

KRISTIINA KUKK

Understanding the vicious circle
of segregation: The role of leisure
time activities



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LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

The work in this thesis is based on the following publications that have been published in international peer-reviewed journals or books:

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- II. Tammaru, T., van Ham, M., Leetmaa, K., Kährrik, A. and **Kamenik, K.** (2013). The Ethnic Dimensions of Suburbanisation in Estonia. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 39(5): 845–62.
- III. **Kamenik, K.**, Tammaru, T. and Toomet, O. (2015). Ethnic segmentation in leisure time activities in Estonia. *Leisure Studies*. 34(5): 566–87.
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1. INTRODUCTION

The number of migrants has grown globally over the last few decades, exceeding population growth rates (Massey and Taylor, 2004). At the same time, income inequalities have also been on the rise globally (Global Inequality Report, 2018), and there tends to be a strong overlap between income inequality and inequalities between ethnic groups (Andersson and Kährik, 2016). When socio-economic and ethnic divides both increase and overlap, this poses a great risk to a country's stability and the wellbeing of its population. Therefore research on segregation has grown rapidly (Piekut et al, 2019) in order to better understand the mechanisms that drive inequalities and to find ways in which integration processes can be facilitated.

Research is increasingly shifting towards analysing linkages between segregation in various domains of everyday life, starting with the location of homes, proceeding to structural and spatial segregation in workplaces, and reaching as far as leisure time use. According to the conceptual framework of a vicious circle of segregation (Tamaru et al, 2017; van Ham et al, 2018), an orderly transmission of segregation over the course of an individual's lifetime and several generations runs from the employment market and/or workplace segregation to residential segregation which leads to school segregation (a generation jump takes place here as the school that children will attend depends upon the place of residence of their parents), which in turn leads to employment market and/or workplace segregation amongst the younger generation. Segregation during leisure time is strongly related to where people live and work. It is more especially the case for ethnic minorities that residential neighbourhoods tend to be the foci of everyday life (van Kempen and Wissink, 2014). Neighbourhoods which have a strong ethnic mix tend to provide ethnic jobs (with these often being lower level jobs such as, for example, low-paid jobs in the service sector), and leisure facilities with more of a focus on ethnic minorities, and there is a high level of risk that, when immigrants arrive in their host country and reside in segregated neighbourhoods, their connection to the native majority population remains small, their local language skills remain poor, and this in turn affects their future prospects when it comes to ever being able to move out of these neighbourhoods, finding better jobs, and building networks with the majority population. In addition, these patterns are inherited by their children and grandchildren, thereby including many generations in the same potential trap. The power of homophily (McPherson et al, 2001) – in which people like to be together and to interact with people who are similar to them – facilitates this process. It is important to better understand how to break out from the vicious circle of segregation.

This thesis focuses on ethnic segregation during leisure time and how it is related to places of work and residence. The aim is to discover out how out-of-home and out-of-work leisure activities affect other domains and *vice versa*. Estonia and its capital city, Tallinn, form the case study area for the research.

Central and Eastern European countries (which hereafter are referred to as CEE countries) went through a good deal of transformation in the twentieth century: from emerging capitalist countries to domination by the Soviet regime and, at the end of the century, back to capitalist system. With the introduction of a centrally-planned society, rapid industrialisation started up and, following the collapse of the socialist system, the initialisation of deindustrialisation and transformation into a consumer society. These changes have greatly affected people who are living in CEE countries such as, for example, their socio-economic status, and it is also important to note that the effects have not been uniform for all population groups. During the Soviet period, Estonia experienced massive immigration which ceased almost entirely after the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991. This makes Estonia and Tallinn an interesting case when it comes to observing how the country has coped with integrating the minority population into its host society without a constant inflow of new immigrants.

This thesis is structured as follows. Firstly, a discussion is held on the most relevant theoretical perspectives on ethnic segregation and leisure time use, and the Estonian case is more thoroughly introduced. Based on this literature overview, the main research questions are stipulated to which this thesis aims to give answers. Data sources and methods that are used for the analysis are then described, followed by an overview of the main findings and how they fit in with what is currently the most relevant body of literature. Finally, the main conclusions of the study are drawn up.

2. BACKGROUND

Segregation can be detected in several of life's domains: in places of residence, with family, at work, at school, in social networks, and during one's leisure time. One of the most often-researched domains of segregation is residence, but residential segregation often overlaps with segregation in life's other domains. Choosing a place of residence is strongly dependent upon people's wealth – their socio-economic status (Golubchikov and Phelps, 2011; Kährik and Tammaru, 2008; Ourednicek, 2007). Since people tend to prefer to live together with people who are similar to them, this also contributes towards segregation across ethnic lines (Clark, 1991; Leetmaa et al, 2015). Wealth, social status, and income often overlap with ethnic background, and members of the ethnic majority population tend to have higher socio-economic status when compared to members of the ethnic minority population (Andersson and Kährik, 2016).

When people with a higher socio-economic status (with the same people probably belonging to the ethnic majority population) live in one neighbourhood, they go to school in this neighbourhood where they may receive a better education because such families are either more demanding in terms of the quality of the education on offer and/or are more willing to pay more for that education or for a home that is located within a neighbourhood that has a better school (van Ham et al, 2018). Better education allows one to get a better job, contributing to the formation of the vicious circle of segregation (Tammaru et al, 2017). Members of the ethnic minority population are more vulnerable in terms of entering into the vicious circle of segregation because social networks are also ethnically segregated (Peters et al, 2018). In short, residential segregation is caused by people's socio-economic status since money buys choice on the housing market (Hulchanski, 2010), and this carries over into other domains in life. Meissner (1971) characterised leisure as the 'long arm of work' because the status, wealth, and identity that could be gained from workplaces very much determines how people spend their leisure time. It has also been found that people often spend their out-of-home and out-of-work free time close to their homes in the same neighbourhood, so residence serves to structure much of the everyday life of people (van Kempen and Wissink, 2014), and leisure can be also seen as being the 'long arm of home'.

2.1. Residential segregation in CEE

It has been found that socio-economic residential segregation is most commonly driven by inequalities in income and wealth, as well as by the structure of the housing market (van Ham et al, 2016), as wealthier people want to reside in better quality housing in more appealing neighbourhoods (Sassen, 1991; Martinczak et al, 2016). Income inequality was small and most people were poor in the formerly centrally-planned countries in comparison with other

developed countries (Szydlik, 1994; Psacharopoulos, 1994). Additionally, the state was in charge of planning, constructing, and allocating housing (Murray and Szelenyi, 1984). As a consequence, people's means and opportunities when it came to selecting a place in which to live was greatly inhibited and residential segregation remained at a low level, even decreasing during the decades in which the country was dominated by socialism (Medgyesi and Toth, 2012). The fact that housing allocation often took place through employers contributed to the social mix, as directors and other workers often shared the same building (Pavelson, 1997).

The collapse of the centrally-planned system triggered a great many changes in terms of CEE (Sykora and Bouzarovski, 2012; Leetmaa et al, 2009). The restructuring of the economy was rapid, which also led to changes in the old patterns of inequalities. The value of white-collar workers (professionals and managers) increased on the employment market, and the value of blue-collar workers often decreased alongside large-scale deindustrialisation (Weclawowicz, 2002; Titma et al, 1998). As income inequalities grew and as the system of central allocation for housing was dismantled, the path had been set towards residential segregation as it is known in capitalist countries. Although rapid socio-economic segregation was predicted by scholars to take place in CEE countries (Vendina, 1997; Weclawowicz, 1998; Szelenyi, 1996), residential segregation was significantly delayed for a number of reasons (Marcinczak et al, 2015). Massive privatisation of housing in favour of the sitting tenants meant that the social mix that had been achieved during the socialist period was largely maintained. Those who resided in better quality housing and in more desirable neighbourhoods gained a greater advantage (Bodnar, 1996; Daniell and Struyk, 1994). Like a change in worker value, changes in housing value took place as well. Instead of the large, modernist housing estates of the socialist period, inner city neighbourhoods and detached suburban neighbourhoods increased their levels of attraction (Leetmaa et al, 2009).

After the first decade of change, economic turmoil, and uncertainty, the background factors (newly-built modern housing, economic growth, the mortgage system, etc) were favourable enough so that residential segregation was able to increase in the 2000s (Tammaru et al, 2016). Both gentrification in the inner city and the drift by wealthier people to the suburban edges of bigger cities started to build up momentum (Kovacs et al, 2012; Bernt et al, 2015; Stanilov and Sykora, 2014). They also started to reshape residential segregation patterns. Estonia and its capital city, Tallinn, showed the greatest and most rapid increases in inequality and segregation during the first two decades of the twenty-first century (Tammaru et al, 2016).

2.2 The ethnic context of Estonia and Tallinn

During the period of time in which Estonia was part of the Soviet Union (1944–1991), Estonia experienced large-scale immigration from other Soviet Union countries. The percentage of minorities in Estonia rose from 2% in 1945 to 39% in 1989 (Tammaru and Kulu, 2003). After Estonia regained its independence in 1991, part of the immigrant population left the country, but even then a total of 30% of the country's total population of 1.3 million people was formed of ethnic minorities at the last census to have been held – in 2011 (Anniste and Tammaru, 2014). Soviet period immigrants were mainly Russian speakers. They were allocated to the major cities where they settled into the large, newly-built housing estates (Kährik and Tammaru, 2008), and an ethnically-relevant infrastructure was provided for them (in terms of workplaces, schools, and kindergartens). This provided no motivation for the immigrants to learn the native language and thereby become integrated into the majority population (Vihalemm, 1999).

When Estonia regained its independence, the status of the migrants changed from a majority population in the Soviet Union into a minority population in Estonia (Laitin, 1998). They adapted less successfully to changes in the employment market thanks to their lack of Estonian language skills (Lindemann, 2009; Toomet, 2011). In addition, social tensions between native Estonians and minorities were high in the first decade after independence had been regained, during which the rebuilding of the Estonian nation state was taking place. However, a separated school system was maintained and this is partially responsible for the fact that Estonians and ethnic minorities still have separated social networks and it is relatively rare to find inter-ethnic friendships (Korts, 2009) and inter-ethnic marriages (van Ham and Tammaru, 2011).

Immigration almost ceased after Estonia regained independence, which allows an analysis to be carried out on how ethnic processes themselves evolve in the absence of newcomers who intervene into the ongoing segregation and integration processes of existing groups. Ethnic minorities form 31% of the total population of Estonia in 2018, but the distribution of such minorities in Estonia has never been equal. Most of the immigrant population settled around Tallinn and its neighbouring north-western Estonian county. Tallinn is an especially interesting case as it is almost evenly split between Estonians and people who have an immigrant background. According to the Estonian Statistical Office's figures for 2018, a total of 54% of Tallinn's population were Estonians and 37% were Russians. Other minorities formed 8% of the total population of Tallinn.

2.3. Segregation and suburbanisation in the Tallinn urban area

Although some residential mobility occurred in Estonia during the 1990s, the process intensified in the 2000s. One of the driving forces of residential mobility relates to the construction of new housing stock which is in great contrast with the previously privatised standardised housing (Stevens et al, 2016), with the new stock being much more desirable for higher-income groups. As there is very little public involvement in planning for new housing, socio-economic segregation in Tallinn has formed one of the highest levels for such segregation in Europe (Tammaru et al, 2016). On the one hand, higher income groups have moved to residential neighbourhoods. On the other hand, they also move to detached housing areas in the suburbs. There is also a strong ethnic dimension in the gentrification and suburbanisation processes as both are more common amongst Estonians (Publication II).

Ethnic background, together with socio-economic status, are two important factors that also serve to influence suburbanisation patterns in other countries (Bolt et al, 2008; Clark, 2006; Goodwin-White, 2007; Li, 2009; Lichter et al, 2010; Massey and Denton, 1988; Stillwell and Hussain, 2010; Teixeira, 2007). Due to a large number of reasons, ethnic minorities do not move out of the city at the same pace as does the majority population (Hou, 2006; Logan et al, 1996). Discrimination in the housing market, a lack of public housing, lower socio-economic status and wealth, and also the preference for staying with people of the same ethnic background all rate amongst the most common reasons for ethnic minorities not moving as quickly as the majority population (Bobo and Zubrinsky, 1996; Bonvalet et al, 1995; Krysan and Farley, 2002; Pamuk, 2004; Randolph and Holloway, 2005).

Even if people of minority populations do move to the suburbs, members of the majority population tend to do so at a greater pace. The term 'white flight' describes the majority population's tendency to move out of areas that have a larger concentration of minorities (Bolt et al, 2008; Crowder et al, 2011; Frey and Liaw, 1998; van Ham and Clark, 2009; van Ham and Feijten, 2008). This does not only happen in dynamics between the core city and the suburbs. The formation of what can be termed 'ethnoburbs' is not uncommon in a single suburban area in which one or the other ethnic group are dominant and ethnic workplaces, churches, schools, and leisure facilities are established (Barrett and McEvoy, 2006; Li, 2009; Lichter et al, 2010; Munoz, 2011). Similar ethno-spatial processes also take place in the Tallinn urban area (Tammaru et al, 2014). Ethnic minorities, especially Russian-speakers, are more likely to remain in Tallinn and, when moving into the suburbs, they are more likely to settle in areas that already have a high presence of Russian-speakers and a Russian-speaking infrastructure.

2.4. Leisure time ethnic segmentation and segregation

Both in Estonia and elsewhere in Europe, there tends to be a strong overlap between income inequalities, socio-economic residential segregation, and ethnic residential segregation (Tammaru et al, 2016). Because income and place of residence determine a lot of what people can do, we can also expect ethnic differences to play a part in free time activities. However, while many structural barriers determine an ethnic group's place of residence, school choices, and job selection, and it takes time and a great deal of effort to make changes in them, many leisure time activities have a much lower threshold for participation. Leisure time therefore also has a strong potential to bring together different ethnic groups (Boschman and van Middelkoop, 2009; Shinew et al, 2004; Silm and Ahas, 2014a), and can therefore help to break the vicious circle of segregation by facilitating integration.

We distinguish between segmentation and segregation when talking about ethnic differences during leisure time (Figure 1). Segmentation of leisure shows the structural differences in leisure time activities – different ethnic groups take on different forms of activity which means that there is no opportunity for meeting people from other ethnic groups. Leisure segregation shows spatial differences between ethnic groups in terms of leisure activity locations. Any decrease in ethnic segregation during leisure time activities is conditional on the decrease in the ethnic segmentation of leisure time activities. For example, when members of the ethnic majority population like to play basketball and members of an ethnic minority population like to play football they cannot meet up in training clubs and on sports grounds. However, any decrease in ethnic segmentation in leisure time activities does not necessarily lead to a decrease of ethnic segregation in leisure time activities when the activities, even if they are similar, take place in different locations. For ethnic integration – we use the term 'integration' in opposition to the terms 'segmentation' and 'segregation' – to occur during one's free time, both ethnic segmentation and ethnic segregation have to be overcome. In terms of ethnic integration, one's activities need to be the same and individuals from different ethnic groups need to meet at the same place and at the same time.

There are two main mechanisms that lead to ethnic segmentation and segregation: marginalisation and preferences. Marginalisation entails two aspects, these being a lower socio-economic status which does not permit minorities to be able to afford more costly activities, and discrimination (Washburne, 1978; Washburne and Wall, 1980). Ethnic minorities tend to be over-represented in the secondary employment market where salaries are generally lower (Doeringer and Piore, 1971), which in turn limits the options of such workers to spend their leisure time in a similar way to that of the ethnic majority population. The second barrier relates to prejudice and discrimination, either actual or perceived, which limits the options of minorities during their leisure time (Stodolska and Walker, 2007; Hibbler and Shinew, 2002; Valentine and McDonald, 2004). As leisure time has become an important part of people's personal measure of

success in life (Roberts, 2004), and it is the basis of socialisation, lifestyle, and life satisfaction (Esteve et al, 1999; West, 1977; Roberts et al, 2001), it is clear that ethnic marginalisation limits leisure time integration (Kirchberg, 2007; Stalker, 2011; Wippler, 1990).

It is not only negative practices that stem from marginalisation and discrimination which end up in the separation of ethnic groups during leisure time. Ethnic differences in terms of one's preferences when it comes to spending leisure time in a specific way also contribute to the segmentation and segregation of leisure along ethnic lines (Washburne and Wall, 1980). An immigrant population will arrive in a host country with its own cultural background and related traditions, values, beliefs, norms, and socialisation practices (Allison, 1988; Floyd, 1999), and it will remain in contact with its social networks in its country of origin which, nowadays, is made especially easy thanks to modern forms of information and telecommunication technologies that are generally free of charge to use (Taşan-Kok et al, 2013). Leisure activities can help immigrants and ethnic minorities to maintain their identity, cultural values, and sense of belonging (Floyd and Gramann, 1993; Shaull and Gramann, 1998). Even so, leisure activities can be used by a minority population as means to 'fit in' with the host country (Tirone and Pedlar, 2005), or they can take on the leisure activities that are popular in the host society because they no longer have access to their old forms of activity (Stodolska, 2000).

2.5 Objectives and research questions

Due to growing levels of migration around the world, the question of how immigrants and ethnic minorities integrate has entered more deeply into the minds of researchers and decision-makers. As (a) participation in many leisure time activities has relatively low barriers (such as cost); (b) free time activities are easily changeable by the individual; and (c) choosing the location and companions during leisure time is based on free will, it is important to learn more about the role of out-of-home and out-of-work activities for the integration of ethnic minorities. **The main objective of this thesis is to better understand the potential of free time activities in terms of breaking the vicious circle of ethnic segregation by focussing on the interplay between leisure and residential segregation.** In order to be able to achieve that objective, four research questions are posed which stem from the currently-available literature and within the context of Estonia itself.

1. How did breaking away from the Soviet Union and the subsequent social transformations impact upon social and ethnic inequalities and segregation? This research question is answered in publications I and II.
2. What are the differences between the leisure time activities of Estonians and Russians? This research question is answered in publications III and IV.

3. How have the ethnic differences in leisure time segmentation and segregation evolved with time? This research question is answered in Publication IV.
4. How are ethnic residential segregation and ethnic segregation during leisure time related to each other? This research question is answered in Publication IV.

3. DATA AND METHODS

3.1 Data

In order to achieve the objectives behind this thesis, a number of different data sources have been used to provide insights to the mechanisms which control ethnic differences in leisure time activities. They range from aggregate data (censuses) to individual-level data (survey results and in-depth interviews), and they allow for comparisons to be made between CEE countries, various regions around Estonia, and different neighbourhoods in Estonia's capital city of Tallinn.

3.1.1 Aggregate data for European countries and Estonia

Country-level Gini indexes which originate from Eurostat are used in Publication I in order to compare income inequalities in different CEE countries. Estonian census data for 2000 was used in Publication II. Respondents were asked for their place of residence in 2000 and, retrospectively, in 1989 (this being the point in time at which Estonia regained its independence). Two groups of people were retained in the analysis: the 'stayers' (amounting to 660,495 people), who lived in core cities both during 1989 and during the year of the census, and the 'suburbanisers' (amounting to 36,626 people), who lived in core cities in 1989 but who had moved into suburban areas by 2000. The data that was gained from the analysis makes it possible to compare these two residential strategies in terms of a good many background variables, the most important of these being ethnic background, but also by age, gender, education, and other basic variables. Estonian census data involves all Estonian permanent residents and allows very good comparison to be made between different population groups.

3.1.2 Time-use survey data

In 2000 and 2010, the Estonian Statistical Office conducted a time-use survey according to the principles that were established by the Harmonised European Time-Use Survey, as suggested by Eurostat. The information that was gathered by this survey was used in publications III and IV. The questionnaire and methodology for the two surveys had only minor changes between them, so the information gathered by each is easily comparable. The resultant database consisted of a total of 6,438 individuals who were aged fifteen years or more in 2000, and 7,225 individuals who were fifteen or over in 2010. Interviews were conducted face-to-face, and respondents were able to respond in Estonian or Russian, which means that any language barrier was eliminated and Russian-speaking people were not excluded from the sample. As Publication IV only focussed on the city of Tallinn, the residents of Tallinn were extracted from the

database as a whole. This left 1,161 people in the database for the year 2000 and 810 individuals in the 2010 database. The ethnic proportions of the sample correspond to the actual population split in Tallinn in the given years.

3.1.3 In-depth interviews

In order to understand people's real experiences in terms of inter-ethnic relationships and their perceptions of them in Tallinn, a total of 24 in-depth interviews were conducted with the residents of Tallinn. The ethnic split for the interviewees was as follows: eleven were Estonians, eleven were Russians, and two were of a mixed ethnic background. The respondents were found by means of mixed methods. Some were found through a process known as 'snowballing' (being very careful to observe that any new interviewee was as far removed from the initial respondent's circle of friends as was possible), but in order to add a certain randomising factor and to enrich the sample with people who were living in different neighbourhoods, some interviewees were also recruited on the streets. All interviews took place in the language in which the respondent felt most comfortable communicating.

Interviews were semi-structured. The most important discussion points were given to the interviewers to keep track of during the interview, but the course of the interview was partially set by the interviewee and their experiences, meaning that the most vivid memories and topics were covered in more detail and those topics that were not important to the interviewee were only briefly discussed.

3.2 Methods

3.2.1 Logistic regression analysis

Logistic regression analysis was used in publications II, III, and IV. The logistic regression models allow independent variables and dependent variables to be defined, with the latter being influenced by the former. In Publication II, multinomial logistic regression models were used since the dependent variable had three categories (remain in the core city, move to a rural municipality within the suburban ring, or move to an urban municipality within the suburban ring). The first model included the population as a whole, while the second model included only ethnic minorities. Binary logistic regression modelling was used in Publication III. Participation in twelve different activities was analysed for dependent variables, and for each activity a separate model was drawn up. These activities included cultural activities (cultural activities in total, theatres, concerts, cinemas, museums, and art galleries), entertainment activities (entertainment activities in total, restaurants/pubs, nightclubs/discos, casinos, and funfairs/zoos), spending time in the countryside, and carrying out sporting activities. As it was necessary to know whether or not a person had participated in one of the aforementioned

activity areas during the previous year, the binary logistic regression model was found to best suit the purpose as it only allows control to be established over the state between two options (in the current case this means that an individual participated at least once or did not participate at all). Dependent variables were chosen to meet the most common segmentation reasons to be found in the available literature. They range from gender, age, education, etc, to the geographic location of the individual's residence. Another important variable was the year in which the survey was conducted. In Publication IV the same models were used as in Publication III. The only change was that only residents of Tallinn were included in the analysis.

3.2.2 Thematic analysis of the in-depth interviews

Interviews were conducted both in Estonian and other languages (mostly Russian). All interviews that were not conducted in Estonian were translated into Estonian. Following that, all interviews were transcribed and analysed by using thematic analysis. Coded into this were areas such as different leisure activities and activity places, other domains of life in which inter-ethnic contacts have emerged, and the most common attitudes towards the other predominant ethnic group, along with others. The codes provided some perspective of the most important topics for both ethnic groups when discussing inter-ethnic relationships. In order to be able to illustrate these topics and attitudes, a few quotes were selected and translated into English.

4. RESULTS

4.1 Residential segregation and suburbanisation in Tallinn

Changes in levels of residential segregation in Tallinn during the course of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries are different from those experienced by cities in North America and western Europe. Being part of the Soviet Union for almost five decades in the twentieth century had its impact on segregation patterns in Estonia and in CEE countries in general; income inequalities and residential segregation along socio-economic lines remained very low. During the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s, income inequalities as measured by the Gini Index were below 25 in many CEE countries, including Hungary, the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia (Publication I). After the collapse of the Soviet Union, income inequalities began to rise, especially in the Baltic countries where state regulation and former safety nets were largely demolished (Cerami, 2010). Estonia experienced the biggest jump in the Gini Index between 1990 and 1995, rising from 23 to 37. Rising income inequalities in the 1990s paved the way for residential segregation in the 2000s and beyond as people with a higher socio-economic status started to move from large housing estates to better quality housing in more desirable locations. The dissimilarity index, which measures levels of segregation, increased from less than thirty in 2001 to close to fifty in Tallinn between the two last census rounds (Publication I). In those capital cities of the other CEE countries which have been included in the comparative study, the rise in income inequality did not translate into a similarly rapid residential segregation in the 2000s. This could be due to one of two reasons. In Visegrad countries the growth of income inequality was less rapid than in the Baltic States, and the economic recovery from the crises of the 1990s was slower in other Baltic States than it was in Estonia. Due to various factors (such as uncertainty about the future, an underdeveloped mortgage system, and the relatively small volume of newly-constructed buildings), massive residential segregation was postponed.

While ethnic differences in residential mobility in Tallinn are not very pronounced (Mägi, 2018), there are significant ethnic differences in suburbanisation (Publication II). Firstly, Estonians are more likely to suburbanise. This means that Russians tend to remain in central Tallinn where their concentration increases due to the outflow of Estonians towards the suburban ring. Secondly, there are important ethnic differences in residential choice in the suburbs. Estonians have a significantly higher probability of moving home to the semi-rural areas of the suburban ring than do Russians, while Russians who move out of central Tallinn tend to settle in satellite towns around it. Ethnic differences in suburbanisation remain important even when monitoring various socio-economic characteristics. This suggests that ethnic minorities settle close to other members of the same minority population, aiming for those settlements that provide community support and infrastructure that matches their ethnic background such

as, for example Russian-language kindergarten and schools, a Russian language workplace environment, and Russian-language leisure time facilities.

4.2 What influences participation in leisure time activities?

Various factors serve to influence participation in different leisure time activities. Publication III analyses ethnic segmentation in leisure time activities. For that purpose, twelve different activity types were modelled. The main findings show that the strongest predictor of participation in leisure time activities is age. Younger people participate more in different activities than do older people. Each step in the course of one's life makes people more passive when it comes to participating in out-of-home leisure activities. The differences are at their smallest in cultural activities, but it is still stronger than any other variable. Socio-economic variables such as education and higher level occupations are also strong predictors for participating in leisure activities. The only education and occupation-neutral activity is visiting casinos, but very few people do this anyway. Otherwise, the higher the occupation and the level of education, the more likely people are to participate in all leisure time activities. As income is included into the models as a control variable, these results mean that people with a different socio-economic status (in terms of occupation or education) have different values and preferences in their lives, which in turn means that leisure really could be considered as the 'long arm of work' (cf. Meissner, 1971).

Place of residence also has a strong effect on leisure time use. Living in Tallinn or in north-eastern Estonian towns increases the probability that one will participate in all leisure activities. In other words, opportunity structure matters, and in rural areas with very few opportunities to participate in out-of-home leisure activities, people spend more time at home. This sheds light on an aspect of leisure that is not so well known that place of residence can influence the way in which people spend their leisure time. Disregarding education, income, and work status, the place of residence and therefore residential segregation has a strong impact on leisure time use. This implies that leisure could also be considered as being the 'long arm of home'.

The focus of the current thesis is on ethnic differences in leisure time activities. For this reason leisure time activities also formed our main variable of interest and all other variables were entered step-wise (the final models were discussed above), in order to understand how they may mediate the relationship between ethnic background and participation in various leisure time activities. When it came to modelling this an especially strong emphasis was placed on studying the link between ethnic background and leisure. In the baseline model with ethnic background shown alone and no control variables present, we find that Estonians have a higher probability of participating in almost all leisure time activities, except going to the casinos, funfairs, or the zoo, or spending time in the countryside, all of which are more popular amongst Russians. After adding place of residence to the model, the probability increases of Estonians

participating in almost all activities, revealing the ‘city effect’ in the ethnic background-alone model. In this case, ethnic minorities live mainly in Tallinn and north-eastern Estonian towns where there are more leisure facilities and events in general, while Estonians are over-represented in rural areas where such opportunities are scarce. This means that Russians actually have better opportunities to be able to participate in out-of-home leisure activities than do Estonians because they live closer to various urban amenities. In order to find out what role is played by the competing views – being marginalised versus preference – in shaping ethnic segmentation in leisure time activities, different socio-economic variables (including income) were included in the next model. Ethnic differences remained almost unchanged, with Estonians still having a greater probability of participating in almost all leisure activities.

4.3 Does time reduce ethnic differences in leisure?

From the models that have been included in Publication III, it became clear that, among other variables, time had a role to play. In 2010 there was greater chance of everybody participating in almost all leisure activities than they did in 2000, meaning that options for partaking in leisure activities and leisure culture in general have grown in volume and importance. So the question is how this may have impacted upon ethnic differences in leisure. Since place of residence and related opportunity structures matter, we included in the research population only those people who were living in Tallinn. In addition, as Tallinn is almost equally split between Estonians and minorities in terms of population figures, both groups have a good chance of being able to meet people from the other ethnic background.

In Publication IV, models have been used that are identical to those of previous publications. The only notable difference is that the models are being run separately using the 2000 and 2010 datasets and only for Tallinn, which allows a comparison to be made between these two years for ethnic groups that were facing a similar opportunity structure. The findings show important changes over time in terms of ethnic differences in leisure time activities. In 2000, ethnic segmentation was high in most leisure time activities, with only two activities being ethnicity neutral (going to restaurants and to casinos). In 2010, ethnic segmentation had disappeared in most leisure time activities; the only activity in which Estonians have a statistically significantly higher probability of participating in is going to restaurants (Publication IV, table 2). But does the end of ethnic segmentation in leisure time activities mean that the ethnic groups now meet each other during their leisure time activities and have meaningful interactions? We explored this further through qualitative interviews.

The results from the qualitative interviews in Publication IV show that the leisure places that Estonians and Russians visit are still ethnically segregated, and very often inter-ethnic interactions remain short and superficial. For many interviewees, their home and home neighbourhood serve as the foci of their social

life. They have either purposefully or coincidentally moved into a neighbourhood in which friends and family members live nearby. It is the coincidental nature of this that especially serves to indicate that similar people prefer to live in similar neighbourhoods. As mostly Estonian and mostly Russian neighbourhoods exist in Tallinn, these neighbourhoods have their own ethnic infrastructure that keeps people even more close to home in their leisure time activities, thereby strengthening the connection between place of residence and leisure time activity sites. In short, while leisure time activities may have converged between ethnic groups, segregation remains high, and often even the style and scene of the particular place in which people spend their free time fits only with the taste of one or other ethnic group. Our interviews show that Russians like more glamorous and, so-to-say, over-the-top places while Estonians like a more modest and retro style of interior. In addition to style, the unwritten behavioural codes in Estonian and Russian places are sometimes different, making it difficult to feel comfortable for people of the other ethnic group. Additionally, the choice of radio stations and the language of one's music matters in terms of choosing free time activity sites such as cafeterias.

In addition to these segregation patterns, with Estonians and Russians opting for different leisure time activity sites, a micro level spatiotemporal segregation also occurs in Tallinn; both Estonians and ethnic minorities may visit the same place but they do so at different times of the day or week. Even if people of different ethnic groups attend the same event at the same time, Estonians still prefer to communicate to Estonians and Russians to Russians, so that co-presence does not lead to interaction. This shows strong a homophily effect as people like to communicate with people who are similar to themselves so that they do not have to step out of their comfort zones. Such instances are very common during sporting activities, events that are organised by workplaces, and at public parties. Although such segregation-related practices are part of the experience of most interviewees, there are also some respondents who had noticed that, sometimes, leisure activities really do lead towards true inter-ethnic interaction such as, for example, during sporting activities where there is a shared goal or in some progressive bars that have managed to bring people together from different ethnic or socio-economic backgrounds based on their shared music tastes. However, such ethnic mixing is often illusionary in the sense that they attract only well-assimilated Russians who feel more Estonian than Russian, with the result that such locations are still essentially fully Estonian. In other words, Estonians are more likely to undertake shared leisure time activities and interact with ethnic minorities if the minorities in question are absolutely fluent in Estonian and do not reveal or expose their ethnic difference in any way.

5. DISCUSSION

Publication I focussed on the overall change in income inequalities and changes in residential segregation in the Baltic States and Visegrad countries. Income inequalities in Estonia and in CEE countries in general were at a very low level under the central planning system (cf Szydlík, 1994; Psacharopoulos, 1994). This system, which involved central housing construction and an allocation system, limited people's mobility choices, contributed to creating socially-mixed residential buildings and neighbourhoods and, therefore, limited residential segregation (Medgyesi and Toth, 2012; Pavelson, 1997). This changed quickly after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the break-up of the Soviet Union. Estonia experienced extremely rapid GDP growth in the 1990s, but not everybody was able to benefit from it. Russian-speaking minorities which had immigrated into Estonia during the Soviet period lost their former status as the majority population (Laitin, 1998) and they suffered more from the loss of industrial jobs when compared to Estonians (Lindemann, 2009; Toomet, 2011; Titma et al, 1998), whilst they also suffered more due to their lack of proficiency in the Estonian language (Vihalemm, 1999). As a result of economic restructuring, income inequalities grew rapidly, overlapping strongly with ethnic inequalities.

There was a delay in converting rising income inequalities into rising residential segregation, (Marcinczak et al, 2016; Golubchikov and Phelps, 2011; Kährlik and Tammaru, 2008; Ourednicek, 2007). Although the first signs of increased residential segregation appeared during the first decade after independence was regained, the changes were small to start with; this is a phenomenon that has been labelled a 'paradox' of post-socialist segregation (Sykora, 2009). The movement of high-income people away from housing estates to the formerly neglected neighbourhoods of the inner city and the suburban ring with its detached housing kept levels of residential segregation low in the 1990s despite rapid changes in the employment market and an increase in income inequalities. After the first decade of social transformation, the uncertainties regarding the future began to diminish and all elements of the housing market (including the mortgage system) were in place to help intensify residential mobility and deliver the housing boom. This resulted in a rapid rise in segregation both inside the city limits in the form of gentrification, and also on the outskirts of the cities in the form of suburbanisation. The result was that, by 2010, Tallinn was not only the most segregated city in the CEE countries, but that it was already competing with big European cities like London (Marcinczak et al, 2016).

The results in Publication II show that native Estonians are much more likely to move into the suburbs than are Russian minorities, a process which is similar in many other urban regions with a high presence of immigrants, or ethnic and racial minorities (Hou, 2006; Logan et al, 1996; Bolt et al, 2008; Crowder et al, 2011; Frey and Liaw, 1998; van Ham and Clark, 2009; van Ham and Feijten, 2008). We tested the underlying mechanisms for the model of vicious circles of segregation (Tammaru et al, 2016; van Ham and Tammaru,

2016; van Ham et al, 2018), in other words the role of economic resources versus preferences when it comes to generating segregation. As the models in Publication II were monitored for socio-economic differences, including income, we have to reject the economic resources argument. Rather, this has more to do with preferences towards remaining in the city with one's own group members and opportunity structures, since cities provide elements of ethnic infrastructure such as sites for Russian-language kindergartens, schools, work environments, and leisure time activities. Such explanations are further confirmed by the fact that even when minorities do move out from Tallinn to other core cities, they move to the satellite towns in which a significant number of minorities already reside and an ethnic infrastructure is in place.

In order for integration to be able to take place, members of both the ethnic minority and the majority population first need to undertake the same activities. Then they need to meet each other during those activities, which means taking part in the same leisure activities (in order to overcome leisure segmentation) in the same place and at the same time (in order to overcome leisure segregation). Leisure is a good life domain when it comes to examining changes in the ethnic co-presence and ethnic integration because changing leisure time activities is easier than changing something such as a school, home, or job, and even more so because of the voluntary nature of one's free time activities (Shinew et al, 2004). There are two competing views when it comes to the mechanisms that function between ethnic segmentation and ethnic segregation during free time; different ethnic groups may take on different leisure activities due to their position in employment terms and their income, or due to their personal preferences (Washburne, 1978; Washburne and Wall, 1980; Meissner, 1971; Stodolska and Walker, 2007; Gentin, 2011; Floyd, 2007; Shinew et al, 2004a; Silm and Ahas, 2014a, 2014b).

The results in Publication III show that Estonians more often participate in most leisure time activities than do Russians, with the only exceptions being visiting casinos and funfairs which seem to be ethnicity neutral activities. However, only a small portion of Estonian residents participate in these two activities, which means that their integrative power remains small. The only more commonly practiced ethnic background-neutral activity is outdoor recreation, which has yielded mixed results in other contexts (Peters, 2010; Shinew et al, 2004b; Floyd and Shinew, 1999; Johnson et al, 1998). Ethnic differences remain almost unchanged in the full model with all filters in place, including income, with Estonians still having a greater probability of participating in almost all leisure activities. Since income and other socio-economic factors do not help to explain ethnic segmentation during leisure time, it follows that the lower levels of participation by Russians in terms of leisure time activities is mostly caused by differences in preference, and not by a sense of being marginalised (cf Li et al, 2007).

Time is an important factor which influences the integration processes. It would be reasonable to assume that, as time passes, the chances improve for integration to take place. When zooming in on Estonia's capital city where the

share of Estonians and Russians is almost equal, it appears that, in the case of Estonians between the years 2000 and 2010, ethnic segmentation during free time decreased significantly (Publication IV). However, overcoming segmentation and participating in the same leisure activities is only the first step towards ethnic integration during one's free time. For true integration to take place, the activities need to take place at the same time and in the same place in order for ethnic groups to be able to meet and interact (Figure 1). The results of the qualitative data analysis in Publication IV show that although the activities are very similar for Estonians and Russians, segregation is still high and occurs at different geographic levels, with Estonians and Russians spending their free time in different neighbourhoods, or in different venues that are located in the same neighbourhood, and even when attending the same event, members of different ethnic groups cluster together and do not actually talk or interact with members of the other ethnic group.

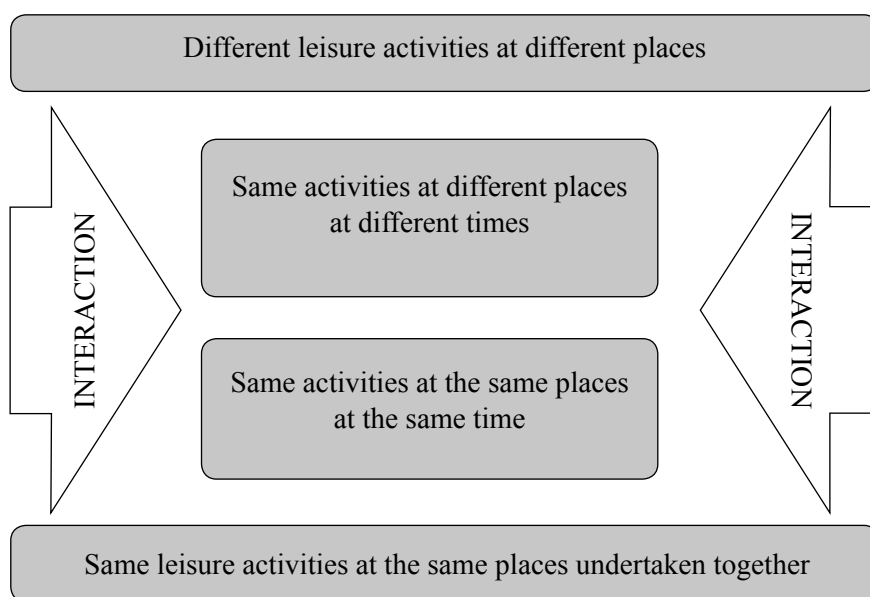


Figure 1. The stages of ethnic integration and inter-ethnic interaction during leisure time.

Such a behaviour pattern refers to social closure, which runs across ethnic lines and is especially common amongst Estonians who for the most part establish relationships with those ethnic minorities who are very well integrated or even assimilated into Estonian society. In order for Russians to be welcomed into the social networks of Estonians, minorities have to be fluent in Estonian and even have to distance themselves from other minorities who are not as integrated as they are themselves. Language barriers are therefore still important in facilitating these divisions and ensuring social closure between ethnic groups because it is more convenient to communicate in one's own language as it gives one more

freedom of expression (cf Stodolska, 2007). In the case of Tallinn, ethnic preferences and language differences sort ethnic groups into different leisure time activity sites. Even when going to a café, the milieu and atmosphere of a physical location – in terms of furniture, music, or other elements of the atmosphere – separates Estonians and Russian into different venues and contributes to the forming of ethnolinguistically separated ‘leisure enclaves’ (cf Chavez, 2000).

One of the important topics to be focused upon in this thesis is related to inter-domain relations, or the question of whether there is a connection between forms of segregation in different life domains – work, place of residence, or leisure. Previous research has shown that leisure could be considered a ‘long arm of work’ (Meissner, 1971), something that was also confirmed by our analysis. The findings in Publication IV further show that people’s residential neighbourhood also has a strong level of effect on leisure time activities. Many people – especially children, the elderly, low-income groups, and ethnic minorities (van Kempen and Wissink, 2014) – do not necessarily communicate or interact actively with their immediate neighbours, but instead they ‘consume’ the local leisure infrastructure and meet people who are around them every day, which in turn also shapes groups with whom they spend their leisure time. The results confirm the findings by Silm and Ahas (2014a) which state that home is an important anchor point in people’s lives. For this reason the term the ‘long arm of home’ is introduced to underline the importance of leisure. Furthermore, as predicted by the conceptual framework in the vicious circle of segregation (Tamaru et al, 2017; van Ham et al, 2018), the links between different life domains can operate in both directions. Our findings show that people who are living in the same neighbourhood have an elevated probability of meeting and interacting with each other. Our findings further show that the available opportunity structures such as the availability of ethnic kindergartens, schools, and leisure time activity sites may affect the residential (im)mobility of people. It is especially accurate to say that members of the ethnic minority population either stay in or move into neighbourhoods in which such an ethnic infrastructure is available. As seen previously, when choosing a new place of residence the presence of an ethnic infrastructure and other ethnic minorities all matter. Ethnically-biased workplaces, neighbours, and leisure venues also shape the formation of new social networks much more easily and in a more convenient fashion.

It can be seen that the vicious circle of segregation is reproduced thanks to the sorting processes into neighbourhoods, workplaces, and leisure time activity sites, and also due to the contextual effects that people get from these activity sites by interacting there with other people. Residential segregation or the sorting of different ethnic groups into different neighbourhoods shapes the number of available ethnic leisure venues and their viability, and also participation in ethnic leisure activities. The more one neighbourhood has an ethnic leisure infrastructure in place and the more viable it is, the more it affects the sorting of different ethnic groups into different neighbourhoods. Such sorting and segregation

processes continue even when segmentation in leisure time activities disappears, and this is irrespective of income – instead of ethnic marginality, ethnic differences in terms of preferences and the existence of ethnic opportunity structures are more important in understanding ethnic segregation in leisure time activities.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Migration has been growing globally. This growth raises questions about integrating an immigrant population into its new host society. This thesis contributes to a better understanding of how segregation is produced and reproduced across different life domains by focussing on ethnic differences in leisure time activities. In order to do so, four research questions were posed and answered in publications. Firstly, how did the break-up of the Soviet Union and the subsequent social transformations impact upon social and ethnic inequalities and segregation? Secondly, what are the differences between the leisure time activities of Estonians and those of Russians? Thirdly, how have the ethnic differences in leisure time segmentation and segregation evolved over time? Fourthly, how are ethnic residential segregation and ethnic segregation related to each other during leisure time-related activities?

The main findings are as follows. Firstly, both income inequality and, more especially, levels of residential segregation grew faster in Tallinn than they did in any of the capital cities of the Visegrad countries or in the other Baltic States. Levels of ethnic segregation also increased in Tallinn. Estonians adapted better to transformations in the employment market and, when an opportunity appeared, they were more likely than members of the ethnic minority population to move out to better quality housing in inner city neighbourhoods and in the suburban ring. Ethnic minorities were more likely to remain in those neighbourhoods in Tallinn which had a high share of Russian language-speakers and an availability of their own minority ethnic infrastructure (such as Russian language schools and leisure time activity sites), and if they were to move into the suburban ring they tended to settle in satellite towns which already had a high share of Russian speakers and an availability of their own minority ethnic infrastructure. In short, living close to members of one's own group and living close to one's own ethnic infrastructure is an important factor that shapes residential mobility for the minority population. As Russian-language schools and leisure time facilities form the backbone of the ethnic infrastructure, a vicious circle of segregation is about to form. The more ethnically segregated a neighbourhood, the more viable is the ethnic infrastructure, and the more likely are people to spend their leisure time with members of their own group which in turn can lead to higher levels of residential segregation (in terms of parents) and school segregation (in terms of children). Segregation patterns are therefore reproduced across generations.

Secondly, ethnic segmentation has largely disappeared during leisure time activities for ethnic groups which are living in the same city (Tallinn). This is the first precondition for ethnic integration during leisure time. However, the third main finding shows that those activities in which minorities and the majority population participate can be similar, but they still take place in different places. Segregation occurs at different geographic levels: in neighbourhoods, in the various leisure venues within one neighbourhood, and even within one event.

The power of homophily is quite strong here, and is difficult to overcome as people prefer to remain within their comfort zone and tend not to want to risk putting themselves in an awkward situation. In Tallinn, ethnic-related leisure time venues are quite common. This often boils down to preferences towards the milieu and atmosphere of the specific place, as taste differ between Estonians and Russians. But even when there are places or events at which Estonians and Russians will both participate, they tend to interact with people of their own ethnic background. Here, the language barrier is often the most important factor at play, as communicating in a foreign language is not preferable when you want to relax and have a good time with your friends. Nevertheless, some signs of inter-ethnic interaction are also evident here, along with the formation of deep and meaningful contacts. However, this happens mainly between Estonians and strongly-assimilated Russians who speak almost perfect Estonian and who even distance themselves from the 'typical' Russians. This indicates that assimilation is the expected route into Estonian society rather than integration.

To conclude, the main findings of the thesis show that, although leisure segmentation has mostly disappeared, ethnic segregation is still high. It is linked to preference as well as to ethnic residential segregation. The new population census that is to be held in 2020, as well as a time use survey, could shed more light on the most recent changes in ethnic segregation in the various life domains. Further segregation studies should pay more attention to the links between different domains in people's everyday lives as these are strongly interconnected. Segregation in one domain can overspill into other domains, creating a vicious circle of segregation. In addition, more in-depth interviews and group discussions could shed more light on the deeper interaction between Estonians and ethnic minorities.

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SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Segregatsiooni nõiaring ning vaba aja tegevuste roll selles

Migratsioon on globaalselt kasvamas ning see tõstatab teravalt küsimuse immigrandide integreerumisest sihtriigis. Samal ajal kasvab ülemaailmselt ka sotsiaalmajanduslik ebavõrdsus, mis sageli kattub etniliste joontega muutus rahvusvähemuste olukorra veelgi haavatavamaks. Järjest enam on hakatud uurima, kuidas on segregatsioon erinevates eluvaldkondades seotud ning on täheldatud, et segregatsioon ühes valdkonnas kandub üle teistesse ning niivõrd sügavast segregatsioonist on raske välja pääseda, mistõttu kanduvad segregatsiooni mustrid edasi üle mitmete põlvkondade moodustades segregatsiooni nõiaringi.

Tänapäevases tarbimisühiskonnas on vaba aeg muutunud inimeste elus järjest olulisemaks. Kuidas ja kellega vaba aega veedetakse, mõjutab inimeste enesehinnangut, identiteeti ning eluga rahulolu. Lisaks on paljudel vaba aja tegevustel oluliselt väiksem sisenemisbarjäär kui näiteks töökohtadel või eluaseme valikul, mistõttu võiks just vaba aeg olla see igapäevane valdkond, kus rühvgruppide vaheline sügav ja tähenduslik suhtlus alguse võiks saada. Teisest küljest on ka siin siiski erinevaid takistavaid tegureid. Esiteks võivad kontaktide tekkimist segada kaudsed või otsesed diskrimineerivad praktikad rühvühemuste suhtes, teiseks võivad erinevatel etnilistel gruppidel olla erinevad eelistused vaba aja tegevuste suhtes, mistõttu ei satuta tegema samu tegevusi samas kohas, mis on oluline integratsiooni eeltingimus.

Käesolev väitekiri panustab paremasse arusaamisesse sellest, kuidas segregatsiooni toodetakse ja taastoodetakse erinevates eluvaldkondades keskendudes rühvuserinevustele vaba aja tegevustes. Selle eesmärgi saavutamiseks püstitati neli uurimisküsimust, millele publikatsioonides vastus leiti. Esiteks, kuidas Nõukogude Liidust lahkumine ning sellega seosnevad sotsiaalsed muutused mõjutasid sotsiaalset ning etnilist ebavõrdsust ja segregatsiooni? Teiseks, millised on erinevused eestlaste ja venelaste vaba aja tegevuste vahel? Kolmandaks, kuidas on etnilised erinevused vaba aja tegevustes ajas muutunud? Neljandaks, kuidas on etniline eluaseme segregatsioon ja etniline segregatsioon vaba aja tegevustes omavahel seotud?

Uurimisküsimustele vastamiseks kasutati mitmesuguseid andmeallikaid: riiklikke indekseid, Eesti 2000.a rahva- ja eluruumide loenduse andmeid, Eesti ajakasutuse uuringu andmeid (2000. ja 2010.a) ning lisaks viidi läbi 22 kvalitatiiivset intervjuud Tallinna elanikega. Sellised mitmetasandilised andmed võimaldavad segregatsiooni protsessi laiapõhjaliselt mõtestada ning vaadelda nähtuse erinevaid tahke.

Peamised tulemused on alljärgnevad. Esiteks, nii sissetulekute ebavõrdsus kui ka eriti eluaseme segregatsioon kasvavad taasiseseks Tallinnas kiiremini kui Visegrad riikide ning teiste Baltimaade pealinnades. Etniline segregatsioon kasvab Tallinnas samuti kiiresti. Eestlased kohanesid paremini tööjõuturu transformeerumisega ning kui võimalus avanes, hakkasid nad suurema tõenäosusega kui etnilised vähemused liikuma parema kvaliteediga eluasemetesse

nii linnasüdames kui ka eeslinnadesse. Etnilised vähemused jäid suurema tõenäosusega nendesse Tallinna linnaosadesse, kus oli suur venekeelse elanikkonna osakaal ja rahvuslik infrastruktuur (vene õppekeele koolid ning vaba aja veetmise võimalused), ning kui nad ka liikusid eeslinnade piirkonda, siis nad valisid peamiselt selliseid satelliitlinnasid, kus elas juba suhteliselt suur venekeelne elanikkond ning etniline infrastruktuur oli olemas. Kokkuvõttes selgus, et oma rahvusrühmaga lähestikku elamine ning elamine sellises piirkonnas, kus on juba loodud etniline infrastruktuur, on oluline tegur, mis mõjutab vähemuste elukoha mobiilsust. Kuna vene õppekeele koolid ning vaba aja veetmise asutused moodustavad etnilise infrastruktuuri selgroo, siis siit kujuneb välja segregatsiooni nõiaring. Mida rohkem on linnaosad etniliselt segregeerunud, seda tugevam on sealne etniline infrastruktuur ning seda suurema tõenäosusega veedavad vähemused aega oma rahvuskaaslastega. See omakorda suurendab eluaseme segregatsiooni ning koolide segregatsiooni, mis läbi kanduvad segregatsiooni mustrid läbi mitmete põlvkondade.

Teiseks, etniline vaba aja segmentatsioon ehk struktuurne erinevus vaba aja tegevustes on Eestis tervikuna endiselt püsiv. Eestlastel on suurem tõenäosus osaleda suuremas osas vaba aja tegevustes kui mitte-eestlastel, seda eelkõige kultuuriliste tegevuste osas ning see on seotud eelistuste erinevustega, mitte rahvusvähemuste marginaalse positsiooniga ühiskonnas. Kuid vaadeldes vaid Tallinna, kus rahvuslik koosseis on peaaegu võrdne, siis seal on 2010. aastaks vaba aja segmentatsioon kadunud. See on esimene tingimus selleks, et integratsioon vaba aja tegevustes saaks toimuda. Samas meie kolmas oluline tulemus näitas, et kuigi tegevused on muutunud sarnaseks, toimuvad need siiski erinevates kohtades. Segregatsioon ilmneb erinevatel geograafilistel tasemetel: linnaosade lõikes, vaba aja veetmise asutuste lõikes sama linnaosa piires ning isegi ühe ürituse raames. Etniline homofiilsus omab tugevat jõudu ning sellest on raske läbi murda kuna inimesed eelistavad püsida oma mugavustsoonis ning ei soovi ennast seada potentsiaalselt ebamugavasse olukorda. Seega on Tallinnas etnilised vaba aja veetmise kohad üsna levinud. Tihti eristab neid miljöö ja atmosfäär, mille osas on eestlaste ja venelaste eelistused erinevad. Kuid isegi kui esineb kohti või üritusi, kus eestlased ja venelased mõlemad osalevad, kiputakse suhtlema oma rahvuskaaslastega. Siin on oluliseks faktoriks keelebarjäär kuna võõrkeeles rääkimine pole eelistatud olukorras, kus soovitakse lõõgastuda ning sõpradega meeldivalt aega veeta. Siiski täheldasime ka mõningaid märke etnilisest interaktsioonist ning sügavatest ja olulistest kontaktide loomisest. Tihti juhtusid need aga eestlaste ning tugevalt assimileerunud venelaste vahel, kes rääkisid peaaegu puhtast eesti keelt ning kes distanseerisid ennast “tüüpilistest” venelastest. See näitab, et integreerumise asemel on Eesti ühiskonnas eelistatum vähemuste assimileerumine.

Viimaseks näitasid meie tulemused, et eluaseme segregatsioon ning vaba aja tegevuste erinevused on omavahel seotud. Samas piirkonnas elavatel inimestel on suur võimalus kohtuda ning alustada omavahelist suhtlust ehk naabruskonnas elavad inimesed mõjutavad seda, kellega ja kuidas vaba aega veedetakse. Lisaks, mida tugevam on piirkonna etniline infrastruktuur (seal

asuvad etnilised koolid, lasteaiad, vaba aja veetmise võimalused jmt), seda tugevamalt piirkond segregeerub kuna rahvusvähemused soovivad sinna piirkonda elama jääda või sinna kolida. See aga omakorda kasvatab rahvusgrupi sisest suhtlust ning ei soodusta enamusrahvusega kontakti tekkimist ja integreerumist. Selliselt kujunebki välja segregatsiooni nõiaring.

Kokkuvõtteks, käesoleva väitekirja peamised tulemused näitasid, et kuigi vaba aja tegevuste segmentatsioon on suures osas kadunud, on segregatsioon endiselt kõrgel tasemel. See on seotud nii inimeste eelistustega kui ka eluaseme segregatsiooniga. Uus rahva ja eluruumide loendus 2020.a ning uus vaba aja kasutuse uuring on olulised selleks, et erinevates eluvaldkondades toimunud etnilise segregatsiooni arengutele paremini valgust heita. Edasised segregatsiooni uuringud peaksid rohkem tähelepanu pöörama erinevate eluvaldkondade vahelisele seosele kuna segregatsioon ühes valdkonnas võib üle kanduda teise valdkonda ning tekitada segregatsiooni nõiaringi. Samuti võiksid edasised süvaintervjuud ning grupidiskussioonid antud teemal anda rohkem informatsiooni eestlaste ja vähemuste vahel toimuva suhtluse osas.

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