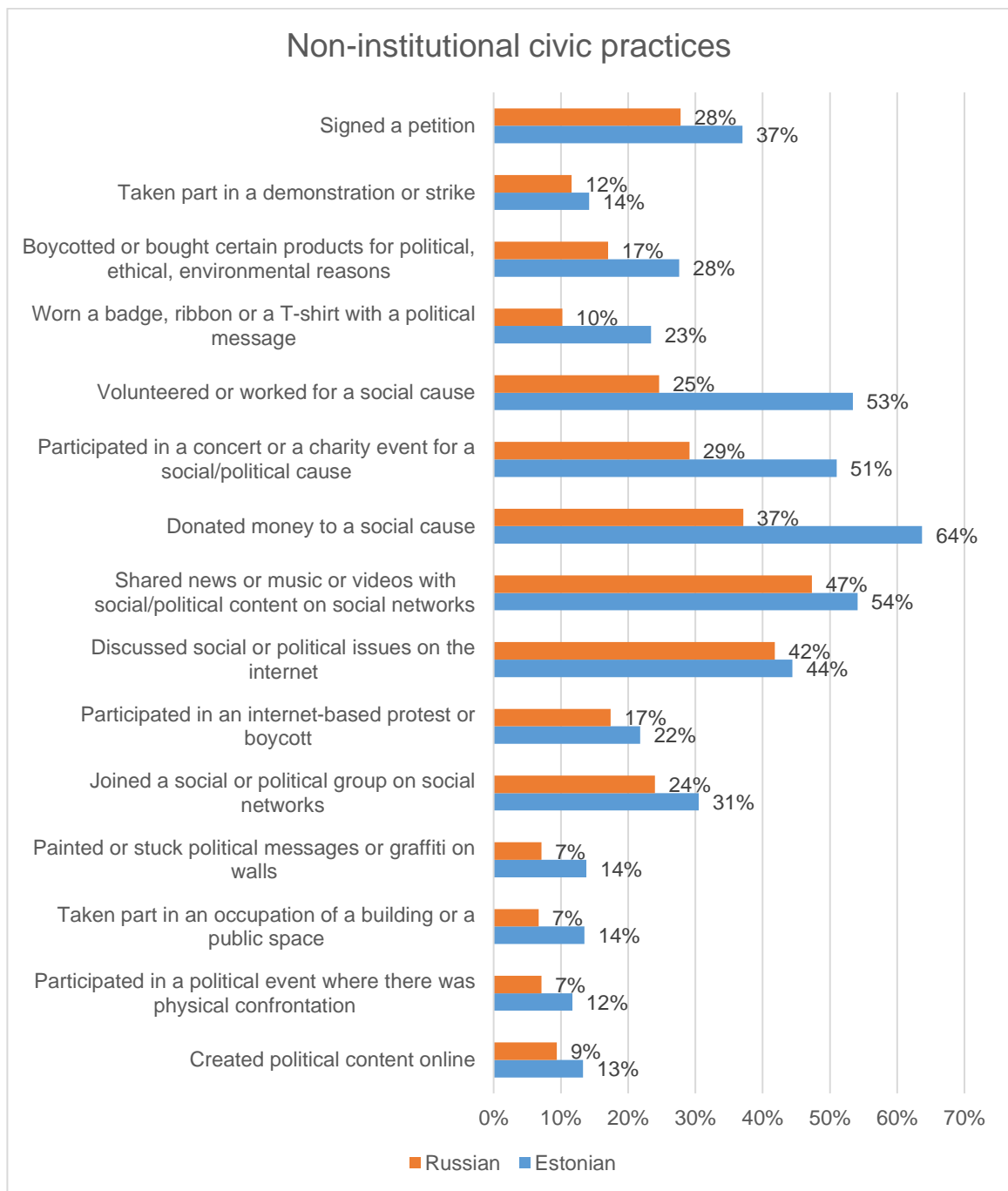
Looking at some other institution-related civic practices (figure 5), we can see that young people are quite disinterested in those as well. Furthermore, based on the interviews, students see voting or joining the party as the main way to participate in politics, no other institutional practices were mentioned, except for the politically active I8 who has also donated money to his party's youth organization and contacted politicians, and I4 who has continuously contacted the major for different issues and organized events in the local level, in cooperation with the town council.
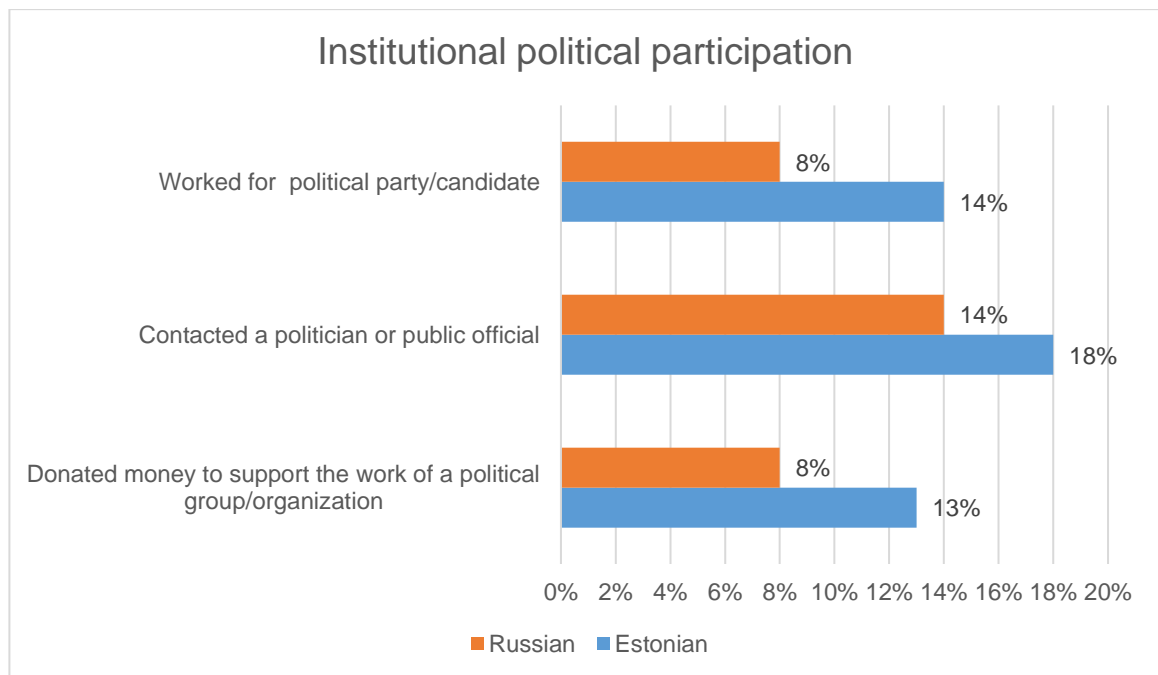
Figure 5. Participating in the institutional politics (n1=560, n2=565, n=561)

5.2.3. Non-institutional civic engagement

Non-institutional activities (Q86) are not very popular among the respondents in general but Russian-speakers showed again a slightly smaller interest in all the activities (see figure 6). For Estonian-speakers, the most popular activities were donating money for a social cause (64% had done it at least once), sharing news or music videos with social or political content in social media (54%), and volunteering for a social cause (53%). For Russian-speakers, the most popular activities were sharing news or music videos with social or political content in social media (47%), discussing social or political issues on the Internet (42%), and donating money to a social cause (37%).

Non-institutional civic practices

Practice	Russian	Estonian
Signed a petition	28%	37%
Taken part in a demonstration or strike	12%	14%
Boycotted or bought certain products for political, ethical, environmental reasons	17%	28%
Worn a badge, ribbon or a T-shirt with a political message	10%	23%
Volunteered or worked for a social cause	25%	53%
Participated in a concert or a charity event for a social/political cause	29%	51%
Donated money to a social cause	37%	64%
Shared news or music or videos with social/political content on social networks	47%	54%
Discussed social or political issues on the internet	42%	44%
Participated in an internet-based protest or boycott	17%	22%
Joined a social or political group on social networks	24%	31%
Painted or stuck political messages or graffiti on walls	7%	14%
Taken part in an occupation of a building or a public space	7%	14%
Participated in a political event where there was physical confrontation	7%	12%
Created political content online	9%	13%

Figure 6. Non-institutional civic practices. (n=560–566)

Over 90% of Russian-speakers have never painted or stuck political messages or graffiti on the walls (93%), taken part in an occupation of a building or a public space (93%), participated in a political event where there was physical confrontation (93%), and created political content online (91%). In the Estonian group, all of the activities had been done by at least over 10% of people.

The interviews showed that students are often scared to participate in such activities, because they are afraid to get into conflicts or negatively affect their future. While quantitative data shows that Russian-speaking students are mostly active in the social media, their main fears seemed to be related to Internet discussions, based on the interviews.

"Q: Have you shared political news, music or views in the social media?

I9: No, because a lot of people have different views and I want to get along with them in the future as well. So, no.

Q: Have you ever discussed social or political issues on the Internet?

I9: Like publicly on the Internet?

Q: Yes.

I9: Not on the Internet, but with my friends, I think yes – with those that I have the same views."

"Q: But if you were to sign a petition or participate in a protest or write a graffiti somewhere or discuss political topics on the Internet – how do you feel, do these actions somehow change the society or do they give something to the society? Or are they not important?

I1: (Long pause) Maybe they give something negative.

Q: In what sense?

I1: Like… your opinion can affect someone else and else and else and else and in the end… something bad can happen.

Q: And what is the outcome?

I1: Arguments."

"Q: Are such activities (e.g. signing a petition, participating in a protest, sharing views on social media etc.) important for a citizen, in your opinion? Should people do these kinds of things or not?

I2: (Long pause) Everything depends on what happens next. If there will be a conflict or something, then it doesn't need to be done."

"Q: Can you say what is the line for you – when do you share political news, not just read them?

I8: I share it when I very much agree with it and I think that it won't damage my future election campaign. Every shared post on Facebook is already a kind of an election campaign. You have to already create some kind of image for yourself."

These fears and reservations seem to be often related to the ethnic aspects. During the interviews, some students described how they have quite different views about the society from Estonian-speaking people. This seems to create a feeling that some things are better left unsaid or undiscussed, because Russian-speakers are in the socially weaker position. However, this kind of self-control can seriously hamper the civic participation or even discussions about social issues among Russian-speaking youngsters.

"Q: Are you rather the kind of person who would do these kinds of things – go to protests and boycott something – or are you more like the passive Estonians that you described?

I9: I don't know, I'm somewhere in between. I don't want to do it alone! If there is someone else who does it, then I can join. And I am actually very worried if something can affect my future life in a negative way. That's why I asked whether this interview is anonymous. For example, if I want to get into a university and someone reads your thesis and there is my name and he realizes that it's me and maybe he's a Russophobe and doesn't like my thoughts, then it happens so that… he starts to act kind of differently towards me, kind of badly."

Other aspects that restrict youngsters' participation were mentioned in the interviews as well. For example, several interviewees said that they have not had any protests or political concerts in their home town – while they are not the ones who would want to lead such events, they might participate, if they would have an opportunity. Another restricting aspect can be, again, the lack of knowledge, especially when it comes to the discussions.

„Referring to the things about posting something in the social media - I don't do that because if I'm not ready to totally take responsibility for what I write because of my lack of knowledge, then why

66

would I do that? Of course, after that people will ask or object to me and I will be like: "Oh, I didn't go that deep, you know." But as I said, I would engage more if I lived in more active places (I5)."

Students seem to be drawn towards the activities that are the easiest to participate in and which require the least amount of accountability. For example, petitions were mentioned a lot, especially the ones related to animal rights. One student described signing even the petitions that were actually meant for the citizens of another country.

"Here I really feel that it actually affects something and I can see the scale how it's growing. Later I will check and see that the number of needed signatures is fulfilled and I feel that "Wow, we did something!" Here I really feel that I am able to do something (I5)."

Some students could not adequately describe the causes for which they have given signatures. This indicates that while petition is an easy form of participation and students seek the causes that are the most important for them, they might not always fully understand the idea or even follow up on the petition results.

"There was a girl who was protesting against… I think that people wouldn't kill those homeless cats and dogs. And she asked to put… there was something like a questionnaire – whether you are in favor or against it, you had to choose. And it was in Russia. I don't even know, to be honest, whether it helped her or not. But I was supportive that they wouldn't kill those homeless cats and dogs. I have a cat myself and I wouldn't want anyone to simply kill her, if she were to disappear for a week, for example. People don't always know whether she is homeless or not (I9)."

One interviewee even made a protest petition to counter the thoughtless signing of petitions.

"If something bad happens in Russia then there are a lot of different web sites where you can create a petition and agitate people to sign this. Once, I created my own petition there and as a subject, I wrote "Peace for the whole world". It was just to see how easy it is to create a petition and that it actually doesn't measure anything. It was my small protest against people who sign all these petitions and they don't care how it will go after that. Because for example, there are a lot of web sites that don't solve any problems and I see a lot of people who send something and they think that they are helping something but they actually don't. Because this web site is a little bit fake. In Estonia, you have that Rahvaavaldus or something like that. In Russia, there are so many and people just want to create something (I6)."

Another restricting factor for participation is that school simply takes up much of students' time and not everyone has the motivation to participate in different activities in addition to that. As will be further discussed in the next chapter, students are mostly preoccupied with their personal and school lives and this is also what they discuss with friends, instead of participating in the civic life.

> "To change something, you need to have a petition, for example, and to mobilize people and to do something all together and you need to think a lot about what could be better and what we could do. And maybe the hardest part is that it takes a lot of time and it's a huge responsibility. That's why it's very difficult and we maybe cannot expect too much from the high school students and it's quite normal that students simply want to graduate from school and don't think about much else. And I think that I'm the same kind of student who simply wants it to end and that's why I'm maybe not a very good citizen in that aspect, because I'm like the others – I think that I don't want to take the responsibility on myself that if something goes badly and something is bad, then… all the rotten tomatoes will go to you, if you try to change something and you mess it up (I6)."

Students do often use different opportunities in the school setting, however. Different interviewees described creating petitions to change their timetable or to get a new teacher to replace a current one. Volunteering is also often connected to school or the home town and one of the main ways in which teachers motivate students to participate, based on the interviews.

> "Sometimes I boycott home assignments when they are given out for the weekend, because according to my personal opinion, it shouldn't be done. And when we have too many tests, then I can refuse to study for them. But I still get A-s, for some reason. And maybe what else do I boycott, I boycott newspapers' web sites, because I think that the best newspaper is still the traditional newspaper, although I don't have absolutely anything against it if other people read online news. It's important that they wouldn't criticize me and say that print newspapers are a thing of the past and that they will soon disappear. This is very annoying. I even wanted to cancel my subscription when they started promoting their web site too much, but they declined it in the end (I8)."

I8 as the only politically active interviewee described these potentially non-institutional forms of politics also in relation to his party. For example, he has covered walls with political posters that promoted the Social Democrat party. He sometimes donates money for charity, but also to his party, because he loves his organization. He has also worn political

badges with the word "Tolerast" on it (initially a derogatory term in Estonian, meant to belittle tolerant people, which Social Democrats have made into a campaign, in order to reclaim the word). Overall, it was clear that the student who had tied himself to institutional politics, did not participate much outside the institutions.

On the other hand, there are students who might make political or at least politically loaded choices without even realizing it. Several students mentioned wearing the George's ribbon, for example. However, they noted it only after they had not replied to the initial question: "Have you ever worn a political badge or a ribbon?" and the George's ribbon was brought as an example. This might indicate that they do not see this as a political statement, but simply as a celebration of a May 9, which they see as a joyous occasion.

> "Q: You said that you have worn George's ribbon. What motivated you to do that?
>
> I4: It's a Russian party – one of the most important ones in Russia overall. But as I found out, in this school you cannot do that – you will get sent right to the principal and they can expel you. There was this kind of talk once."

5.2.4. Citizen types

Based on the 18 social or political activities that were researched in the CATCH-EyoU project (Q86), a typology can be constructed on the civic activity of the youth. In order to do so, factor analysis and cluster analysis will be conducted. The participation in all the 18 activities has been analyzed in the previous chapter, based on their institutional or non-institutional nature. However, the factor analysis creates a more precise understanding of the relationship between the variables. Thus, a factor analysis will be conducted with principle component analysis and Varimax rotation. The factors with the rotated component matrixes are presented in table 5.

Table 5. Factor analysis

F1 Strong political mentality	F2 Online activity	F3 Volunteering
Taken part in an occupation of a building or a public space .91	Shared news or music or videos with social or political content with people in my social networks (e.g., in Facebook, Twitter etc.) .78	Volunteered or worked for a social cause (children/ the elderly/refugees/ other people in need/youth organization) .81
Painted or stuck political messages or graffiti on walls .90	Discussed social or political issues on the Internet .77	Participated in a concert or a charity event for a social or political cause .74
Taken part in a political event where there was a physical confrontation with political opponents or with the police .87	Joined a social or political group on Facebook (or other social networks) .67	Donated money to a social cause .73
Worked for a political party or a political candidate .87	Signed a petition .44	
Donated money to support the work of a political group or organization .83		
Created political content online (e.g., video, webpage, post in a blog). .81		
Taken part in a demonstration or strike .77		
Contacted a politician or public official (for example via e-mail) .76		
Worn a badge, ribbon or a t-shirt with a political message .59		
Participated in an Internet-based protest or boycott .59		
Boycotted or bought certain products for political, ethical or environmental reasons .45		

As presented in the table, the first factor is most strongly connected to strong political views – this can either be expressed in the protest activities or working for political

organizations, but also by taking principle stances on consumerism, for example. The second factor is mostly connected to the online activity – with either sharing or discussing something. Creating political content or boycotting on the Internet, however, are more strongly correlated to the strong political mentality, meaning that these kinds of activities require more involved and strong-minded young citizens. The third factor is correlated to volunteering.

Based on these factors, k-means cluster analysis will also be conducted, to calculate the political participation types of young Estonian citizens. The determined number of clusters is three, based on a visual method called the elbow method. This means that the number of clusters "is chosen at the point where the percentage of variance stops adding extra information (Tibshirani et al 2001, as cited in Peterson 2015)." The results of the clustering analysis are presented on figure 7.
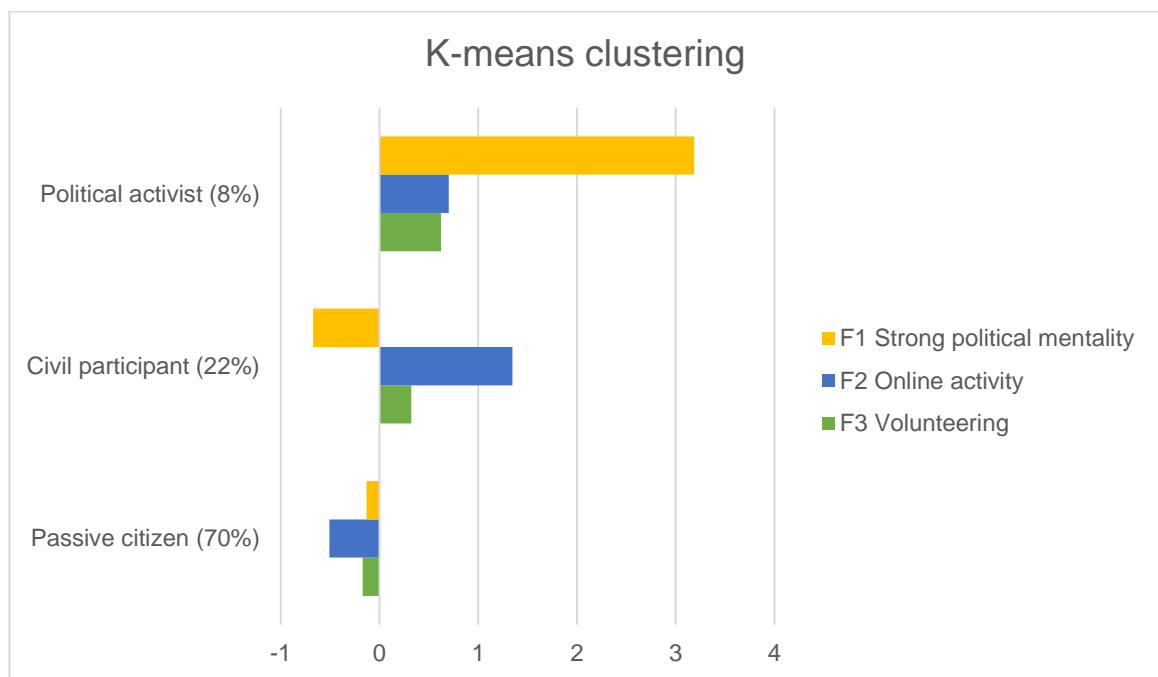
Figure 7. Citizen types of respondents (n=526)

As shown on graph, three general types of young citizens can be distinguished: a political activist, civil participant and passive citizen. Political activists show the strongest correlation to the activities that are related to the strong political mentality, such as protest activity or working for the political organizations. The civil participants, on the other hand, are not interested in such activities, but rather participate in the forms that Ekman & Amna call latent-political civil participation, meaning that these citizens still take interest in the politics and the society, but their interest is rather expressed by donating, discussing politics and societal issues with friends on the Internet, reading or watching news, volunteering for different organizations etc. The last group is the passive one who does not show interest in any of the activities. Table 6 shows belonging to different groups, based on the linguistic differences of the respondents. As seen in the table, the participation types do not differ radically. While slightly more Estonian-speakers can be described as political activists, Russian-speakers are more passive.

Table 6. Estonia-speaking and Russian-speaking students, according to the participation type

	n	Political activist	Civil participant	Passive citizen
Estonian-speaking	317	9%	23%	68%
Russian-speaking	209	6%	22%	73%

5.2.5. Direction of the civic activities

Based on their different interest in the topics of the society and their relatively strong Russian identity, students were asked in the interviews whether they think that they should

maybe contribute something to Russia – either instead of Estonia or in addition to it. None of the students though that they have any civic duties in front of Russia, even those students that mostly see themselves as Russians or even have the Russian passport.

> "I think that I don't have any obligations towards Russia. I mean, I'm Russian but I don't have to do anything for Russia. It doesn't matter that all my relatives are there, everyone had initially Russian or Soviet citizenship. What does that matter? How does it affect me? I don't have Russian citizenship! I cannot vote in Russia or anything. If I'm Estonian citizen, then I should fulfil all the obligations towards Estonia, it doesn't matter whether I'm Finnish, Swedish, I don't know, Russian, English – if I live here, I have Estonian citizenship, then I have to act and do as an Estonian citizen (I9)."

When the interviewee with the dual citizenship was asked about whether he is a good citizen, he automatically started to describe himself as a Russian citizen. In his view, however, political actions, such as voting or organizing events, is not necessarily the main obligation for a good citizen.

> "Q: Are you a good citizen?
>
> I4: (Long pause) Yes.
>
> Q: Why are you a good citizen?
>
> I4: Because I speak okay Russian, I am Russian, firstly, and I speak in that language. I follow Russian traditions and things like that."

When asked, if he sees himself also as an Estonian citizen, he disagreed, because of his large cultural mismatch with the Estonian people. However, he understands the need to follow Estonian rules. Overall, students mostly seem to relate their citizen duties with the country that they are currently living in.

> „Q: But how do you feel, do you have more obligations towards Estonia or Russia – should you rather act as an Estonian citizen or Russian citizen?
>
> I4: Since I live here, I have to follow Estonian rules.
>
> Q: But do you feel that you have some obligations towards Russia?

I4: I don't. I mean… I don't know, I'm not related to Russian country. If you go to Russia then you can also say that everything is different there. Different rules, different system."

Based on the interviews, students that have distanced themselves from their Russian nationality might still take pride in their cultural heritage.

"Q: How strong connection do you have with Russia?"

I6: I see my father who is proud that he is Russian, but I don't think that I have any obligations towards Russia. Because I was born in Estonia and I was raised in Estonia and everything that I have… I like that I can read Russian authors in the original language, but I am not so proud to be Russian, because I didn't do anything for it. I was born this way, I don't have a choice. Maybe if I had a choice, I would still choose it, because I like the culture and language, but I don't feel that I am like a part of Russia and that I need to do something for Russia."

Especially the students that rather identify themselves with Estonia or the European Union, but still appreciate the cultural aspects of Russia, saw that they do not have any obligations to Russia as a country or a state, but they do have some obligations to the Russian culture.

"Q: Do you somehow feel that because of your Russian heritage, you have some rights or obligations towards Russia as well? Do you feel that you should maybe attach yourself to Russia somehow?

I5: I don't know, again, more in the cultural aspects – for example, I'm really concerned about the situation with Russian language, because it keeps being modernized which actually makes it much worse. And all the norms actually keep going down. And sometimes I feel ready even to go out on the streets of St. Petersburg and hold a protest to preserve the language. And to write a letter to the minister of education with some pleadings not to change these norms of language. But I don't feel the responsibility… I don't feel any connection to Russian government or politics. I wouldn't vote there, I guess, because it's not my country. It's like, let them decide for their hell."

One politically active interviewee sees that because of his cultural background and Estonian nationality, he has the duty to preserve the Russian language in Estonia.

"I wouldn't say that my heritage gives me any obligations towards Russia. However, in my personal view, it gives me obligations towards Russian language, Russian culture… My task is to preserve it in Estonia, so that nothing would happen to it. I currently study in Estonian-language high school, I graduated from Russian-language secondary school, and I am worried when Russian-speaking people that go to an Estonian school cannot properly and correctly write in Russian. The only thing

that they know, are typical Russian words like "хорошо", "плохо", "Как дела?", "Все в порядке", "Как погода?", although their mother tongue is Russian. When I ask them, which language is easier for them to read, they say that Estonian, not Russian. This worries me very much. I very strongly support integration, but I don't support this kind of total assimilation. So that you lose connection to your culture and language (I8)."

To conclude, Russian-speaking youngsters are less active in participating in the civic life. They are more passive in the extracurricular activities and they show less interest in voting. Furthermore, many Russian-speaking students were not aware of their opportunity to vote in the local elections in the coming autumn, and they are not very interested in the other forms of institutional politics either. Small interest towards institutional politics also applies to the Estonian-speaking students, albeit to a lesser extent. Russian-speaking students are less willing to participate in non-institutional and especially protest activity, which is often connected to their fear of getting into conflicts and negatively affecting their future – this is related to both their ethnicity and youth. Young Russian-speakers therefore rather follow the civil participant model than the political activist model. Three quarters of Russian-speaking respondents, however, are passive and are not interested in participating at all.

5.3. Motivations and demotivations for engagement

This chapter examines the motivations and obstacles that young people have for civic participation. This topic has been researched qualitatively by Volkova (2013) before, but the current chapter offers quantitative data to draw more general conclusions. The influences under discussion are those outlined by Volkova – even those that were not proven to be motivating, according to her research. Thus, support from the school and teachers, from friends, from the family, self-confidence and belief in being able to change something in the society are the factors that are analyzed here.

School and teachers can be motivating or demotivating in several ways: by encouraging discussions, by respecting students' opinions and by letting students have a say in how the school is run, for example. 55% of Estonian-speakers and 61% of Russian-speakers say that

teachers respect their opinions and encourage students to express them during the classes (Q89). However, teachers encourage discussing political and social issues with people who hold different opinions to a smaller extent: 46% in the case of Estonian-speakers and only 25% in the case of Russian-speakers. Young Russian-speakers especially, then, are not taught to form political views and to debate with conflicting views. This is a problematic tendency that might be contributing to the fact that several students continuously expressed concerns about getting into arguments and discussing issues of the society with people that hold different opinions than themselves.

The discussion of political and societal issues depends largely on schools and teachers – some students say that they only discuss the subject of the class with the teachers, whereas some say that their teachers make efforts to regularly discuss current affairs with them. Furthermore, half of the interviewees said that their teachers encourage them to vote or participate at least in school life.

> "I8: I have discussed issues of the society with practically every teacher, maybe except for the physical education teacher (laughs).
>
> Q: Is it more of your initiative or theirs?
>
> I8: Mostly it's my initiative. It also depends on a teacher; some teachers actually force us to discuss everything. Estonian language teacher comes to the class on Monday and asks whether we have watched the weekend show of "Aktuaalne kaamera" about what has been happening in Estonia, then we discuss, then she opens Postimees' web page and we start looking through the articles and comment on them. She wants us to be socially active and I very much support her in her endeavor."

Students do feel to a larger extent, however, that they are encouraged by the school to make up their own minds (Q89) – Russian-speakers (60%) feel so even a bit more than Estonian-speakers (54%). There are no significant differences in whether the two groups feel that they can influence how their school is run (49% of Estonian-speakers and 46% of Russian-speakers feel that they have an influence in that regard) and whether student requests are taken seriously at their school (49% of Estonian-speakers and 51% of Russian-speakers agree that they are). Political and social issues that might create conflicting situations

therefore stand out from the rest of the described situations, insofar as they are significantly less encouraged by the teachers.

Friends are also a significant factor that can motivate young people for civic participation. However, only 25% of Estonian-speakers and 27% of Russian-speakers feel that their friends would approve it if they became politically active and 25% of Estonian-speakers and 28% of Russian-speakers say that their friends encourage them to get involved in social issues (Q103). Social issues are especially little encouraged among Estonian-speakers: twice as many Estonian-speakers (34%) disagree that their friends would encourage them participating in social issues, compared to Russian-speakers (17%). Furthermore, friends of only 21% of Estonian-speakers and 13% of Russian-speakers are currently civically or politically active. Almost half the respondents did not agree nor disagree in any of the cases, which shows that young people are not generally interested in political participation, so this is simply not something that they discuss with their friends. Interviews also showed that young people rather talk about things that directly concern their own lives – mostly about school, hobbies and their future. The lack of in-depth news-consumption and understanding about the issues of the society also seems to hamper these discussions.

"Q: Do you discuss issues of the society with friends?

I8: I would rather say that I make them discuss (laughs).

Q: So, they are not…

I8: No, they are not interested in it at all, sadly, and I have noticed that not only Russian-speaking friends, but it's exactly the same with Estonian-speaking friends. When I ask whether they have watched "Aktuaalne kaamera" recently – no one has never watched it. Or do you know what happened here or there – if Estonian-speaking friends and acquaintances are at least somewhat informed, then maybe one Russian-speaking friend knows something. At least my friends are all Estonian patriots, they love Estonia and they don't intend to ever leave here, but societal-political part doesn't interest them at all."

"Q: Can you bring an example of a topic that you thought about recently?

I4: Well… There is the issue that all Russian high schools started to teach 40% in Russian and 60% in Estonian.

Q: But did you discuss this issue with your class mates or school mates or friends or someone?

I4: Well, what can we discuss? It's bad, it's bad – what else? I don't know."

If friends are one of the most important factors that motivate young people for civic behavior but students do not feel direct support from their friends for civic participation, this might discourage themselves from participating in the civic life as well.

"I was in the student council – I joined with my friend when she came to this school, she was Russian. And she wanted to join the student council because she had been there in her school, and then I said that okay, I will go with you, because you don't know Estonian that well, I will help you. And then sometimes it happened so that I went to all those meetings and she didn't come. And I thought: "I came here for you and you don't go." And later I didn't go there, but I was still a member, sometimes I went to the meetings and we organized parties, things like that. But now I don't want to belong to the student council, because of what was the problem before – those people that I cannot get along with. Yeah, some people are too egoistic and self-lovers. They want everything to be that they want to (I9)."

Again, the fear of creating conflicts by discussing sensitive topics can be something that affects the discussions between peers – even friends -, especially if they are of different ethnicities. This is especially problematic, if the Russian-speaking youngsters are a part of largely Estonian-speaking community – the fear of conflicts and unacceptance can be so strong that Russian-speaking youngsters stop discussing issues of the society with their friends.

"Q: How often do you discuss issues of the society with your friends?

I9: I wouldn't say that very often, more with parents and relatives. The issue with friends is that most of my friends are Estonian and even if I know them well, I might not always know what they are going to reply on a certain topic. And I kind of don't want to talk to them about it, because I'm afraid of how they might react, that they might turn against me. We had a girl that came to our class from totally Russian-speaking environment, she was from Sillamäe or Narva, somewhere from there, and I saw how my classmates viewed her, because she was from a Russian environment… And they think absolutely differently from her. And I'm just thinking that – thank god that they think that I'm the best Russian that they know. We are the most normal, so to say, and that word – the most normal – it kind of hurts. I mean, are the others abnormal or what? This is unpleasant and when I start discussing something with them or when you look at the Estonian-language channels, Estonian news, and then

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you watch Russian news on the other hand, then you see that there is the same topic, but absolutely all the facts are different, all the information is different. And then you think that when I start discussing with them the things that I have heard from the Russian news and then they start arguing with me about what they hear from the Estonian news… So, it's kind of like you are talking about different things (I9)."

Quantitative data shows that the support from the family to become politically active is felt to the same degree as support from friends (Q103) – 31% of Estonian-speakers and 24% of Russian-speakers agreed that their family would approve such endeavors. Getting involved in social issues were slightly more supported in Russian families (33%). However, the families of most students are civically or politically very inactive: only 13% of Estonian-speakers and 9% of Russian-speakers said that their families participate in politics, act as volunteers or belong to non-governmental organizations.

Most of the interviewees said that their parents have not directly told them to participate or to abstain from politics, except for one student who had a firm understanding that he does not have to vote in elections, because his family taught him so.

"I3: For example, my grandmother said that I don't have to vote – it's not my concern, I don't have to do it.

Q: Did she explain why?

I3: No.

Q: And do you follow your parents' recommendations when they say that don't go?

I3: Yes."

Families can also encourage or discourage young people from civic life in indirect ways, such as family discussions. Over half of the survey respondents from both groups felt that when they discuss something in the family, their family always listens to their opinion (61% from both group). They also felt to a similar extent that their families allow them to participate in family decision making. One interviewee said that while her parents do not stop her from participating in what she wants to do, they themselves are very inactive. The interviewee thought that this might indirectly affect herself to be more passive as well.

One student very clearly distanced herself from her parents' choices. She said that her parents have very strong Russian identity and they stay informed mainly through Russian television channels. The interviewee herself does not consider herself to be informed enough to participate in politics – to vote, for example –, so she is afraid that if she does, she will just follow her parents' lead.

> "Maybe me and my sister look at things differently – not from the political standpoint. My father works abroad and he does not have many people that he communicates with in Estonia, but me and my sister are always here – she works here, I study here, I debate and take part in different projects and maybe for me, the most important thing is that I would feel good here. That I would get to communicate easily with others and I could find a common language and things like that. But my father simply thinks that there is politics in everything. And that all people think or look at other people from the political standpoint and Estonians don't want to communicate with Russians because of politics. And because of that, this a very difficult thing for my family (I6)."

> "Q: Why don't you discuss issues of the society with your family?

> I5: Because again, I don't know enough to do so. When you are able to ask something then it shows that you know at least something about the topic. And I don't know. And that's why I don't ask and when I ask their opinion then it won't give me anything, because I don't have my own."

According to Kõuts & Opermann (2017), the civic activity of young people is related to whether they feel that they have the possibility to influence something in the society or politics. Indeed, young Russian-speakers feel to a larger extent that they do not have opportunities to influence the decisions of the European Union (46% of Estonian-speakers and 66% of Russian-speakers agreed) or the national parliament (43% of Estonian-speakers and 55% of Russian-speakers agreed) (see figure 8).
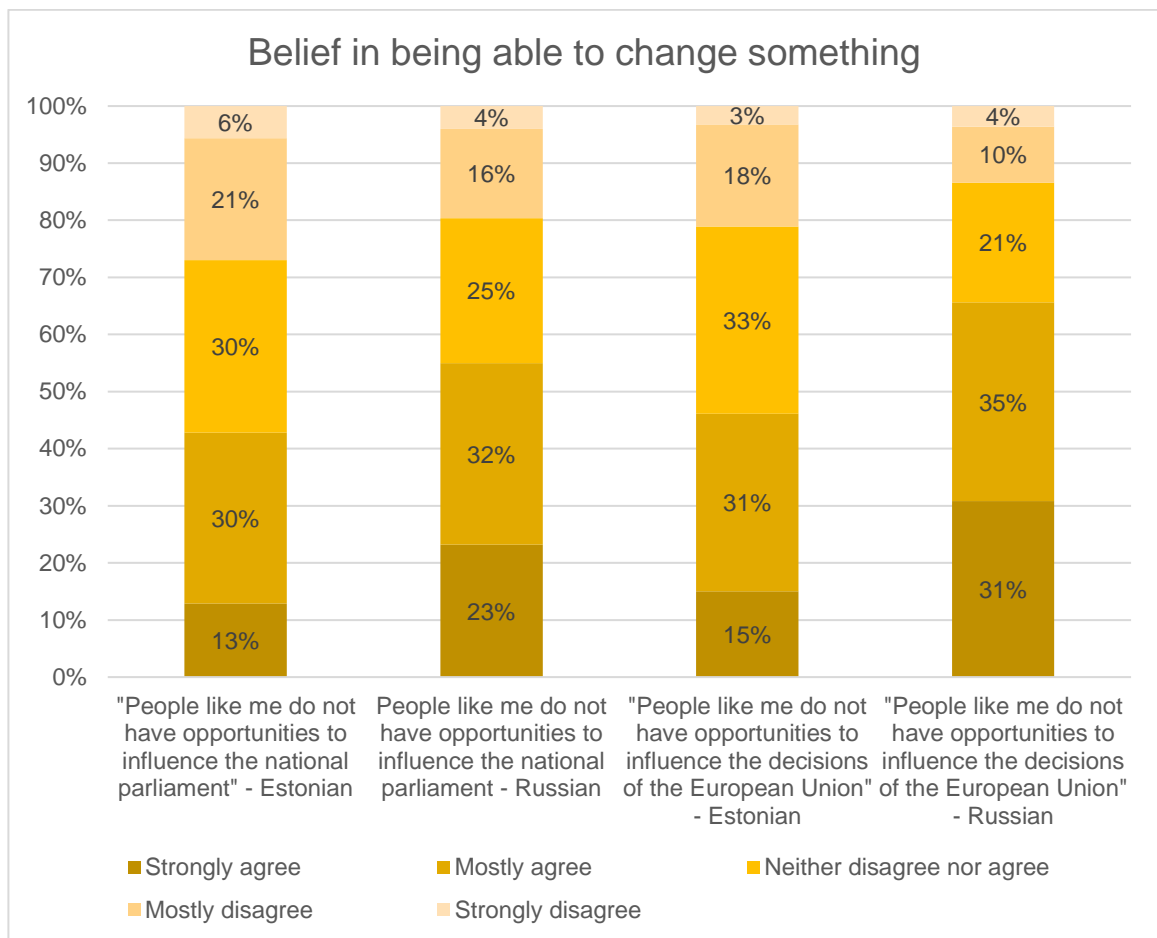
Figure 8. Belief in being able to change something (n=565)

Russian-speakers were also slightly more skeptical by thinking that it does not matter who wins the European or the national elections because the interests of ordinary people do not matter anyhow (Q83): 41% of Estonian-speakers and 49% of Russian-speakers felt that the outcome of the European elections do not matter and 37% of Estonian-speakers and 46% of Russian-speakers felt that the outcome of the national elections do not matter.

Students were more optimistic about the possibility of people in their neighborhood being able to change things in the community (Q100), although Russian-speakers were again more pessimistic among the two groups – 57% of Estonian-speakers believed that change is possible and 46% of Russian-speakers felt the same. When students were asked more

specifically whether young people in their neighborhood have the opportunity to take action and change something for the better (Q101), they were even more optimistic, with 54% of Russian-speakers agreeing that they could. The interviews showed that the more passive and disinterested students felt more confident in participating on the local level, especially if it was supported by the school. Otherwise extremely passive I1 said that they have project days in school, where they think about the ways in which to improve local bus stops, for example.

> "Q: Could students, your class mates, for example, change something in the Estonian society?
>
> I7: Definitely, there are a lot of cases where instead of a school research, they make a company or collect money or make some things that they sell and then donate the money, there have been a lot of such examples in our school."

It is also easier to achieve something on the local level – I4 has established a relationship with his town major where he can now approach him in different events and ask about issues or propose solutions to problems. However, there are students that are not inspired by small towns – or even the ones that are quite large in the Estonian context. Without inspiring companionship, their participation is directed elsewhere.

> "I5: No. I wouldn't want to develop this city.
>
> Q: But why not?
>
> I5: It seems kind of impossible. No, it's possible to improve it, but to the level that attracts young people to stay here… I don't think that that would be ever be possible to be done. Because it just seems that old people who have been living here, they have just been here forever. And they will never die and they will just remain in their places – and all the young people will go away – and they will remain here for eternity. Old grannies from the Soviet times."

Again, the quantitative data showed that young people distance themselves from political activities: 49% of Estonian-speakers and 47% of Russian-speakers said that if they really tried, they could manage to actively work in organizations trying to solve problems in the society (Q101). However, if asked more specifically if they really tried, whether they could manage to help organize a political protest, only 26% of Estonian-speakers and 26% of

Russian-speakers agreed. They were not very inclined to take part in a demonstration in their home town either – 30% of Estonian-speakers and 30% of Russian-speakers said they could manage to do so. The more passive youngsters see that working together with the others is more reassuring, because they do not need to take the whole responsibility on themselves, which can be intimidating for some.

> "I think that I maybe couldn't change something in the Estonian society alone, but maybe I would invite the others as well who think the same way and I think that together we could do it. Because maybe some people just don't think about whether this is even an issue or don't think at all about the topic that has become problematic. So, if to post about this topic in Facebook or get into news or something, then I think that we would not be the only ones, others would come along (I9)."

The more confident and active students are more inclined to participate with small contributions that they might not even consider as civic participation, such as organizing a town concert or publishing opinion pieces.

> "Q: Can you change something in the Estonian society?

> I4: I can again talk about music – I already write my own music and I would like my music to join all the people, so that it wouldn't matter if your Estonian, white, I don't know, black people… It kind of… bridges people."

> "Q: Do you feel that when you have done activities, such as sharing political posts on Facebook and so on, does it have some kind of effect? Have you changed something?

> I8: Yes, I feel so indeed. I don't know whether this is my doing or not, but I once wrote an article about the terms "Russian-speaking" and "Estonian Russians" and "Estonians" and "Estonian-speaking" and… maybe I became more aware, but I've noticed that at least in the newspaper where I was published, they are actually using these words. They rather say "Russian-speaking community" or "Russian-speaking Estonians", not Russians or Estonian Russians. And people have started using it more."

However, youngsters are skeptical about their ability to change the institutional politics: 62% of Estonian-speakers and 62% of Russian-speakers said that by working together, young people can change things for the better but when asked more specifically whether by working together, young people are able to influence the government decisions, only 48%

of Estonian-speakers and even less – 42% of Russian-speakers agreed. Therefore, the general idea of contributing something together with the others gains quite a lot of support but specific political actions are significantly less popular.

"Q: How could you change something in the Estonian society?

I5: Some social events and maybe actions and I feel like if I want to make an event or a protest and let's imagine I'm not living here, and if I want to make an appeal and call young people, I guess I can succeed by inviting people. Again, I don't totally trust our government because I know occasions of stealing sums of money and I know that it depends on how many people have the right contacts, so to say. So not to the core of the governmental system, but if to open some protests or if I have a suggestion for changing something in the education system, then I feel that it's actually possible."

There was no difference between the groups in how well the students feel that they understand important societal issues (Q101) (54% of Estonian-speakers and 49% of Russian-speakers agree that they have a pretty good understanding) and whether they consider themselves capable to become engaged in societal issues (30% of Estonian-speakers and 35% of Russian-speakers agreed that they do). Again, the percentage shows that youngsters think that for them to participate in the society, they need to be held to a higher standard than simply as citizens.

In conclusion, the political participation of youngsters depends largely on their belief in being able to change something, but over half of the Russian-speaking respondents did not feel that they have the ability to affect the decisions of the national or European parliament. This does not necessarily mean that students will stop participating – interviews show that even the passive students are more comfortable participating on the local level, especially since it is often supported by school, while they might be more pessimistic about their influence on a larger scale. Almost three quarters of the Russian-speaking students say that they are not encouraged in school to discuss politics and the society with people that have different view than their own – this percentage is much lower among Estonian-speaking students. Discussions with friends also show that Russian-speaking people are often afraid to discuss these issues with others, because, again, they are afraid of getting into conflicts. However, this can be very restrictive for their participation in the civil life.

6. Discussion

While a democratic society requires participation of all its citizens, there are disparities between Estonian ethnic communities, even after more than quarter of century of independence and integration strategies. As the data analysis in the previous chapter illustrated, these disparities are also present in the younger generation – even among those youngsters that have born in the current Estonian state, but who are less active in almost all forms of civic engagement and participation. These ethnic disparities are combined with the additional trend of youngster distancing themselves from institutional politics and often feeling disregarded in the political decisions, which means that engaging Russian-speaking youth is something that needs to be tackled on different levels of the society.

What is the interest in society and politics like among Russian-speaking youngsters?

According to the data, Russian-speaking youngsters are slightly less interested in both, the society and politics, meanwhile making a clear difference between the two, just like the Estonian-speaking youngsters. Youngsters understand politics in the institutional terms and they see the lack of knowledge as their main obstacle in being able to participate in politics. This is rather peculiar, since many of the students that hold such opinions, are, in fact, quite active citizens – either on a local or school level or by participating in different European projects, for example. Russian-speaking students are under the impression that participating in politics is something that should be left to the professionals, which conforms to the general trend of professionalization of politics (van Deth 2002). However, this does not mean that Russian-speaking youngsters are necessarily apathetic – some of them simply understand politics in a very narrow or even vague and stereotypical terms. Meanwhile, they can be active participants or at least vocal citizens, when they are passionate about something – a student with a strong passion for music can be very motivated to hold a local concert, if given the opportunity. This means that students have to be taught a more complex understanding of civic participation and ways in which they could participate in local life. Practical projects in the framework of civic lessons for improving something in

the community would also give a necessary participation experience to the most passive youngsters who might feel that they are not able to change something in the society.

Youngsters are more likely to participate if they notice issues that directly affect them, such as local transportation problems or education requirements for Russian schools. However, not many students feel that there are many issues that concern Russian-speaking youngsters in the political debate. This is essentially a question about priorities among politicians, who might disregard young Russian-speaking people as an insignificant electoral group, or among media that discusses issues of Russian-speaking youngsters primarily in the context of language requirements in the education. Most of the students said that they follow news and important issues of the society to at least some degree and qualitative data also shows a quite high interest towards the society (80% are at least somewhat interested in what is going on in the society). However, as long as the media does not cover the issues that directly affect Russian-speaking youngsters, they are not motivated to participate in these discussions, let alone try to contribute to them. They are, thus, what Ekman & Amna (2012) call the stand-by citizens that can be motivated to participate in civil life under the right conditions. As the most active interviewees exemplified – when they write opinion pieces for the newspapers or discuss issues with the others, they do it on the topics that they feel the most competent in. These, in turn, are mostly the topics that are specific to them as minority youngsters, e.g. how to denominate Russian-speaking people in the public debates, why do Russian-speaking youngsters not participate in politics, or how should Russian-speaking students be taught Estonian language.

The interest in the political and social news topics and actual participation is different – young Russian-speakers are mostly interested in the extraordinary events that are happening outside of Estonia, since they see national or local news as less interesting. However, their actual participation is more likely directed towards their home town, where they perceive that they can accomplish more. This is somewhat connected to school, which can be an important setting and motivator for youth engagement – even the most passive students said in the interviews that they have at least participated in school projects that have aimed to improve local life. On the other hand, it is important for schools to note the

more active students who cannot reach their full potential in the school setting – in the youth council, for example – and introduce them to the national youth organizations where they could participate, instead of wasting their motivation. This is especially important in the smaller towns.

Based on the interviews, the students that have participated in different youth projects, have more complex opinions about the issues of the society and feel that they can change something in the society, even if on a small scale. While project-based participation can be seen as problematic, insofar as the project might potentially engage a student only once, the interviewees said that participation in such projects has taught them a lot about society and given them contacts who invite them to participate in future projects as well. The interviewees that had benefitted the most from the European Union, such as Erasmus projects, were the ones with the strongest European identity. This European identity can be something that unites them with the Estonian-speaking youngsters as well, since Russian-speakers often feel that they cannot identify themselves as Estonians, until they learn to speak perfect Estonian, for example. Language as a particularistic aspect of community-building has excluded Russian-speaking people and at the same time, even youngsters have problems with learning to speak fluent Estonian in the Russian-speaking environment. Instead of these emotional and particularistic aspects as community-builders, many authors have sought to find more rationalistic elements that can create the sense of community. Some authors have proposed "multiple citizenship" model instead of a nation-state identity – and this is where the European citizenship and identity can act as a unifier for the youngsters who are ever more mobile, take part in different European Union projects and have friends all around Europe. Habermas argued that the new basis of inclusion in states should be connected to values and common political culture - the European values and identity can be a possible basis of inclusion for youngsters.

Student projects in Estonia are also significant, since several students said that Estonian student camps or national student exchange programs were where they first started speaking in Estonian or even communicated to Estonian-speaking people for the first time, since their community is strongly Russian-speaking. Thus, different student exchange

programs within Estonia can be a useful integrating factor for the young, while also making them more confident as citizens.

Russian-speaking students mostly identify culturally with Russia while being Estonian citizens. They take less pride and self-confidence in being Estonian citizens than Estonian-speaking people – probably largely because they do not always even identify as Estonians. As the data shows, young Russian-speakers are even prouder and more self-confident as Europeans than Estonians. Because of this disengagement with the Estonian identity, Russian-speaking students were asked whether they feel that they, as citizens, should contribute something to Russia as well. All the interviewees tied their civic duties to their home country, i.e. Estonia, and could not see themselves contributing to the Russian state. Even an interviewee with a dual citizenship who considered himself to be foremost a Russian citizen, saw his civic duties mainly in relation to Estonia. This finding is in accordance with the analysis by Vihalemm & Masso (2002) who found that the civic loyalty of different ethnic groups in Estonia is mostly connected to territorial loyalty. While students did not feel any obligations towards the Russian state, they sometimes do feel obligation towards the Russian culture – for example, preserving the Russian language in Estonia can be very important even for the youngsters who might not identify with the Russian state at all. Meanwhile, Estonian-speaking people see the ability to speak Estonian language as a premise for political participation (Kallas & Kivistik 2015) and as a sign of loyalty, security, tolerance and openness (Vihalemm 2002: 199). As young Russian speakers' civic engagement endeavors are mostly connected to what is closest to them – their culture and minority position – the expectations or requirements by Estonian-speaking people are often incompatible with these interests and might therefore hamper their civic engagement. This issue is difficult to tackle in practice, since it is tightly connected to the preservation of a small nation culture and the inherent conflict of a nation state in the multicultural setting. However, it is important to note that Russian-speaking youngsters' aspirations that are connected to preserving the Russian culture, are not directly connected to their loyalty towards the Estonian or Russian state, even if it might create such fears.

What motivates or demotivates young Russian-speakers for/from civic engagement?

As active participation in the civic life is clearly connected to the self-confidence (Kõuts & Opermann 2017), it is important to note that Russian-speakers are slightly more skeptical and pessimistic than Estonian-speakers about their ability to change something in the society. They are more likely to think that people like them do not have the possibility to influence the decisions of the national parliament, the European Union or things in their community. Young people in general do not have much confidence in being able to take part in political or social events such as protests or influencing the government decisions – this might be related to the wider problematic of youth participation and the fact that youngsters are excluded from the institutional politics until they are 18, especially since they see politics in mostly institutional terms.

While having active friends (ibid.) is an important motivational factor, not a lot of young people have such peers – Russian-speakers are again in a slightly less favorable position, since they have less friends who are civically or politically active. Many interviewees said that they are afraid to discuss issues of the society with others – even with friends –, because they are afraid of getting into arguments and conflicts that might lead to exclusion. This is especially problematic for Russian-speaking students who live and study in mainly Estonian-speaking settings, since these misunderstandings are largely related to different historical discourses and different understandings of the society that the two ethnic groups hold. As the sense of belonging is a very important factor in the youth relations (Weller 2007), Russian-speaking youngsters are more likely to stop discussing societal issues and politics with their friends than to get into arguments that might exclude them from the peer group. While teachers and school can be motivating factors for students, Russian-speaking students agree much less than Estonian-speaking students that they are encouraged to discuss political and social issues with people that have different views than their own. This means that Russian-speaking students are not taught to properly debate on their viewpoints and if they see a conflicting opinion, they see this as a problem, not an opportunity for discussion. Schools can and should be the place where students are taught to deal with the difference of opinions and world views, so debating classes can be one solution. Since these points of conflict largely come from home, where youngsters are taught different historical

and political discourses, the education system should tackle these different understandings. Kaun (2013: 101) notes that the common historical narrative in Estonia largely excludes Russian-speaking people, while it is "understood as being essential for establishing commonality and belonging in a society." Firstly, school textbooks should take into account the history and specifics of the Russian-speaking minority in Estonia – this is especially important in the currently rather nationalistic history textbooks. But furthermore, both Estonian-speaking and Russian-speaking students should be taught different historical discourses among different ethnic groups in Estonia, to better understand them, to be more informed about why different groups hold different understandings, and to be more capable of tolerant debates, when they come face to face with these conflicting historical and political narratives.

What type of citizenship do young Russian-speakers adhere to?

Based on factor and cluster analysis, three types of young citizens were outlined. The biggest group was the passive citizen which included almost ¾ of the Russian-speaking survey respondents. According to Ekman & Amna (2012), passivity can be either apolitical disengagement or social involvement, whereas the former means seeing politics as uninteresting or unimportant and the latter encompasses taking interest in the politics and society, but simply not actively participating.

Civil participants make up 22% of Russian-speaking respondents and political activists make up 6%. Thus, when we look at politically active youngsters, we can see that they are more likely to donate money to charity, discuss societal issues on the internet, volunteer or recycle, than to participate in institutional politics or non-institutional politics that require strongly political mindset, such as participating in protests or illegal political activities. On the one hand, this can be related to the smaller self-confidence and the aforementioned minority-status-related insecurities among Russian-speaking youngsters – this often stops them from the kind of political participation that might possibly lead to conflicts. On the other hand, political activists among *both* groups of respondents are quite rare – these forms of participation might therefore be foreign to youngsters overall, while online participation

is a more convenient and familiar way for them to express their opinions about the society. Furthermore, political activism requires a kind of passion for politics, whereas civil participation might be more related to other interests, such as animal rights or discussions on social media, which might be more interesting and relatable for youngsters. Thus, when (political) organizations want to engage in public discussion with young Russian-speakers, or to motivate them to participate in the civic life, their efforts are better targeted at online mediums and ways for students to volunteer, rather than inviting them to participate in protest activities or strictly institution-related activities.

The lack of interest in the institutional activities can be related to the fact that these youngsters have not had the opportunity to engage in the institutional politics, because of their age. Most of them are not aware that parties have youth organizations, and only one of the nine interviewees knew what elections are coming in the following autumn. However, what is more problematic, is that Russian-speaking students are not very active in extracurricular activities or organizations either – and if they participate, they are more likely to choose the activities that contribute to their personal development and gain, rather than collective actions, which are aimed to improve something in the society, and which fit better with the idea of civil society. The reasons for not participating, however, are understandable, albeit simplistic – youngsters often do not simply have the time or the will to contribute something, in addition to their studies, which take a lot of energy. However, as said before, youngsters are more likely to be interested in extracurricular activities or different types of civic engagement, than actual political participation.

In conclusion, there are some tendencies that differentiate Russian-speaking students from the Estonian-speaking ones, such as distancing themselves from the Estonian citizenship or fear of discussing political and social issues with the others. These problems should be tackled by politicians and the media with more inclusive public discussions; the schools and education system by offering debate classes, ways to discuss sensitive issues, and by including different understandings of history and the society into the curriculum of both Estonian and Russian schools. Both European and Estonian youth projects can also serve a significant integrative purpose.

7. Conclusions

This research aimed to describe 16-18-year-old Russian-speaking youngsters as Estonian citizens. The thesis offers an analysis of different aspects of their civic behavior by considering the peculiarities, motivations and demotivations of this often-disregarded group of Estonian citizens, which can be used in further researches or practical implementation.

It is evident that young Russian-speakers are less active than Estonian-speaking students in almost all forms of political and civic engagement. While youngsters are quite interested in what is happening in the society, they show much less interest towards politics. This is often related to their understanding of politics being too complicated or boring, while the students themselves might actually even be politically active in practice – they simply think of it in different terms. Citizens are mostly interested in participation when it directly affects them, but young Russian-speakers are often disregarded in public debates and decision-making, which contributes to their inactiveness. However, since they are still interested in what is happening in the society, they can be described as "stand-by citizens". They also feel that they need to have a specific knowledge, in order to participate in politics or civic life – the perceived incompetency can be a strong factor for young students to distance themselves. However, they do feel more competent in the issues regarding education and Russian-speaking community, so these are the topics that might motivate them to participate in discussions or activities.

Russian-speaking students feel more interested in news outside of Estonia, nor do they feel very connected to their Estonian identity. They do, however, relate their civic activity to Estonia. They do not see civic duties towards Russian state, although they might feel obligations towards Russian culture.

Youngsters are not very interested in the institutional practices of political participation – probably because they do not have much experience with it yet – for example, they have not yet had the chance to vote. Russian-speaking students are also less active than Estonian-

speaking students in non-institutional civic practices, such as volunteering or donating money. Their main participation happens online, sharing and discussing issues on the social media. Russian-speaking youngsters are not very active in the extracurricular activities either, although this does not differ too significantly from the Estonian-speaking students. Based on the civic activities researched in the "CATCH-EyoU" project, three citizen types can be calculated to describe high school students as citizens: the largest group is the passive one, while civil participants are more common than political activists - the latter requires strong political mindset and willingness to protest or participate in institutional politics, which most of the Russian-speaking youngsters do not have for several reasons.

Russian-speaking students are not likely to discuss politics or issues of the society with their friends, let alone with people that they are not close with, because they are afraid of conflicts. This is also one of the reasons why they abstain from political activism – they are afraid to get into arguments and be excluded from the peer groups, which is an important aspect for their activity as youngsters, but also as an ethnic minority. In school, Russian-speaking students are also less encouraged than Estonian-speakers to discuss politics and issues of the society with people that have different views than themselves, which contributes to the lack of discussion skills and the fear of being misunderstood.

Based on the interviews, the more active and opinionated students have some kind of experience with youth projects - these have contributed to their language skills, personal contacts, further participation in civic life, and their identity. Thus, these kinds of projects can be one way to integrate Russian-speaking and Estonian-speaking students – while Erasmus projects are important in bridging youngsters through the European identity, national youth exchanges sometimes give an important push for Russian-speaking students to get out of the only-Russian-speaking community and to start speaking Estonian.

School is an essential setting for teaching youngsters about the civic engagement – this can be done by inviting students to volunteer in local events, by encouraging them to actively voice their opinions in classrooms and outside them. However, more extensive measures in teaching should be implemented as well. In addition to the different language, the cultural

and historical understandings also divide youngsters of different ethnic backgrounds. Thus, the curriculum and textbooks should include the history and problems of Estonian Russian-speaking community, and both Estonian and Russian schools should teach about the different historical narratives among the two communities, instead of a strongly national narrative – this is important, so that youngsters could understand different views and learn to discuss the issues in a rational manner, instead of creating further emotional conflicts on divisive national basis.

The results of this research could be implemented by the youth organizations – not only those that work specifically with Russian-speaking students, but those that have the opportunities to involve both ethnic groups in their activities. The results can also be utilized by politicians and the media by involving young Russian-speakers into their discussions, instead of sidelining them in the public debates, leaving them exclusively tied to the issues of Russian-language education and national loyalty. The results are also important for the education programs of Estonia, which should include different aspects of the Russian-speaking community not only to the teachings aimed at Russian-speaking students, but also – and maybe even more importantly – to Estonian-speaking students.

While this study also tackled the issue of passive Russian-speaking students, since they make up most of their community, more extensive and precise typology could be developed in the future – a one that solely concentrates on the passive students and the reasons for their inactiveness, to see whether these students could be engaged in the civic life in the future or not.

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Appendix

Appendix 1. CATCH-EyoU survey questionnaire

Information about yourself

1. How old are you?	_____years
2. Please indicate your gender? *Tick one box only.*	**I am …**☐ **Female** ☐ **Male** ☐ **Other (optional)**
3. Which grade are you in?	_____
4. What school track are you attending?	*Upper secondary* ☐ *Vocational track* ☐
5. I live in… *Tick one box only.*	
☐ *A big city*	☐ *A village*
☐ *The suburbs or outskirts of a big city*	☐ *A farm home or home in the countryside*
☐ *A town or small city*	

6. Would you say you are currently in a relationship?	
☐ Yes	☐ Other, please specify: _____
☐ No	

7. I live with… *You can tick more than one box.*	
☐ *One or both parents/ carers*	☐ *Alone*
☐ *Friends/ roommates*	☐ *Other living arrangements*
☐ *Partner/ spouse*	☐ *Please specify:* _____

8. Please indicate the highest completed level of education of your mother/carer.	9. Please indicate the highest completed level of education of your father/ carer.
☐ *Didn't finish any school (less than 9th grade)*	☐ *Didn't finish any school (less than 9th grade)*
☐ *Completed 9 years of schooling*	☐ *Completed 9 years of schooling*
☐ *Completed 10 years of schooling*	☐ *Completed 10 years of schooling*
☐ *Completed 12/13 years of schooling*	☐ *Completed 12/13 years of schooling*
☐ *Bachelor's degree/ before pre-diploma*	☐ *Bachelor's degree/ before pre-diploma*
☐ *Master's degree (Diploma)*	☐ *Master's degree (Diploma)*
☐ *More than master's degree*	☐ *More than master's degree*
☐ *I don't know*	☐ *I don't know*

10. What is your mother/carer doing at the moment?	11. What is your father/carer doing at the moment?
☐ *Working*	☐ *Working*
☐ *Is looking for a job*	☐ *Is looking for a job*
☐ *Is not looking for a job (retired, caretaker, disabled, other)*	☐ *Is not looking for a job (retired, caretaker, disabled, other)*
☐ *Homemaker*	☐ *Homemaker*
☐ *Does not apply*	☐ *Does not apply*

12. Does the money your household has cover everything your family needs?	
☐ *Not at all*	
☐ *Seldom*	
☐ *Rarely*	
☐ *Fully*	
☐ *Mostly*	

13. To what extend are you religious?	
☐ *Not at all*	
☐ *A little bit*	
☐ *Somewhat*	
☐ *Quite*	
☐ *Very*	

14. What is your religious belief?	
☐ *Catholic*	☐ *Buddhist*
☐ *Protestant*	☐ *Christian Orthodox*
☐ *Jewish*	☐ *No religion*
☐ *Muslim*	☐ *Other. Please specify*

15. What is your nationality?	
☐ *Estonian*	☐ *Other. Please specify*
☐ *Russian*	_____
☐ *Ukrainian*	☐ *Dual nationality. Please specify both*
☐ *Belarusian*	_____

17. Which of the following describes you best?
☐ I was born in Estonia as were my parents/carers
☐ I was born in Estonia but one of my parents/carers was born in another country.
☐ I was born in Estonia but both of my parents/carers were born in another country.
☐ I was not born in Estonia.

18. How would you rate your English language competence?	
☐ *Hardly any*	

☐ *Basic*	
☐ *Good*	
☐ *Close to fluent*	
☐ *Fluent*	

19. Do you speak any other language besides Estonian and English?	
☐ Yes	☐ *No*
How many?	☐ *no other language*
	☐ *1*
	☐ *2*
	☐ *3*
	☐ *3 or more*
If yes: **19a) How would you rate your overall language competence you are best in of those mentioned?**	
☐ *Hardly any*	
☐ *Basic*	
☐ *Good*	
☐ *Close to fluent*	
☐ *Fluent*	

	None	Very few	Few	Some	Many
	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
20. How many of your friends live outside Estonia, but in other European countries?					

21. How many of your friends live outside Europe?	1	2	3	4	5
22. How many of these friends who live outside Estonia are you in contact with at least once a year (Either visit, phone call, (facebook) message)?	1	2	3	4	5

	Never	A few times	Several times	Often	Very often
23. How often did you visit other European countries for just one day or few days (less than 2 weeks) in the last year?					

24. Have you ever been to another European country for a longer period of time in the last 5 years (at least 2 weeks)?	
☐ Yes	☐ *No*
If yes, in how many countries: _____	

25. What was the reason for your <u>last</u> longer stay (in another European country)? *You can tick more than one box*	
☐ *Institutional / organized youth meetings*	☐ *Visiting relatives*
☐ *Education/ training*	☐ *Vacation*
☐ *Youth groups/ meetings*	☐ *Work*
☐ *Visiting friends*	☐ *Other. Please specify* _____

Your views on society and public issues

A person can have various views on the place where they live. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements (regardless of your formal citizenship status).					
	Strongly disagree	Mostly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Mostly agree	Strongly agree
26. I feel strong ties toward Europe	1	2	3	4	5
27. I am proud to be European	1	2	3	4	5
29. To be European gives me self-confidence	1	2	3	4	5
31. I feel strong ties to Estonia	1	2	3	4	5
32. I am proud to be Estonian	1	2	3	4	5
34. To be Estonian gives me self confidence	1	2	3	4	5
41. I often think about what it means to be European	1	2	3	4	5
42. I search for information about Europe	1	2	3	4	5
43. I talk to other people about what it means to them to be European	1	2	3	4	5
44. I often think about what it means to be Estonian	1	2	3	4	5
45. I search for information about Estonia	1	2	3	4	5
46. I talk to other people about what it means to them to be Estonian	1	2	3	4	5
50. My feelings on Europe are changing.	1	2	3	4	5
51. My idea about being European is uncertain	1	2	3	4	5
52. I think that in the near future I could change my views on what it means to be European	1	2	3	4	5
53. My feelings on Estonia are changing.	1	2	3	4	5
54. My idea about myself being Estonian is uncertain.	1	2	3	4	5

55. I think that in the near future I could change my views on what it means to be Estonian	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
61. I have more in common with people from my country than with people from other European countries	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

68. According to you, <u>to be a good EU citizen</u>, how important would you say it is for a person to:	Not important at all	Hardly important	Somewhat important	Very important	Important
… support people who are worse off than themselves	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
… vote in EP elections	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
… always obey EU laws and regulations	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
… form their own opinion about EU, independently of others	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
… be active in voluntary organizations	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
… raise own voice concerning EU topics	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
… be informed about what is going on in Europe	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
…conform to one's community or neighborhood					*5*
….stand up for one's national or religious group against other groups					*5*
….always challenge social injustice					*5*

69.The EU has been facing and continues to face major challenges. Please indicate how much you agree with the following statements.					
	Strongly disagree	Mostly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Mostly agree	Strongly agree
1) Facing the problem of youth unemployment in member states in the European Union					

... has the responsibility to influence the situation	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
2) Facing the increased number of refugees from conflict-ridden areas, the European Union...					
... has the responsibility to influence the situation	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
3) Facing the situation that member states think about leaving the Union, the European Union ...					
... has the responsibility to influence the situation	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
4)According to you, how pressing it is to deal with each of these issues?	Not pressing at all	Little pressing	Rat her pres sing	Pressi ng	Very pressin g
Youth unemployment in member states	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Refugees from conflict-ridden areas	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Member states thinking about leaving EU	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

70. People have different views on EU. How would you personally evaluate the European Union?					
	Strongl y disagree	Mostly disagr ee	Neith er disag ree nor agree	Mostl y agree	Strongl y agree
We should be happy that the EU exists.	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Life in my country would be better if there were no EU.	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

71. From what your point of view, what is the EU currently like? And what would you like it to be? For both cases please indicate your agreement or disagreement with the following statements.					
	European Union should be				
	Be far less	Somewhat less	The same	Somewhat more	Far more

... an economic community	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
... a community of shared values	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
... a community based on shared culture	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
... a community based on shared history	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
... a community based on geography	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
... a community with shared responsibilities	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
... a political community	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
... a tolerant place	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
...a place where you can travel without borders	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
...a super power	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

72. How would you describe the European Union in general terms? Please indicate your agreement with the following characteristics.

European Union is:						
competent	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*incompetent*
efficient	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*inefficient*
Warm	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*Cold*
friendly	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*Unfriendly*
Just	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*Unjust*
fair	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*Unfair*
Welcoming (optional)	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	

How would you describe Estonia in general terms? Please indicate your agreement with the following characteristics.

Estonia is:						

competent	1	2	3	4	5	incompetent
efficient	1	2	3	4	5	inefficient
warm	1	2	3	4	5	Cold
friendly	1	2	3	4	5	Unfriendly
Just	1	2	3	4	5	Unjust
fair	1	2	3	4	5	Unfair
Welcoming (optional)	1	2	3	4	5	

73. People have different views on how to deal with incoming refugees. What is your own view on this? Please indicate how much to you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly disagree	Mostly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Mostly agree	Strongly agree
Refugees should have the right to maintain their traditions and cultural heritage	1	2	3	4	5
I feel that our government does not do enough to help refugees	1	2	3	4	5
We ourselves have enough economic problems and that is why we cannot afford to help refugees	1	2	3	4	5

74. In the past decades, many people moved to Estonia and settled here. Please indicate how much to you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly disagree	Mostly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Mostly agree	Strongly agree
Immigrants should have the right to maintain their traditions and cultural heritage	1	2	3	4	5
Immigrants should have the right to preserve their language	1	2	3	4	5

Immigrants have a tendency to take job opportunities of local people.	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

75. How much do you agree with the following statements?					
	Strongly disagree	Mostly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Mostly agree	Strongly agree
Democracy is the best system of government that I know.	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
All people have the right to express their opinion.	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Media (e.g.; TV, newspaper) have the right to criticize politicians in the government.	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

Obediance and respect to the authority are the most important values that we should teach our children.	1	2	3	4	5
Our country needs strong government that will ensure order and bring us to the right direction.	1	2	3	4	5
Instead of all "civic rights and freedoms" our country needs one thing only- law and order	1	2	3	4	5

78. Please indicate how much do you agree with the following statements about Estonia.					
	Strongly disagree	Mostly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Mostly agree	Strongly agree
Generally, the more influence Estonia has on other nations, the better off they are.	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like Estonians.	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Generally speaking, Estonia is a better country than most other countries.	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

83. How much do you agree with the following?

	Strongly disagree	Mostly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Mostly agree	Strongly agree
People do not have an opportunity to influence the decisions of the European Union.	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
It does not matter who wins the European elections, the interests of normal people do not matter anyways.	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
People do not have an opportunity to influence the decisions of the national parliament.	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
It does not matter who wins the Estonian elections, the interests of normal people do not matter anyways.	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

84. Overall, how would you say you perceive Estonia? Please indicate how much you agree with the following statements.

	Strongly disagree	Mostly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Mostly agree	Strongly agree
I am worried about the economic development of my country	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
I am worried about the political future of my country	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

85. Now, we would like to ask you few questions about how you use the media.

How often do you usually watch, read or listen to news (no matter whether it's news on politics, celebrities, sports or culture).	*Never* ☐	*Less than once a month* ☐	*Several times a month* ☐	*Several times a week* ☐	*Usually once a day* ☐	*Several times a day* ☐
What news are you interested in? [you can choose more than one answer]	*Foreign news (Europe)* ☐	*Foreign news (World)* ☐	*Domestic/ nationwide news* ☐	*Regional/ state news* ☐	*Local news* ☐
What are the topics you are following? [you can choose more than one answer]	*Political issues* ☐	*Economic issues* ☐	*Ecological issues* ☐	*Social issues* ☐	*Other news (VIPs, culture, crime, sport, weather etc.)* ☐
What media do you use most often for receiving news? (please select only ONE)	*Printed newspapers& magazines* ☐	*TV* ☐	*Radio* ☐	*Internet* ☐	*Elsewhere* ☐

	Strongly disagree	Mostly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Mostly agree	Strongly agree
There are professional media - TV, online, radio or print - I consider as a trustworthy source of news.	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
I consider alternative media more trustworthy source of news and information than professional media	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

Your social and civic involvement

86. People can express their opinions regarding important local, ecological or political issues. They do so by participating in different activities. Have you done any of the following in the past 12 months?

Signed a petition	Never ☐	rarely ☐	sometimes ☐	often ☐	Very often ☐

Taken part in a demonstration or strike	Never ☐	rarely ☐	sometimes ☐	often ☐	Very often ☐
Boycotted or bought certain products for political, ethical or environmental reasons	Never ☐	rarely ☐	sometimes ☐	often ☐	Very often ☐
Worn a badge, ribbon or a t-shirt with a political message	Never ☐	rarely ☐	sometimes ☐	often ☐	Very often ☐
Volunteered or worked for a social cause (children/ elderly/refugees/ other people in need/youth organization)	Never ☐	rarely ☐	sometimes ☐	often ☐	Very often ☐
Participated in a concert or a charity event for a social or political cause	Never ☐	rarely ☐	sometimes ☐	often ☐	Very often ☐
Donated money to a social cause	Never ☐	rarely ☐	sometimes ☐	often ☐	Very often ☐
Linked news or music or videos with social or political content with my contact persons (e.g., in Facebook)	Never ☐	rarely ☐	sometimes ☐	often ☐	Very often ☐
Discussed social or political issues on the internet	Never ☐	rarely ☐	sometimes ☐	often ☐	Very often ☐
Participated in an internet-based protest or boycott	Never ☐	rarely ☐	sometimes ☐	often ☐	Very often ☐
Entered a group on Facebook (or similar social networks) that deals with social or political issues	Never ☐	rarely ☐	sometimes ☐	often ☐	Very often ☐
Painted political messages or graffiti on walls	Never ☐	rarely ☐	sometimes ☐	often ☐	Very often ☐
Taken part in an illegal occupation	Never ☐	rarely ☐	sometimes ☐	often ☐	Very often ☐

Taken part in a political event where there was a physical confrontation with political opponents or the police	Never □	rarely □	sometimes □	often □	Very often □
Worked for a political party or a candidate	Never □	rarely □	sometimes □	often □	Very often □
Contacted a politician or public official (for example via e-mail)	Never □	rarely □	sometimes □	often □	Very often □
Donated money to support the work of a political group or organization	Never □	rarely □	sometimes □	often □	Very often □
Created political content online (e.g., video, webpage, post in a blog).	Never □	rarely □	sometimes □	often □	Very often □

Was any of the activities you did related to the EU?		
Signed a petition	yes □	no □
Taken part in a demonstration or strike	yes □	no □
Boycotted or bought certain products for political, ethical or environmental reasons	yes □	no □
Worn a badge, ribbon or a t-shirt with a political message	yes □	no □
Volunteered or worked for a social cause (children/ elderly/refugees/ other people in need/youth organization)	yes □	no □
Participated in a concert or a charity event for a social or political cause	yes □	no □
Donated money to a social cause	yes □	no □
Linked news or music or videos with social or political content with my contact persons (e.g., in Facebook)	yes □	no □

Discussed social or political issues on the internet	yes ☐	no ☐
Participated in an internet-based protest or boycott	yes ☐	no ☐
Entered a group on Facebook (or similar social networks) that deals with social or political issues	yes ☐	no ☐
Painted political messages or graffiti on walls	yes ☐	no ☐
Taken part in an illegal occupation	yes ☐	no ☐
Taken part in a political event where there was a physical confrontation with political opponents or the police	yes ☐	no ☐
Worked for a political party or a candidate	yes ☐	no ☐
Contacted a politician or public official (for example via e-mail)	yes ☐	no ☐
Donated money to support the work of a political group or organization	yes ☐	no ☐
Created political content online (e.g., video, webpage, post in a blog).	yes ☐	no ☐

88. One of the options how people can express their opinion is by voting. Please indicate below the option that best describes you.			
Will you vote in the next elections to the European parliament?	Yes ☐	No ☐	☐ *I don't know yet*
If no, why not?:			
☐ *I will be too young*	☐ *I don't care*	☐ *I cannot decide who to vote for*	☐ *I don't feel informed to vote*	☐ The party/candi date did not represent my view.	☐ else

	Yes ☐	No ☐	☐ *I don't know yet*
Will you vote in the next national parliamentary elections?			

If no, why not?					

☐ *I will be too young*	☐ *I don't care*	☐ *I cannot decide who to vote for*	☐ *I don't feel informed to vote*	☐ The party/candidate did not represent my view.	☐ else
If yes, who will you vote for?		☐	☐	☐	
		☐	☐	☐	
		☐	☐	☐ plus other please specify	

	Yes ☐	No ☐	☐ *I don't know yet*
Will you vote in the next local elections?			

If no, why not?					

☐ *I will be too young*	☐ *I don't care*	☐ *I cannot decide who to vote for*	☐ *I don't feel informed to vote*	☐ The party/candidate did not represent my view.	☐ else
If yes, who will you vote for?		☐	☐	☐	
		☐	☐	☐	

	☐	☐	☐ plus other please specify
Should in your opinion, the voting age for all elections be reduced to 16 years?	☐ Yes	☐ No	☐ I don't know

89. We are interested in how things are at your school. Please indicate how much you agree with the following statements.

	Strongly disagree	Mostly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Mostly agree	Strongly agree
Students are encouraged (by school) to make up their own minds.	1	2	3	4	5
Teachers respect our opinions and encourage us to express our opinions during the class.	1	2	3	4	5
Teachers encourage us to discuss the issues (political, social,...)on which people who have different opinions.	1	2	3	4	5
Our teachers treat us fairly.	1	2	3	4	5
The rules in our school are fair.	1	2	3	4	5
Students at our school can influence how our school is run.	1	2	3	4	5
At our school, students' requests are taken seriously	1	2	3	4	5

90. Schools spend different amount of time teaching about European topics. Which of the following best describes your school?

	Nothing ▢	Very little ▢	Little ▢	Some ▢	A lot ▢
How much have you learned about European topics in school					

	Strongly Disagree ▢	Mostly disagree ▢	Neither disagree nor agree ▢	Mostly agree ▢	Strongly agree ▢
The more I learn about Europe in school, the more I like it.					

91. There are many ways in which students can get involved in their school. Have you done any of the following in school during the past year?

	Yes	No
Have you represented other students in the student council or in front of teachers or school principal?	▢	▢
Have you been active in a student club (e.g., drama, school newspaper)	▢	▢
Have you been active in a school sports group or club?	▢	▢

93. We would like to know a few things about yourself.

When you think of you and your life, how much would you agree with the following statements?

How much do you agree with the following statement about you?	Strongly disagree	Mostly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Mostly agree	Strongly agree
I can always manage to solve difficult problems if I try hard enough.	1	2	3	4	5
I am certain that I can accomplish my goals.	1	2	3	4	5
I am confident that I could deal efficiently with unexpected events.	1	2	3	4	5

When I am confronted with a problem, I can find several solutions.	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
I can handle whatever comes my way	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
When I have a problem I know the resources (people, institutions, etc.) that are needed	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
I am able to look for people, institutions and services that can help me to find solutions to my problems	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
When I have a scope I am able to find the necessary resources to reach	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

94. On the whole, how satisfied are you with the life you lead ?	not at all satisfied	not very satisfied	fairly satisfied	satisfied	very statisfied
	1	2	3	4	5

95. Please indicate your agreement on the following statements.					
	Strongly disagree	Mostly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Mostly agree	Strongly agree
My family constantly shows how proud they are	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

of me					
My family shows they care for me with words and gestures	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
My family always shows their love to me without cause, regardless of what I do	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

96. When you think about your future life, how important are the following things for you?					
	Strongly disagree	Mostly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Mostly agree	Strongly agree
Help those less fortunate	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Help better the life of people in my town/village	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Do something useful for society	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

97. Please indicate your interest in various civic and political issues?					
	Not interested at all	Hardly interested	Somewhat interested	Interested	Very interested
How interested are you in politics?	1	2	3	4	5
How interested are	1	2	3	4	5

you in what is going on in society?					
How interested are you in EU-related topics?	1	2	3	4	5
How interested are you in national politics?	1	2	3	4	5

98. Please indicate how much you agree with the following statements.					
	Strongly disagree	Mostly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Mostly agree	Strongly agree
I trust the European Union	1	2	3	4	5
I trust the national government	1	2	3	4	5
Most people can be trusted	1	2	3	4	5

99. In the past year, how often did you feel the following?					
	Strongly disagree	Mostly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Mostly agree	Strongly agree
You belonged to a community (e.g. social group, your school, your neighborhood)?	1	2	3	4	5

	Strongly disagree	Mostly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Mostly agree	Strongly agree
Our society is becoming a better place?	1	2	3	4	5
People are basically good?	1	2	3	4	5
The way our society works made sense to you?	1	2	3	4	5

100. Think about the place where you live. How much do you agree with the following?					
	Strongly disagree	Mostly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Mostly agree	Strongly agree
In our neighbourhood, there are enough activities for young people.	1	2	3	4	5
In our neighbourhood, there are many events and situations which involve young people like me.	1	2	3	4	5
I think that people who live in our neighbourhood could change things in the community.	1	2	3	4	5
If we have the opportunity I think we can change something for	1	2	3	4	5

| the better in our neighbourhood. | | | | | |

101. Please indicate your agreement with the following statements.

	Strongly disagree	Mostly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Mostly agree	Strongly agree
I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important societal issues.	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
I consider myself as qualified to get engaged in societal issues.	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
I think that by working together, young people can change things for the better	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
By working together, young people are able to influence the decisions which are made by government	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
If I really tried, I could manage to actively work in organizations trying to solve problems in society	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

If I really tried, I could manage to help to organize a political protest	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
If I really tried, I could manage to take part in a demonstration in my home town	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

102. Have you ever been a member of or worked for any of the following organizations? (you can choose more than one organization)

trade unions, political parties or their youth organizations	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
student or youth organizations					
religious organizations or groups					
organizations for social issues (human rights, racism, peace, , environment, animal protection)					
leisure organizations or groups (music, art, sports, ...)					
other organizations? which?	**Please indicate:**				

103. Now we would like to ask few questions about you, your friends and family. Please indicate how much you agree with the following statements.

	Strongly disagree	Mostly disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Mostly agree	Strongly agree
My family thinks that we should be happy that the	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

EU exists.					
My family thinks that things would be better if there was no EU	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
My friends think that we should be happy that the EU exists.	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
My friends think that things would be better if there was no EU	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
My friends would approve it if I engage politically	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
My friends are currently civically or politically engaged (e.g. volunteer, are members of non-governmental organizations)	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
My friends encourage me to get involved in social issues.	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
My family would approve it if I engage politically	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
My family is currently	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

civically or politically engaged (e.g. volunteer, are members of non-governmental organizations)					
My family encourage me to get involved in social issues	1	2	3	4	5
When we discuss something in the family, my family always listen to my opinion	1	2	3	4	5
My family allow me to participate in family decision making	1	2	3	4	5

The end…

Thank you for participating.

Appendix 2. Interview questionnaire

1. About the interviewee

   1.1. How old are you?

   1.2. What language do you use at home?

   1.3. What is your nationality?

   1.4. What is your citizenship?

2. Interest in the society

   2.1. How often do you think about the issues of the society? Which ones?

   2.2. How interested are you in politics? What are you interested in? How would you describe politics?

   2.3. Are participation in the society and politics the same thing in your opinion or are they different somehow?

   2.4. What are you the most interested in – what is happening in the world, in the European Union, in Estonia or in your home town? Why so?

   2.5. How much are you interested in the topics of the European Union? Which topics?

      2.5.1. Please describe the European Union.

      2.5.2. How connected do you feel to the European Union?

      2.5.3. Please describe your connection with the European Union.

      2.5.4. Do you trust the European Union? To which extent? Why? Why not?

      2.5.5. Are you concerned about the future of the European Union? Why? About what?

   2.6. How much are you interested in the topics of Estonia? Which topics?

      2.6.1. Please describe Estonia.

      2.6.2. How connected do you feel to Estonia?

      2.6.3. Please describe your connection with Estonia.

      2.6.4. Do you trust Estonian institutions? To which extent? Why? Why not?

      2.6.5. Are you concerned about the future of Estonia? Why? About what?

2.7. How much are you interested in the topics of the rest of the world? Which topics?

2.8. Since you are from a Russian a family, how interested are you in Russian topics?

    2.8.1.   Please describe Russia.

    2.8.2.   How connected do you feel to Russia?

    2.8.3.   Please describe your connection with Russia.

    2.8.4.   Do you trust Russia? To which extent? Why? Why not?

    2.8.5.   Are you concerned about the future of Russia? Why? About what?

2.9. How much are you interested in the topics of your home town? Which topics?

    2.9.1.   Please describe your home town.

    2.9.2.   How connected do you feel to your home town?

    2.9.3.   Please describe your connection with your home town.

    2.9.4.   Do you trust the government of your home town? To which extent? Why? Why not?

    2.9.5.   Are you concerned about the future of your home town? Why? About what?

3. Views on the citizenship.

3.1. Please describe a good citizen in your view. What does he do? What does he not do?

3.2. You have some obligations to Estonia because of your citizenship but how does that relate to your relationship with Russia? Do you feel that you have some obligations to Russia because of your ethnicity?

3.3. How important is it to help people that are not doing well, in your opinion?

4. Extracurricular activities

4.1. Do you belong to any organizations, e.g. student council?

If yes: What motivated you to join? How active are you? What do you get from participating?

If no: Why not? Have you considered joining?

4.2. Do you participate in extracurricular activities, e.g. drama club, school newspaper, singing choir or something like that?

Yes: What motivated you to join? How active are you? What do you get from participating?

No: Why not? Have you considered joining?

5. Dutiful citizenship

5.1. Have you ever voted in elections?

Yes: Which elections? Why did you vote? What motivated you to go?

No: Why not? If you could vote in the next elections, would you go voting? Why? Why not?

5.2. Is voting important, in your opinion? Why? Why not?

5.3. Do you know which elections are this autumn? Do you plan to vote?

5.4. Do you belong to a party?

Yes: What motivated you to join? How active are you? What do you get from participating?

No: Why not? Have you considered joining?

6. Self-actualizing citizenship

6.1. I will name some activities. Please tell me whether you have participated in them or not. Signing a petition. Participating in a protest. Boycotting something. Wearing a political badge or a ribbon. Volunteering. Participating in a concert with a political message. Donating money. Sharing political news, music or views in the social media. Discussing social and political issues on the Internet. Protesting or boycotting on the Internet. Joining political or social groups in the social media. Sticking political posters on the walls or doing graffiti. Occupying a building or a public space. Participating in a political event that led to violent conflicts. Creating political content on the Internet.

Yes: What motivated you to do those things? What did you get from it? What was the result?

No: Why do you not participate in such activities?

6.2. How important are such activities for a citizen, in your opinion?

7. Motivation

    7.1. Whose task is it, in your opinion, to solve issues of the society?

    7.2. Is it possible for you to change something in the Estonian society? What? Why? Why not?

    7.3. Can young people together change something in the Estonian society and politics? What? Why? Why not?

    7.4. Would you want to participate in politics? Why? Why not?

    7.5. How often do you discuss societal issues with your family? Friends? Teachers? Which problems? (If not, then why not?)

    7.6. Does your family encourage you to participate in the society and political life? Friends? Teachers? How? (If not, then why not?)

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