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SOTSIAALTEADUSTE DISSERTATSIOONID

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**KRISTINA LINDEMANN**

**STRUCTURAL INTEGRATION OF YOUNG RUSSIAN-  
SPEAKERS IN POST-SOVIET CONTEXTS:  
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND TRANSITION  
TO THE LABOUR MARKET**

Tallinn 2013

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Institute of International and Social Studies, Tallinn University

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## LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

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- II. Lindemann, K. and Saar, E. (2012). Ethnic Inequalities in Education: Second Generation Russians in Estonia. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35 (11), 1974–1998. **(Study II)**.
- III. Lindemann, K. and Kogan, I. (2013). The Role of Language Resources in Labour Market Entry: Comparing Estonia and Ukraine. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 39 (1), 105–123. **(Study III)**.
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Lindemann, K. (2011). The Labour Market Success of Ethnic Groups: the Reality and Perceived Perspectives. In: E. Saar (Ed.). *Towards a normal stratification order. Actual and Perceived Social Stratification in Post-Socialist Estonia*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Publishers House, pp. 283–307.

Lindemann, K. and Saar, E. (2011). Ethnic Inequalities in the Educational Career. In: Vetik, R. and Helemäe, J. (Eds.). *The Russian Second Generation in Tallinn and Kohtla-Järve: The TIES Study in Estonia*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, pp. 59–92.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines the structural integration of young Russian-speakers in post-Soviet contexts. I focus on Russian-speakers who have been born in the host country and attained their education during the post-Soviet time. Structural integration can be understood as the outcome of individuals' actions and attainments. In general, the structural integration of ethnic groups refers to inclusion in education, the labour market, the housing market and political institutions (Thompson and Crul 2007). I focus my research on performances at school, educational transitions and labour market entry. In post-Soviet contexts<sup>1</sup>, Estonia is the central theme of my research accompanied by comparisons with Latvia and Ukraine. The key questions are how ethnicity and language skills influence an individual's educational attainment and labour market outcomes and how these influences depend on contextual effects, such as linguistically divided educational systems and linguistic contexts in the labour market. I compare Estonia with Latvia because the language of instruction in schools in both countries is divided between the host nation's language and Russian<sup>2</sup>. I compare Estonia with Ukraine to study how the linguistic context of the labour market influences an individual's access to their first job. In addition, I contrast different Estonian regions to explore the role of local contexts on the outcomes of structural integration.

Compared to Western European countries there is much less research in Eastern Europe about the role of language skills and ethnicity in the processes of educational attainment and labour market entry. Russian-speaking minority populations comprise substantial proportions of the national populations in Estonia, Latvia and Ukraine and the status of this group continues to pose many questions in these three post-Soviet societies. In contrast to the classic paradigms of labour market immigrants in Western European countries, Russian-speakers migrating to these three countries during the Soviet period did not have lower levels of either education or occupational position than the native populations. As Russian language in these countries became dominant in several life spheres Russian-speakers did not have to learn a new language nor did they have to compete with the native populations for the jobs because labour allocation was organised by the Soviet command economy. However, ethnic relations in these three societies changed significantly after the collapse of the Soviet Union, especially in Estonia and Latvia, resulting in a new minority status for Russian-speaking community. The difficulties that immigrants often face in Western labour markets, such as a lack of host country language skills or useful social networks became real for many Russian-speakers in Estonia and Latvia. Therefore, an important question is whether mechanisms of

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<sup>1</sup> In this work, context refers to a social environment or social structures in which action of individuals is embedded.

<sup>2</sup> Henceforth I refer to these systems as being 'linguistically divided educational systems'. However, the language of instruction is partly the language of the host country in many ethnic-minority language schools.

structural integration, which exist in many Western European countries, also apply to second and later generation Russian-speakers in post-Soviet contexts.

Most research agrees that proficiency in the host country's language has a key role in the process of integration, as being a medium of everyday communication, a symbol of belonging and a resource in both the educational system and the labour market (Esser 2006). In several post-Soviet societies, Russian-speaking minorities have the opportunity to attend a Russian school where education is partly in Russian<sup>3</sup>. Although it is often supposed that the lower school performance of ethnic minority students is related to language difficulties, scant research exists about educational performances and transitions within the education system in nations with linguistically divided school systems. The dissertation also contributes to previous, albeit scant, research into the issue of the influence of language proficiencies on labour market entry of second and later generation immigrants. I research jointly the effects of ethnicity as well as proficiency in the languages of the host country and the minority on labour market success in various local and national contexts. Thus, in addition to the relevance of learning to speak the host country language, the question is also whether or not proficiency in the ethnic minority language affects the opportunities of the youth populations of both the ethnic minority and the ethnic majority. In Estonia, particularly, ethnic-linguistic segmentation in the labour market, education system and residential areas provides a contrasting context for researching the importance of ethnicity and language proficiencies.

My dissertation seeks an answer to following questions:

- (1) What roles do language proficiencies and ethnicity have in performances in school, educational transitions and labour market entry? How important is social background for ethnic groups, particularly in the process of educational attainment?
- (2) How do a linguistic division in an educational system and the linguistic context of a labour market affect the outcomes of structural integration? How do these contextual factors interact with language skills and ethnicity in their influence on educational attainment and labour market entry?

Four studies form the foundation for this dissertation. The logic of the analysis follows the life-course of individuals. I start with analysing the *school performance* at the age of 15 years, which occurs just prior to making the choice between general and vocational secondary education in Estonia and Latvia (**Study I**). This research explores how the opportunity to study in a mother-tongue in a linguistically divided education system affects an individual's educational performance and how social

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<sup>3</sup> I use the term 'Russian school' for public schools in Estonia and Latvia where the languages of instruction are partly Russian and partly the language of the host country. Mostly students whose mother tongue is Russian attend these schools. However, the language of instruction was Russian in these schools during the Soviet period.

background and school environment affect performance of ethnic minorities in such school system. I compare Estonia with Latvia in order to discuss how a specific societal context shapes the achievements of ethnic minorities. Next, I study *educational transitions* to upper secondary and higher education in Estonia (**Study II**). The main questions are whether or not educational transitions differ for Russian-speakers and Estonians and how these differences relate to social background, Estonian language competence and citizenship and how the educational system might contribute to the emergence of ethnic inequalities. Finally, educational attainment has significant impact on employment opportunities even though educational success might not always be matched by success within the labour market. Education as well as language proficiencies should be particularly important for labour market entrants as they do not have any significant work experience. Therefore, I analyse *transition from school to work* (**Studies III and IV**). These studies focus on the roles of language proficiencies and ethnicity in the labour market entry process. I discuss the relevance of societal context in a comparative contrast between Estonia and the Ukraine (Study III) and the significance of local ethnic-linguistic environments in a comparative study of Estonian regions (Study IV).

## 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### 2.1. INCLUSION OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN SOCIETY

The *classical assimilation theory* envisions the incorporation of ethnic minorities into the host nation's society as a rather uniform linear process in which immigrants and their children integrate more or less swiftly into the dominant mainstream (Alba and Nee 1997). In particular, assimilation is considered to be part of the process of upward mobility across immigrant generations. In order to achieve this outcome, immigrants and their children undergo acculturation (i.e. acquisition of the host country's language and culture), which is often accompanied by or precedes structural assimilation into the formal organisations of the dominant society (Gordon 1964). The contemporary version of assimilation theory emphasises that mainstream society has become increasingly more diverse and thus, assimilation most importantly involves the decline of ethnic distinction in the life chances of individuals (Alba and Nee 2003). In general, evidence in Western Europe suggests that even ethnic minorities with greater disadvantages experience at least some upward mobility in the second generation (Thompson and Crul 2007; Heath et al. 2008).

In contrast, proponents of *segmented assimilation theory* distinguish three possible modes of incorporation into the host society (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997; Portes et al. 2005; Haller et al. 2011). The first is the classic pattern of straight-line assimilation into mainstream society across generations, which particularly applies to high-skilled minorities. The second is downward assimilation into a permanently impoverished population at the bottom of society, which is a risk for ethnic groups that have few resources and face more prejudice. The third is assimilation into the own ethnic community that might contribute to upward mobility. Retaining strong contacts with an ethnic community might be the best strategy for capitalizing material and moral resources if children of immigrants have access only to the lowest strata of mainstream society (Portes and Zhou 1993). This is particularly so, as the values in the ethnic group may promote the adaptation of the second generation even in unfavourable situations and children might benefit from growing up in an ethnic community (Zhou 1997). However, strong ties with an own ethnic group require investment into resources specific to this group. Esser (2004) argues that investment in ethnic resources may turn into a mobility trap because these resources are only accessible and usable in own ethnic community. Therefore, ethnic resources are clearly less efficient than the resources specific to host society as their usability depends on the size of the ethnic community. Investment into ethnic resources might lead to ethnic segmentation, which means inclusion into the ethnic group but exclusion from the host society. However, multiple inclusions are another possible outcome, which involves an individual's inclusion to both ethnic group as well as to host society (Esser 2006).

Thompson and Crul (2007) find that the largely American theoretical debate about segmented assimilation has focused too much on immigrant group and persistently

underestimated the importance of the *national context*. In a comparison of different European countries, Crul and Vermeulen (2003) emphasise the clear signs of polarisation within some ethnic groups in terms of integration outcomes. Thus, the comparative integration context theory suggests that although agency of individuals and groups is important as they challenge particular opportunities and structural configurations, research needs to focus more attention on institutional arrangements in education, the labour market, housing and legislation. Even if the outcomes of integration are similar in two countries, the mechanisms and institutional settings behind them might be very different (Crul and Schneider 2010).

Nevertheless, research does agree that *reception context* is crucial for integration. Key aspects include the attitudes of authorities and the general public, government policies, the state of economy in the areas immigrants settle and employers' preferences in local labour markets (Haller et al. 2011). Political climate, stereotypes of groups and the ideals of integration in public debate differ greatly across countries (Crul and Schneider 2010). Moreover, the access to citizenship has practical consequences, particularly for employment in the public sector that could be a channel of advancement for ethnic minorities (Heath and Cheung 2007).

Although the societal context provides an important framework for educational attainment and labour market entry, the integration stems from action and attainments of individuals. Thus, the next section discusses the importance of individual level mechanisms and their interaction with contextual influences.

## **2.2. INTEGRATION AS AN OUTCOME OF INDIVIDUAL ACTION**

### **2.2.1. Mechanisms explaining educational attainment and labour market entry**

Sociological research has elaborated the mechanisms that explain how individual action relates to inequality in educational and occupational attainment. These general mechanisms are also useful for explaining how the action at the individual level, constrained by structural effects, gives rise to ethnic differences in education attainments and labour market outcomes.

Boudon (1974) separates the concepts of *primary and secondary effects* to explain the influence of social background on educational attainment. The primary effect is the effect of social background on academic performance while secondary effect is the effect of social background on students' educational choices. The primary effect could result from genetic inheritance, early socialisation and variations in cultural, economic or social factors that relate with home environment and parental support (Erikson and Jonsson 1996). Mechanisms operating to create the secondary effect are typically different from those operating to create the primary effect because educational transitions are more likely to result from intentional forward-planning decisions (Jackson et al. 2012). The *rational choice model* developed by Breen and Goldthorpe (1997) assumes that the patterns of educational choice reflect the action of actors – children and their parents – that can be understood as rational. Actors

evaluate the costs and benefits of possible alternatives and the probabilities of success and failure. These evaluations are conditioned by constraints and opportunities that actors in different societal positions face. The rational choice model emphasises that in addition to actual academic performance, subjective beliefs about the chances of success and own abilities are important for educational choices. Also the value or utility that actors attach to educational outcomes influences educational decisions. In general, educational choices aim to avoid dropping to a lower level of social class than the parents, i.e. relative risk aversion hypothesis (Breen and Goldthorpe 1997).

The idea of rational action is also at the core of *human capital theory* (Becker 1962), which presumes that educational decisions are determined by the expected returns from the investment, also taking into account opportunity costs. Parents invest in their children's human capital, but although the human capital model does not explain how investment is achieved or how learning takes place, the notion presumes that parents somehow expend time and resources, which produce the human capital of their children (Bills 2003; Becker 2011). Accordingly, labour market success is explained as a return on investments in education and skills (Becker 1962).

At the individual level, there are two factions in the *school to work transition process* who make the decisions: school leavers (also their families) and potential employers (Müller and Gangl 2003). This process is affected by social constraints and pressures (Bills 2003). When making a decision about hiring a job applicant, employers take into account information concerning the applicant's human capital. However, employers' discriminatory preferences may also have a role in the decision making process. The job market signalling theory presumes that hiring is a decision made in uncertainty due to lack of information about the capabilities of the applicant. Although employers consider signals such as education and skills, also unalterable personal attributes such as ethnicity and gender might influence the decision making process (Spence 1973).

The logic of analysis in this dissertation follows the idea of primary and secondary effects, the rational choice model and human capital theory. I focus on school leavers' side of the labour market entry. The next sections give an overview of the theoretical ideas concerning the importance of ethnicity, individual language skills, expectations and social background for educational and labour market success.

### **2.2.2. Role of language for educational attainment**

The important question is whether children of the ethnic minority and their parents have sufficient language skills to promote educational success. There is some evidence that *students' language difficulties* affect the performance of second-generation students (Lutz 2007; Schnepf 2007). In addition to the direct effect of language skills on the learning process, school performance is indirectly connected with language because many tasks are embedded in a linguistic context or related to a cultural context (Esser 2006). The important question is also whether or not

*bilingual study programs* would ease learning for children of an ethnic minority. In general, research reveals positive effects of competent bilingualism on various aspects of cognitive functioning but bilingual children are likely to possess a smaller vocabulary and spend more time on learning (see the review in Kristen et al. 2011). However, in the review of a previous study, Esser (2006) concludes that there is not a consistent answer as to whether bilingual education programs have positive or negative effect on school performance.

Heath and Brinbaum (2007) argue that low host-country *language fluency of parents* may make it difficult for children to succeed in their schoolwork. In addition to the ability to help children in learning, the parents' good language skills refer to more interaction with the ethnic majority and a commitment to integrate in the host country. Becker (2011) shows that parental language proficiency is relevant for young children's acquisition of skills that are specific for the host country but has minor importance for attaining general skills. However, there are too few studies to conclude the extent to which language difficulties of students and also their parents affect educational outcomes (see the review in Heath et al. 2008).

### **2.2.3. Social background, expectations and socio-economic composition of schools**

The crucial role of *social background* for the successful integration of second generation immigrants is a constant finding in immigration research. Many studies show that the lower educational performance of ethnic minority students is associated to low social background, although this finding does not completely explain the ethnic gap in performance of all ethnic groups (Marks 2005; Rothon 2007; Van de Werfhorst and van Tubergen 2007; Levels and Dronkers 2008; Jonsson and Rudolphi 2011). Heath et al. (2008) suggest that in Western European countries, the influence of social background on occupational status of second generation immigrants is mostly mediated by the educational attainment of individual. However, social background might be important for labour market entry because parents with higher socio-economic resources have more opportunities to mobilise their resources for their children's job search (Kalter et al. 2007).

Despite having a lower social background, *educational aspirations* are generally high for ethnic minority students (Jackson et al. 2012) and they tend to make more ambitious educational choices partly due to higher motivation (Kristen et al. 2008; Cebolla Boada 2011). This tendency is also called "immigrant optimism" (see reviews in Kao and Tienda 1998; Kao and Thompson 2003). Although children of immigrants might be disadvantaged because of language skills and social background, the parents' optimism about their children's prospects are decisive for educational choices. On the other hand, knowledge about the educational system and crucial transitions within the system may be more scarce in immigrant families because the parents attended school in their home country (Esser 2004; Kristen and Granato 2007).

*Expectations of discrimination* within the labour market and society in general have an impact on an ethnic minority's beliefs about the value of schooling. The way that minorities are treated in society and how they perceive their treatment influences their attitudes toward schooling. When members of an ethnic minority do not trust the educational system, they might develop an oppositional culture to mainstream schooling (Ogbu and Simons 1998). Expectations of discrimination in the labour market are also important for decisions to continue in further education (Heath et al. 2008). On the one hand, ethnic minority youth might be particularly likely to stay longer in education if school is seen as an alternative for being unemployed due to expected discrimination in the labour market. On the other hand, ethnic minority youth may also invest less in education if they expect lower returns from credentials (Jonsson and Rudolphi 2011). So, discrepancies between ideal educational aspirations and realistic expectations might be broad, especially among more disadvantaged groups (Portes et al. 2005).

Social background, aspirations and expectations at the individual level relate to *school environment* that is a social space where children spend a lot of their time. A school environment includes not only teaching and resources in school, but also study climate, norms and general educational aspirations. A school environment is affected by neighbourhood as a concentrated disadvantage remains a direct predictor of educational outcomes (e.g. review by Sampson et al. 2002). The mechanism is as follows: students create the school social environment from the advantages and disadvantages they bring from home to school. In other words, school peers influence a student's school experience. Therefore, school composition in terms of the average socio-economic status of parents<sup>4</sup> influences educational performance of students despite their individual characteristics (Bankston and Caldas 1996; Portes and MacLeod 1996; Portes and Hao 2004).

#### **2.2.4. Labour market context: language, segregation and discrimination**

In the context of the labour market, numerous studies for first generation immigrants in Western countries have shown that proficiency in the host country language is crucial but few studies for second generation immigrants include language measures (see the review in Heath et al. 2008). Nevertheless, Kalter (2006) shows that low language proficiency as well as ethnic composition of friendship networks are important explanations for the labour market disadvantage of second generation immigrants in Germany. In general, language proficiency is human capital that is more useful in some labour markets than in others, i.e. *country-specific human capital* (Chiswick 1978; Chiswick and Miller 1995; Kalter and Kogan 2006). Language skills are necessary in many jobs to fulfil work tasks

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<sup>4</sup> The argument for using socio-economic background is that the social composition of a school has a more profound impact on educational performances than ethnic composition. However, ethnic composition and educational performances are often correlated because ethnic minorities tend to be geographically concentrated in areas of relatively high social deprivation in Western European countries (Heath et al. 2008).

but also provide more information about job opportunities (Dustmann 1994). On the other hand, bilingualism (proficiency in host country's and ethnic minority language) is generally not worthwhile for ethnic minorities unless their own languages have a particular regional or global value (Esser 2004).

The important question is also how *linguistic environment*, understood as language requirements according to law and actual language skills needed for communication in a country or region, affects the significance of language proficiency in the labour market. Linguistic environment is related to *ethnic-linguistic concentration* in the area. A high ethnic concentration might have a significant negative effect on the proficiency and usage of the host country language (Van Tubergen and Kalmijn 2009). Thus, the usability of the host country's and ethnic minority languages varies in different regions and labour market sectors (Esser 2004). Ethnic minority language skills might be necessary for some jobs, particularly in areas where the concentration of ethnic minorities is high. Pendakur and Pendakur (2002) find that the economic return to proficiency in ethnic minority language rises with the concentration of the ethnic minority population, which is consistent with the human capital view of language.

Spatial segregation and ethnic concentration at workplaces often indicate an absence of social interactions between ethnic groups or *segregation of social networks*. The classic assimilation perspective in particular states that ethnic concentration may limit opportunities of upward mobility for second generation immigrants due to social distance from mainstream society (e.g. Alba and Nee 1997). Networks of interpersonal relationship affect labour market behaviour and the opportunities of individuals (Granovetter 1985). Ethnic minorities might have limited information about job openings due to their social networks, particularly if recruitment follows informal lines (Lin 1999). However, social networks of second generation immigrants usually include more members of the ethnic majority because they have attained education in the host country (Heath and Cheung 2007).

*Discrimination*, particularly ethnic discrimination, might be one reason for the less successful labour market entry of ethnic minorities. The effects of language may operate through discrimination mechanisms because speaking with an accent means that an individual is recognized as a member of an ethnic group (Stolzenberg and Tienda 1997). At entry into the labour market, the risk for statistical discrimination is particularly high because evaluating an applicant's productivity is complicated by the lack of work experience. Employers will discriminate against ethnic minority applicants if they believe that members of the minority group are less productive in general and if the cost of gaining information about the applicants is excessive (Phelps 1972; Arrow 1998). However, a large ethnic community minimizes the risk of discrimination (Pendakur and Pendakur 2002). Still, measuring discrimination is difficult as there are differences in unobserved characteristics; in particular unobserved cognitive skills or other non-cognitive personality traits might be in demand by employers (Bowles et al. 2005).

### 3. RUSSIAN-SPEAKERS IN POST-SOVIET SOCIETIES

#### 3.1. POST-SOVIET CONTEXTS: ESTONIA, LATVIA AND UKRAINE

Estonia and Latvia became hosts to sizeable Russian-speaking communities after World War II. In Ukraine, by contrast, Russians were the largest ethnic group in the majority of Southern and Eastern Ukrainian cities by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and ethnic Ukrainians in these regions adopted the Russian language. During the Soviet period, Estonia, Latvia and Ukraine shared quite similar organisations of educational systems and labour markets. After the societal changes, all three countries gave the titular language the status of sole official language and the supporting it became important political aim<sup>5</sup>. In the last twenty years, the political and economic transformations in Estonia and Latvia have taken place according to rather similar patterns and integration policy has strongly focused on language learning (Vihalemm and Kalmus 2009; Schmid et al. 2004). However, the societal developments in Ukraine have diverged from Estonia and Latvia as it has retained strong connections with Russia and the status of Russian language has remained high in society.

Due to the substantial inflow of Russian-speakers during the Soviet period (1944-1991) in Estonia, the proportion of Estonians in the population decreased from 88% in 1934<sup>6</sup> to 62% in 1989. The reasons for the large-scale migration to Estonia were the industrial development that was taking place and also the desire by Moscow to control the implementation of Soviet policies in state administration and enterprises (Vetik and Helemäe 2011). The broader aim was the integration of incorporated territories into the Soviet Union (Hallik 2002). Russian-speakers mostly settled in the capital Tallinn and in the urban areas in Ida-Viru county (Eastern Estonia). Many of them arrived in Estonia immediately after attaining vocational or higher education, thus, their level of education was not lower compared than the native population (Saar and Titma 1992). Migrating Russians considered themselves to be members of the majority nation of the Soviet Union who moved merely from one part of the union to another (Pettai and Hallik 2002). The community of Russian-speakers remained separated from Estonians and had marginal contact with the Estonian language: indeed some residential areas, educational institutions and industries functioned exclusively in the Russian language (Rannut 2008). After Estonia regained its independence in 1991, many Russian-speakers returned to their

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<sup>5</sup> In 2012, a new language law came into force in Ukraine that expands the use of Russian and other ethnic minority languages in the public sphere. Study III refers to situation before the change of language law.

<sup>6</sup> In the 1930s, Russians lived mainly in the border regions that Estonia lost after Soviet authorities redrew the border. Estonians comprised an estimated 97% of the total population in 1945.

historic homelands<sup>7</sup>. The Estonian Census in 2011 showed that Estonians comprised 69% and Russians 25% of the population. Other sizeable ethnic groups were Ukrainians and Byelorussians for many of whom Russian is the mother tongue (Statistics Estonia 2013).

The migration history of Russian-speakers into Latvia is rather similar to Estonia. In Latvia, the number of ethnic Latvians dropped from 77% in 1935 to 52% in 1989, but has risen according to the latest Latvian Census of 2011 to 62% (Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia 2013). A policy of segregation was also practised in Latvia during the Soviet period (Priedīte 2005) and the Russian language became dominant in the political and economic spheres of society (Schmid et al. 2004). However, as Aasland and Fløtten (2001) claim there was more social interaction between the ethnic groups both at work and sociably than in Estonia. Higher numbers of Russian-speakers in Latvia could speak Latvian, and there were more interethnic marriages compared to Estonia. According the 1989 USSR Census, 15% of Russians in Estonia and 22% of Russians in Latvia were fluent in the respective titular languages (Pavlenko 2008). These percentages are low because at that time knowledge of the titular language was not necessary in either society. The status of Russian-speakers changed significantly after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the marketization of the Estonian and Latvian economies (Aasland and Fløtten 2001). New laws about language<sup>8</sup> and citizenship affected significantly their position in society. However, knowledge of the official languages is rising, especially among the younger generations. As a result of citizenship laws<sup>9</sup>, many Russian-speakers became legally stateless people. According to censuses in 2011, stateless people comprised 6.5% of the Estonian population and about 14% of the Latvian population (Statistics Estonia 2013; Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia 2013).

The migration history of the Russian minority population and language use in Estonia and Latvia differs from Ukraine. In Ukraine, the proportion of Russians increased from 9% in 1922 to 22% in 1989, while 17% of population identified themselves as Russians in 2001. However, about 30% of all Ukrainians spoke Russian as a mother tongue in 2001 (State Statistics Service of Ukraine 2013). Russian is linguistically close to the official Ukrainian language. During the Soviet period (1922-1991), use of the Russian language was actively imposed and many privileges were associated with the use of it. For instance, the language of

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<sup>7</sup> The exact number of returning Russian-speakers is not known but Hallik (2010) estimates that around 110,000 non-Estonians out-migrated in the 1990s.

<sup>8</sup> The Language Act passed in 1995 specifies Estonian as the official language and all others as foreign languages. This law sets the mandatory level of language proficiency for public servants and private sector jobs related to services and sales (Language Act 2012). In Estonia, the Census of 2000 showed that almost 40% of Russians are able to speak Estonian while 60% of Estonians know Russian as a foreign language (Statistics Estonia 2013).

<sup>9</sup> In Estonia, citizenship was granted to individuals who were citizens before 1940 and their descendants. The other option for achieving citizenship is through naturalisation except children born in Estonia after 1991 achieve it without naturalisation.

instruction was Russian in Ukraine's higher education, which is different from Estonia and Latvia where instruction in the titular language was available at all educational levels. In Ukraine, the status of the Russian language has remained stable despite political changes and is still used by many officials (Bilaniuk 2003; Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008). In contrast to Estonia and Latvia, all Soviet citizens living in Ukraine at the time it became independent received Ukrainian citizenship regardless of their language or national origins (Polese 2011).

The next two sections give an overview of ethnic groups in Estonian educational system and labour market (see the Latvian and Ukrainian contexts in Study I and Study III).

### **3.2. LINGUISTIC DIVISIONS IN ESTONIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM**

Basic and secondary schools in Estonia are mainly state funded schools. Basic education begins at the age of seven<sup>10</sup>, and lasts for nine years. After the ninth year students can choose to continue in the general secondary track or acquire vocational education. The chances to continue in higher education are lower for students who finish vocational education and this type of education has had lower prestige (Saar and Lindemann 2008). In 2011, about 66% of students studying at upper secondary level were enrolled in general secondary schools (Statistics Estonia 2013).

During the Soviet period in Estonia, some basic and upper secondary schools had Russian as the language of instruction and others had Estonian. Since 1991, the number of students enrolled in Estonian-language schools has increased<sup>11</sup> and the importance of Estonian as the language of instruction in Russian schools has risen substantially. Special programs for language immersion have become increasingly more widespread in Russian basic schools. In Russian upper secondary schools, the controversial transition to bilingual teaching is still ongoing: Russian-speaking students who started the 10<sup>th</sup> grade in 2011 or later have to study 60% of school subjects in Estonian (HTM 2012). By contrast, in Latvia, the transition to bilingual teaching in Russian upper secondary schools started earlier and was implemented despite strong protest at educational policies in 2004 (see more in Study I).

During the Soviet period, the languages of instruction at the tertiary level were both Estonian and Russian but shortly after 1991, the state-funded universities moved to teaching mainly in Estonian. In the last twenty years, enrolment levels in tertiary education have increased significantly. Several private universities (requiring

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<sup>10</sup> The specific character of Estonia is a very high proportion of children enrolled in pre-school (about 90%). There are Russian-language and Estonian-language pre-schools. About 80% of children whose mother tongue is other than Estonian attend Russian-language pre-schools (HTM 2012).

<sup>11</sup> About 67% of students studied in Estonian-language basic school in 1995 and 80% in 2011. The same figures for upper secondary schools were 71% in 1995 and 85% in 2011 (Statistics Estonia 2013). At vocational schools, the proportion of students studying in Russian has decreased, from 28% in 2007 to 24% in 2011 (HTM 2012).

students to pay tuition fees) have been established and some of them teach in Russian. However, in Russian-language higher education institutions, the choice of the areas of studies is quite limited as social sciences dominate the curriculum (Saar 2008) and the focus is on applied not academic education (HTM 2012). Still some public universities offer special Estonian language courses and there are limited bilingual programs for Russian-speaking students. Students at public (state-funded) tertiary level institutions form two distinct tuition fee groups, which in 2010 were of approximately equal size: state-funded who do not pay and fee-payers. The proportion of graduates of Russian secondary schools continuing to the tertiary level as a state-funded student is lower than for graduates of Estonian secondary schools (Tõnisson 2011).

### **3.3. RUSSIAN-SPEAKERS IN THE ESTONIAN LABOUR MARKET**

During the period of the Soviet command economy, labour policies caused differences in the patterns of employment between ethnic groups. Large, all-union level oriented industrial enterprises that reported to Moscow employed Russian-speakers, while local level oriented enterprises employed Estonians. As a result, Russian-speakers were overrepresented in the industrial sector and technical professions. Also the networks of ethnic groups were divided according to language (Aasland and Fløtten 2001; Pavelson and Luuk 2002; Pettai and Hallik 2002; Võormann and Helemäe 2003). Since the societal changes in 1991, ethnic minorities are likely to earn less than similarly educated Estonians, have higher unemployment rates and higher risks for having work that does not match with their level of education (Helemäe 2008; Leping and Toomet 2008; Lindemann and Saar 2009; Lindemann 2011a). Ethnic segmentation is still evident in the Estonian labour market. Although employment of ethnic minorities in the industrial sector has decreased from 50% in 1991 to 40% in 2011, this figure is still higher compared to Estonians, about 30% in both 1991 and 2011 (Statistics Estonia 2013).

*Estonian regions* have varying ethnic concentrations and also different labour market conditions. Eastern Estonia, where Russian-speakers form approximately 80% of the population, suffers from poor labour market conditions and the highest unemployment rates in Estonia. The economy of this area prior to 1991 depended on manufacturing oriented towards all-union needs and thus substantial reorganization was necessary after 1991 (Eamets 1999). Harjumaa (Harju county), in which Tallinn, Estonia's capital, public administration and service industry centre is located, has a large concentration of Russian-speakers (40% of the population). The employment rate in this area is above the Estonian average and wages are the highest in Estonia. By contrast, other Estonian regions have much smaller concentrations of Russian-speakers and often have better labour market conditions than in Eastern Estonia (Lindemann 2011b; Statistics Estonia 2013).

## 4. DATA AND METHODS

This dissertation uses mostly individual level data from four large-scale surveys. The analysis focuses on youths and young adults aged 15 to 35 years. The comparison of young Russian-speakers with the youth of the ethnic majority is the centre of the research in all studies. I use quantitative research techniques to analyse how individual attainments are embedded in broader institutional contexts. Table 1a and Table 1b present an overview of data, methods and variables that I used for analysis.

### 4.1. DATA AND VARIABLES

*Study I* compared performances in mathematics in Estonia and Latvia. Since schools are also linguistically divided in Latvia, my aim was to discuss how specific societal contexts shape the performances of students in these educational systems. Study I was based on data from OECD Programme for International Student Assessment 2006 (PISA) which contains information about knowledge and skills of 15-year old students, most of whom are still at basic school (lower secondary). In Estonia and Latvia, the choice between continuing on from basic school to general secondary education or vocational education is made at the age of 15 or 16 years. Thus, PISA provides a good reference point for the skills of students before their first important educational transition. PISA samples students randomly in two stages: schools are first sampled and then students are sampled in the participating schools (OECD 2009). I used both schools and students databases for the analysis. The dependent variable was performance in mathematics. The central independent variables were the language spoken at home, social background (highest parental education, occupational group and the number of books at home), motivation and aspiration of students as well as language of instruction at school, selection practices by the school and the socio-economic composition of school<sup>12</sup> (average occupational status of students' parents at the school). The sample sizes for Estonia were 4709 students and 169 schools and for Latvia 4385 students and 172 schools.

*Study II* and *Study III* used data from the Estonian TIES survey (2007-2008), which is related to the international research project "The Integration of European Second Generation" (TIES<sup>13</sup>). The Estonian TIES survey took place mainly in two cities, Tallinn and Kohtla-Järve (an industrial Eastern Estonian town) but some interviews were also conducted in Jõhvi, located close to Kohtla-Järve. Although the sample is restricted only to two areas, the advantages are detailed retrospective data about

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<sup>12</sup> *Study I* did not take into account the linguistic composition of the schools because almost all the sampled 15-years old students in Russian schools were speaking Russian at home and most Estonian schools had only a few Russian-speaking students in this age group. I used the separate category of "mixed schools" in the analysis for the four schools that had both Estonian and Russian classes.

<sup>13</sup> More information available at: <http://www.tiesproject.eu/index.php?lang=en>

educational histories, labour market entry, social background when respondent was 15 years old and Estonian-specific resources of respondents and their parents. In total, sample consisted of 500 Estonians and 500 second generation Russians aged from 18 to 35 years.

*Study II* compared educational transitions of young Estonians and Russians. At first, we analysed the probability of selecting general secondary education rather than vocational secondary education. The sample size for this analysis was 844 respondents. Secondly, we studied whether respondents with secondary education continued in higher education rather than took up vocational training or decided not to pursue further education. The sample size was 687 individuals. The central independent variables were: 1) ethnicity, 2) Estonian language proficiency and citizenship of respondent, 3) parental resources such as educational level, occupational group, the number of books at home, Estonian language proficiency and citizenship.

*Study III* compared the role of language skills for labour market entry in Estonia and Ukraine. The comparison of Estonia with another former Soviet Republic gives an insight into how the societal context, especially the linguistic environment, affects the importance of language for the labour market entry. For Estonia, we used the Estonian TIES survey and created a subsample of respondents who left full-time education during the years 1997-2007. The final sample size was 450 individuals. For Ukraine, we used data from the “Youth Transition Survey in Ukraine” (2007). The sample was representative for the Ukrainian population aged from 15 to 34 years who left continuous education between 2001 and 2006. The sample size was 1870 respondents. We studied entry to first stable job of at least 20 hours per week lasting for no less than 6 months. The focus was on the time between leaving full-time education and the first employment but we did not describe it as unemployment because individuals might have been inactive or holding casual jobs during this period. The aim was to examine the speed of finding a stable job and to compare it to entry to the first stable high-status job. Thus, we analysed two events: 1) the speed of finding any first stable job and 2) the speed of finding first stable higher-status job that likely requires advanced levels of language proficiency. We defined higher-status jobs as employment at higher occupational positions (codes 1-4 on ISCO88 scale) in economic activities related to the service sector (codes J, K, L, M, N and O in NACE classification). The central independent variables were ethnicity and language skills (including Russian language), educational level of the individual and parental highest occupational group.

*Study IV* examined the role of ethnicity and language skills for labour market entry in three Estonian regions. I analysed (1) the duration of unemployment before finding the first job and (2) the occupational status in the first stable job. I used data from Estonian Labour Force Surveys 2002-2011 (ELFS). The ELFS samples are representative for the entire Estonian working age population. I made two subsamples of labour market entrants aged from 16 to 29 years. The first subsample for unemployment analysis included 1680 individuals. I analysed the time between

the start of unemployment and the date of finding the first job. In contrast to Study III, the analysis here showed directly the duration of unemployment. Thus, I also had to define short-term and casual employment as entry to the first job. Only young people who have left the educational system were included in the analysis of unemployment. The second subsample for the quality of the first job included all respondents (also students) who had found their first stable job no more than two years before the survey, in total 3681 individuals. The first stable job was an employment that lasted for at least six months. I analysed occupational status measured with the ISEI scale (international socio-economic index of occupational status). The central independent variables were ethnicity and language skills (including Russian language), the area of residence, the level of education and the economic sector of the first job. The area of residence was divided into three regions: 1) Tallinn area, including Tallinn and surrounding Harju county; 2) the Eastern region or Ida-Viru county; 3) all other Estonian regions.

The *defining of Russian-speaking minority* was based on self-identification in all studies:

- 1) In PISA data, the ethnicity of students was not asked but language spoken at home was recorded. I defined students who speak Russian at home as the Russian-speaking minority (Study I).
- 2) The TIES data consisted only of the ethnic Russian minority (Study II and Study III). The survey defined second generation Russians as youth who considered themselves to be Russian, were born in Estonia and had at least one parent who was born in Russia or another former Soviet Republic other than Estonia<sup>14</sup> (Vetik and Helemäe 2011).
- 3) In ELFS, respondents were asked what their ethnicity was and which language they spoke at home. I included all ethnic minorities who speak Russian at home (Study IV).

This dissertation uses the terms *Russian-speaking minority* and *ethnic minorities* interchangeably. I recognise that the Russian-speaking community is ethnically heterogeneous and the Russian language may not be the main feature of identity for people belonging to this group. I use the term *Russians* only for describing the results of the Studies II and III. I focus on second and later generation immigrants. Analysis based on TIES and ELFS data included only ethnic minorities who are born in Estonia. In PISA data, almost all Russian-speaking students in the sample were born in the host country (97%).

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<sup>14</sup> Estonian TIES data shows that about 5% of second-generation Russians were not brought up in Russian language. However, these respondents were proficient in Russian.

*Language skills* were evaluated by respondents in Studies II, III and IV.

- 1) Study II included the measure of Estonian language proficiency that is based on respondents evaluation of their spoken and written Estonian skills.
- 2) In Study III, we defined respondents who evaluated their Estonian or Russian communication skills to be excellent, very good or good as proficient in the language. In Ukraine, the measurement of language skills was based on language usage.
- 3) In Study IV, I defined proficiency in Estonian or Russian as the ability to write and speak in the respective language or the language is one of respondent's home languages.

However, self-defined language proficiency is not unproblematic because it depends on a reference group and the experiences of respondent. For instance, very good Estonian proficiency might mean different actual skills in mainly Russian-speaking Eastern Estonia compared to other regions. Unfortunately, no Estonian data about transitions of youth contains an independent language test.

## **4.2. METHODS**

The first aim of analysis was to investigate educational performances (*Study I*). The cognitive data in PISA study are scaled on the basis of Item Response Theory (OECD 2009). I used all five plausible values for performance in mathematics to estimate means, standard deviations and multilevel linear regression models. I conducted analysis with multilevel models to differentiate the effects at the school and at the individual level (students were treated as level 1 and schools as level 2). I analysed Estonia and Latvia in separate models. In addition, I estimated models only for Estonian and Latvian schools to explore the performance of Russian-speaking students in ethnic-majority language schools. In all models, only the regression intercept is assumed to vary across schools.

The second aim of analysis was to examine educational transitions (*Study II*). The dependent variables were transitions to secondary and higher education. The method was logistic regression analysis. We focused on two aspects: (1) gross disadvantage (model with only ethnicity as a predictor of transitions) and (2) net disadvantage after including social background and other individual characteristics into the models. We also estimated separate models for ethnic groups to explain the influence of language skills and citizenship as well as the different impact of social background (significance was tested with interactions). In addition, we used the index of dissimilarity to research tendencies of convergence or divergence of educational attainment of ethnic groups over a generation.

The third aim was to analyse the transition process from school to the labour market (Study III and Study IV). *Study III* applied an event-history analysis to study the process of transition from school to the first stable job: (1) in any employment field

and (2) in higher-status activities in the service sector. We analysed Estonian and Ukrainian data with separate models. We used piecewise constant exponential durations models to estimate the impact of independent variables on search duration before finding the first stable job. This method allows flexibility in modelling the baseline hazard as the transition rates might vary between defined periods. The start time of the episode was the date of leaving education. An event occurred when the respondent found the first stable job. In analysis of entry to higher-status jobs, the individuals who found the first stable job, albeit not in higher status activities, were treated as right-censored.

*Study IV* used event-history and linear regression analysis. First, I focused on the effect of ethnicity and language proficiencies on the duration of unemployment before finding the first job. Similar to Study III, I applied piecewise constant exponential models. Since the ELFS contains data about labour market movements during one year, the maximum time used in the analysis was 12 months. The starting time of an episode was the start date of unemployment. An event occurred when the respondent found any kind of first job. Secondly, I applied linear regression analysis to find out the effect of an ethnic-linguistic group on the occupational status of the first stable job (that lasted at least six months). For both dependent variables, I tested models with interactions to see whether the effect of ethnic-linguistic groups differ significantly across regions and thereafter, calculated separate models for regions.

**Table 1a.** Overview of data, methods, variables and sample size (Study 1 and Study 2).

	<b>Data</b>	<b>Definition of minority group</b>	<b>Methods</b>	<b>Dependent variable</b>	<b>Main explanatory variables</b>	<b>Sample size (N)</b>
<b>Study 1</b>	PISA study 2006 (OECD)	Students who speak Russian at home	Multilevel analysis (hierarchical linear regression models)	Mathematics performance	<i>Student:</i> language spoken at home, social background, motivation. <i>School:</i> language, selectivity, socio-economic composition, location	<i>Estonia</i> students: N=4709, schools: N=169; <i>Latvia</i> students: N=4385, schools: N=172
<b>Study 2</b>	Estonian TIES survey 2007-2008	Second generation Russians (self-identified, at least one parent born outside Estonia)	Logistic regression; index of dissimilarity	Educational choice: 1) general secondary vs. vocational education; 2) higher education vs. other	Ethnicity, Estonian skills, citizenship and social background (inc. parental language skills and citizenship )	Secondary education: N=844; Higher education: N=687

**Table 1b.** Overview of data, methods, variables and sample size (Study 3 and Study 4).

	<b>Data</b>	<b>Definition of minority group</b>	<b>Methods</b>	<b>Dependent variable</b>	<b>Main explanatory variables</b>	<b>Sample size (N)</b>
<b>Study 3</b>	Estonian TIES survey 2007-2008; Youth Transition Survey in Ukraine 2007	Estonia: second generation Russians Ukraine: ethnic identity (Russian / Ukrainian)	Event history analysis (piecewise constant exponential models)	Speed of finding stable job in: 1) any employment field; 2) higher-status job in the service sector	Ethnicity, Estonian / Russian skills, education, parental occupation	Estonia: N=450; Ukraine: N=1870
<b>Study 4</b>	Estonian Labour Force Surveys 2002-2011	Ethnic minorities who speak Russian at home	Event history analysis (piecewise constant exponential models); linear regression	1) unemployment duration before any first job; 2) occupational status in first stable job	Language spoken at home, Estonian / Russian skills, education, economic sector, region	Unemployed: N= 1680; First job: N=3681

## 5. RESULTS

I introduce the empirical findings by focusing first on educational attainment and after that on labour market entry. First, I analyse how educational performance and transitions of Russian-speakers and ethnic majority youth relate to language, social background and school contexts. I compare Estonia and Latvia. Thereafter, I study how proficiency in the host country's language and the ethnic minority language as well as ethnicity influences entry to the first job in different labour market contexts. This part includes comparison with Ukraine.

### 5.1. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT: PERFORMANCE AND TRANSITIONS

#### 5.1.1. Ethnic differences

Contrary to findings in Western European countries<sup>15</sup>, the results for Estonia indicate that the gap in education attainment between second generation immigrants and the ethnic majority has increased compared to their parents' generation (Study II). The findings indicate that young Russians more often attain vocational education compared to their Estonian peers who frequently complete general secondary education and attain higher education. The gap in educational attainment might result from different performances in school but also from educational choices. In Western European countries, Heath et al. (2008) conclude that the ethnic disadvantage in education is particularly visible in *school performance*. However, several studies<sup>16</sup> find that *educational choices* of ethnic minority youth might be even more ambitious compared to the ethnic majority in cases of similar social background and previous performance (Van de Werfhorst and van Tubergen 2007; Kristen et al. 2008; Kilpi-Jakonen 2011; Cebolla Boada 2011; Jonsson and Rudolphi 2011; Jackson et al. 2012).

The results of Study I show that, in Estonia, Russian-speaking students have a lower performance at the age of 15 years than Estonian students. In particular, students at Russian schools achieve lower results in mathematics (486 PISA points) than students at ethnic-majority language schools (523 PISA points). This is a large performance gap: according to the OECD about 40 PISA points equates to one year of studies at school (OECD 2010). These results are quite unexpected because Russian-speakers have a chance to study to large extent in their mother tongue in familiar linguistic and cultural contexts. Moreover, the Estonian Integration Survey 2011 showed that many Russian-speakers believe that studying in Russian basic school is necessary for gaining good knowledge in Russian about school subjects

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<sup>15</sup> Thompson and Crul (2007) conclude that educational attainment of immigrants across generations becomes more similar to that of the native populations. This study included the UK, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Portugal and Spain.

<sup>16</sup> These studies include Finland, Sweden, the UK, Spain, Germany and the Netherlands.

(Masso et al. 2011). In contrast to the international PISA survey, the average results of standardised state exam in mathematics at the end of basic education were similar for students in Russian and Estonian schools from 2006 to 2011 (National Examinations and Qualifications Centre 2013). State exams are based on tasks set in the mathematics curriculum but PISA measures general skills and knowledge in mathematics.

In addition to Russian-speakers' lower performance, Study II shows that Russians are less likely than Estonians to continue their studies in general secondary school as opposed to other types of secondary school. Typically, general secondary education provides the best opportunities to continue in university while vocational education often leads to the labour market (Saar and Lindemann 2008). Although it was not possible to control for previous performance in Study II, Russian-speakers do not have to compete with Estonians for access to general secondary school if they choose to continue studies in Russian school<sup>17</sup>. Thus, the reasons for Russians' lower transition rates are probably other than previous performance.

Study II also indicates that Russians continue less probably in higher education than the ethnic majority youth. Therefore, higher selectiveness among Russians in access to general secondary schools does not reduce the effect of ethnicity for transition to higher education. Young Russians are less likely to go to higher education even if they have completed general secondary education. This dissertation does not analyse the performance of students at the end of upper secondary school, however, standardised state exams are conducted at this time. The results of these exams indicate that students at Russian schools had quite similar achievements in mathematics as students at Estonian schools in 2008-2011 (National Examinations and Qualifications Centre 2013). However, taking the mathematics exam was optional for students, so it is not possible to make firm conclusions about any similarity of performance. Transition to higher education is the first educational transition where Russian-speakers have to compete with Estonians. Thus, large ethnic differences in performance that appeared for 15-year old students might also impact this transition.

### **5.1.2. Role of language**

One reason for the lower educational attainment of ethnic minorities might be insufficient language skills. Some ethnic minority parents do decide to send their children to ethnic-majority language schools. Study I shows that Russian-speakers get better results in mathematics at Estonian schools than at Russian schools<sup>18</sup>. This

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<sup>17</sup> However, the performance gap does matter if Russian-speaking students decide to compete with Estonians for access to those Estonian-language upper secondary schools that conduct tests for selecting the best students.

<sup>18</sup> Additional analysis for Russian-speaking students only, showed that even after controlling for individual social background, motivation and occupational aspirations, the mathematics performance of Russian-speaking students is about 25 points lower in Russian schools compared to their performance in Estonian schools (these calculations are based on data from PISA 2006).

result cannot be interpreted only as a positive effect of studying in Estonian schools due to unmeasured pre-selection effects, such as parental motivation or students' abilities. On the other hand, Russian-speakers at Estonian schools achieve significantly lower test scores compared to their Estonian peers at the same school, even in cases of similar social background, motivation, aspirations and school characteristics. The most plausible reason, therefore for lower educational attainment is language difficulty. In accordance, PISA 2009 data indicate that the gap between Russian-speaking and ethnic majority students is especially large in reading skills at Estonian schools (Lindemann 2011c; Lindemann 2012).

Estonian language proficiency of young Russians is strongly related with educational transitions (Study II). Russians who have good or very good Estonian language skills are more likely to continue studies in general secondary school and in higher education. It is important to note that the effect of language proficiency in Study II is bi-directional, i.e. attending general secondary school or higher education increased self-evaluated Estonian language skills. However, holding Estonian citizenship at the time of educational transition did not influence the choice of secondary track but had strong positive effect on transition to higher education that supports conclusion about the importance of Estonian proficiency for continuing in higher education. Thus, the existence of private higher education institutions with Russian-language of instruction does not reduce the importance of Estonian-specific resources for continuing studies in higher education.

### **5.1.3. Importance of social background**

In Western European countries<sup>19</sup>, second generation immigrant parents' low educational level and social position as well as lacking host country specific resources are often considered to be the reasons for the lower educational attainment of their children (Heath and Brinbaum 2007). In Estonia, the educational level of migrating Russian-speakers did not differ much from native Estonians during the Soviet period but many Russian-speakers have experienced downward mobility in the labour market since Estonia regained independence in 1991 (Pavelson and Luuk 2002; Helemäe 2008). However, Study I and Study II indicate that individual social background (parental highest occupational position, educational level and cultural resources) is not the explanation for the ethnic minority group's educational disadvantage in Estonia.

Study I showed that social background is an important predictor of educational performance for both Russian-speakers and Estonians but it does not explain the lower performance of the ethnic minority students<sup>20</sup>. In addition, parents are likely

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<sup>19</sup> Heath and Brinbaum (2007) reviewed studies about several countries, including Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, the UK and Norway.

<sup>20</sup> The additional analysis showed that interaction effects between language spoken at home and parental education and occupation are not significant. Therefore, the influence of social background on educational performance should not differ for Russian-speakers and Estonian-speakers.

to affect the ambitions of their children. However, the results of Study I indicate that students' motivation and occupational aspirations do not account for the disadvantage of Russian-speakers. It is important to note that motivation to study mathematics and occupational aspirations do not differ much for ethnic groups. Thus, contrary to some findings of "immigrant optimism" in Western countries (Kao and Thompson 2003), there is no tendency towards particularly high motivation of minorities in Estonia.

The results of Study II indicate that the influence of parental resources on educational transitions differs for young Russians and Estonians. Parental highest educational level affects transition probabilities of both ethnic groups. On the other hand, parental occupational position shapes the transition probabilities of Estonian youth but does not apply to second generation Russians. The lower importance of occupational position for Russians might be related to Russian-speaking minority difficulties in finding occupational positions matching their level of education.

Many Russians-speaking parents have attained their education during the Soviet time and have little or no knowledge of the Estonian language. Expectedly, language skills and citizenship of parents refers to their greater willingness to integrate into society and have stronger connections with the native population. However, the results of Study II showed that the general human capital of parents is a more significant predictor of educational choices than country-specific resources of parents. In cases of similar parental education and occupational position, Estonian language proficiency of parents does not influence the choice of secondary track. The reason could be that many Russians continue to study at secondary school in Russian. For the same reason, it is also not plausible that Russian-speaking parents would have less knowledge about the educational system for making educational choices. However, there is some positive effect of Estonian citizenship of parents on continuing in general secondary education but this effect is mediated by an individual's citizenship and language skills. Similarly, parental language proficiency and citizenship do not affect the probability to continue in higher education.

#### **5.1.4. Contextual effects in education**

School environment shapes the primary effects of education. Some schools in Estonia select their students on the basis of academic ability. Study I shows that the gap between Estonian and Russian schools is not conditioned by how schools select students regarding the importance of academic ability although students in more selective schools achieve better results. However, parents and students also select schools. Results show that school composition in terms of parental average highest occupational status has a strong influence on performance in mathematics and it explains partly the low performance of students in Russian schools<sup>21</sup>. Therefore, it

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<sup>21</sup> In addition to social composition of schools and their selectivity, the learning environment in schools might differ due to teaching practices. Study I did not focus on study methods, however,

seems that the downward mobility of the Russian-speaking community in Estonia has also had some influence on the social environment of Russian schools. In addition, Study I indicated that Russian-speaking parents who prefer Estonian schools for their children have higher occupational status than those preferring ethnic-minority schools which also affects the socio-economic composition of Russian schools. An additional question is whether the lower socio-economic composition of Russian schools also influences educational choices of students. Although parental occupational position had no effect on educational transitions of ethnic minorities (Study II), the school environment and school peers might influence the choices of students.

In contrast to educational performance, the secondary effects of education are more likely to result from intentional choices that take into account the probability of success (Breen and Goldthorpe 1997; Jackson et al. 2012). It is likely that changes in the educational system and any related perception of opportunities have had an impact on the educational attainment of ethnic minorities. After 1991, the Estonian language became quickly the main language of instruction in higher education but at the same time the quality of teaching the Estonian language in Russian secondary school was rather poor. Thus, any youth not proficient enough in Estonian have limited opportunities for acquiring higher education. In addition, the perceived opportunities in the educational system and in the context of the labour market might impact on educational choices. In Estonian society, general education aspirations are high for both ethnic groups but realistic expectations for educational success are smaller for ethnic minorities (Saar 2008), Russian-speakers particularly perceive an inequality of access to higher education (Masso et al. 2011). The process of transition to bilingual teaching in Russian upper secondary schools increased uncertainties and might have affected Russian-speakers' trust in schools. Uncertainties in the labour market might also impact on the motivation to invest in education. There is a strong belief among Estonia's ethnic minorities that ethnicity shapes opportunities in the labour market, an opinion shared even by ethnic minorities with higher education and good language skills (Lindemann 2011a). Thus, perceived probabilities of success are lower for young Russian-speakers, which might make it rational not to choose the most ambitious educational pathways (Study II). On the other hand, the choice of continuing in education to avoid possible unemployment did not seem to be a relevant alternative to the Russian-speaking minority, at least until recently.

### **5.1.5. School performance and integration context at the country level**

Study I analysed Estonia in comparison with Latvia where there is also a large Russian-speaking minority as well as basic and secondary schools are divided based on language of instruction. In contrast to Estonia, Study I showed that 15-year old

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the international OECD's TALIS survey in Estonia showed that teachers at Russian schools believe more strongly in providing correct solutions to students and they put more emphases on the necessity of studying facts than teachers in Estonian schools (Loogma et al. 2009).

students at Russian and Latvian schools achieve rather similar scores in mathematics in Latvia. Only students in mixed schools (two-stream schools where some students study in the ethnic-majority language and others in Russian) have lower performances, but these schools are more often located in rural areas.

The important question is why the linguistically divided educational system in Latvia does not produce such divided outcomes as it does in Estonia. The integration context of the country might be a part of explanation. Compared to Estonia, socio-economic differences between the ethnic communities are smaller in Latvia. Also the intermarriage rate between ethnic groups is higher in Latvia and communities are less separated, socially as well as spatially (Aasland and Fløtten 2001; Hazans 2010; Rozenvalds 2010). On the other hand, after eliminating Russian-language instruction from Latvian public higher education in the 1990s, the ethnic gap emerged in tertiary enrolment and graduation rates between Latvians and ethnic minorities (Hazans et al. 2008).

## **5.2. LABOUR MARKET ENTRY**

The following section analyses the process of moving from school to the first job. The focus is on the importance of language skills and ethnicity. Previous studies in Estonia indicate that generally young Russian-speakers are less successful in the labour market (Lindemann and Saar 2009; Lindemann 2011b). Compared to young Estonians, second generation Russians have lower prospects of being promoted in their job, participate in workplace training and they are less satisfied with their careers (Lindemann and Vöörmann 2010). Previous findings also indicate that ethnic minority youth have a higher risk of unemployment and lower chances for achieving high-status positions even if they have attained higher education, only at the level of a Master's degree<sup>22</sup> are there not any ethnic differences in labour market chances (Unt and Lindemann 2013).

### **5.2.1. Profile of young labour market entrants**

Youth enter the labour market with different language and educational resources. In Estonia, many second and later generation Russian-speakers have difficulties with proficiency in the host country language. The language skills and educational level are to some extent correlated. Study III and Study IV showed that Russian-speakers with poor Estonian skills had usually acquired only basic or some type of vocational education at the time of labour market entry. On the other hand, Russian-speakers who are proficient in Estonian had often attained higher education. However, residential segregation is also important because a higher concentration of Russian-speakers means lower skills in Estonian language. In addition, Study IV indicated

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<sup>22</sup> This research did not include the level of PhD degree.

that Estonians who had good Russian skills had generally also a higher level of education compared to their co-ethnics who were not proficient in Russian<sup>23</sup>.

Study III showed that monolingual Russians have less advantageous social backgrounds compared to other youth in Tallinn and Kohtla-Järve. Almost a fifth of monolingual Russians are children of unskilled workers (highest parental occupation when individual was 15 years old). However, previous findings indicate that there is no direct effect of parental education on the labour market position of second generation Russians, but this influence is mediated by educational attainment of individual (Lindemann 2011b).

### **5.2.2. Importance of language skills in different contexts**

As expected, the results of Study III and Study IV indicated that high proficiency in Estonian language increases labour market success of second and later generation immigrants. In general, ethnic minority youth with good language skills compete with Estonians for quite similar jobs and are less dependent on Russian-language enterprises than monolingual Russian-speakers (Study III). Estonian language skills are significant despite high educational levels of individuals<sup>24</sup>. Ethnic minority youth who do not have good Estonian skills are slower in gaining access to the first job and have extremely low chances of finding a high-status first stable job (Study III, Study IV). The results for Tallinn and Kohtla-Järve show that they often settle in low-ranking jobs in enterprises where most other employees are Russian-speakers (Study III). Previous findings have also showed that young Russians in Russian-language enterprises are not more likely to work in managerial or professional positions than their co-ethnics in Estonian enterprises (Lindemann 2011b).

Studying at Estonian schools improves Estonian language skills of Russian-speakers. Study III and Study IV did not include the measure of studying in Estonian schools but previous findings suggest that young Russians who have studied in Estonian are more successful in getting high-status employment compared to other Russians, even in instances of similar educational level and self-estimated language proficiency (Lindemann 2011b). Young Russians who are proficient in Estonian also tend to view their professional careers as positively as Estonians (Lindemann and Vöörmann 2010). In contrast, it seems that citizenship has limited importance for economic success apart from the educational and the language skills aspects; although being a citizen is a precondition for working in some higher positions in the civil service (Lindemann 2011b).

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<sup>23</sup> In Study III the level of education was higher for Estonians who do not speak Russian because many Estonians in the Kohtla-Järve area are bilingual but do not have as high an education as youths in Tallinn (the sample based on two cities in this study).

<sup>24</sup> Previous findings for all working-age people show that having no Estonian-language skills is particularly disadvantageous for ethnic minorities with higher education in competition against higher educated Estonians (Lindemann 2011a).

The linguistic environment varies greatly throughout the Estonian regions in accordance with ethnic residential segregation. Study IV shows how the local context affects the importance of language skills for labour market entry. The Russian language environment in Eastern Estonia seems to some extent to reduce the negative effect of poor Estonian skills. This is due not only to the importance of Russian-language skills because Estonians with poor Russian skills do not get jobs with lower status than others. However, proficiency in the host country language is still relevant in the Eastern region, as Russian-speakers with good Estonian skills are particularly successful.

Study III and Study IV reveal that, in general, having Russian-language skills does not provide any additional value to having Estonian language skills when it comes to finding higher-status first stable employment. The findings of Study IV showed that Russian proficiency does not affect the quality of the first stable job. The results of Study III emphasized that Estonians and Russians proficient in both languages are no more successful than Estonians who do not speak Russian in either finding first stable job or achieving a high-status first stable job that requires communicative skills. Although Russian skills are obviously necessary for several language specific jobs, there seems to be sufficient higher-status jobs in the labour market that youth can also secure without having a proficiency to communicate in Russian. A high level of competence in other languages, especially in English, might compensate for the lack of Russian language skills among young Estonians, particularly if their higher status job does not require direct communication with Russian-speakers.

Study IV also analysed exit from unemployment to any kind of job, including short-term or casual jobs. The results showed that the knowledge of Russian gives some advantage in moving more quickly out of unemployment to the any kind of first job in the Tallinn area<sup>25</sup>. In addition to the ability to communicate with the local Russian-speaking population, which is necessary for jobs in the services and sales industries, there are numerous jobs in tourism and international enterprises in Tallinn that require the occasional use of Russian. This finding supports the assumption that an ethnic minority language has some value as human capital in areas with a high proportion of the ethnic minority population. Nevertheless, no positive effect of Russian language skills was found for attaining a stable and high-status job.

### **5.2.3. Importance of linguistic environment at the country level**

The comparison of two former Soviet Union Republics – Estonia and Ukraine – showed how the linguistic environment at the country level affects the labour

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<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately, the number of youth without Russian skills was too small in the sample for Eastern Estonia to test the same hypothesis.

market entry of ethnic groups<sup>26</sup>. Study III implies that the practical usage of language as well as the status of the ethnic minority and majority languages in the country affects the chances that youth have after leaving education. The effects of language knowledge in Estonia resemble the situation in other Western immigrant-receiving societies, where speaking the official language is highly important for labour market success. The situation is different in Ukraine. Findings indicate that proficiency in Ukrainian is not necessary for finding a stable job and Russian language proficiency seems more highly rewarded at labour market entry. Russian-speakers have no difficulties in getting higher status jobs despite Ukrainian language skills being at least formally required for higher-status jobs in the public sector during analysed period of 2001-2006 (Study III).

The integration context and the prevalence of Russian language vary in the two countries. The Russian language, which is linguistically close to the official Ukrainian language, has more or less retained its high societal value in Ukraine. Several labour market segments in Ukraine are dominated by Russian-language users. The slower pace of change in institutions in Ukraine as well as stronger economic and political connections with Russia contribute to the persistently high status of the Russian language. In Estonia, the importance of the Russian language declined after Estonia regained independence, and the position of the linguistically distant Estonian language has strengthened as it determines access to public higher education and to higher occupational positions. In the light of close monitoring of Estonia's strict language requirements and of the growing number of Estonian-language speakers among ethnic minority youth, it is apparent that monolingual Russian-speakers have almost no possibility of finding a higher-status position in the Estonian labour market.

#### **5.2.4. Role of ethnicity in local context**

I compared the opportunities of ethnic minority and majority youth who have equal human capital, such as the same levels of education and language skills. Study IV concluded that the influence of ethnicity on the transition to the labour market differs significantly across Estonian regions. It appeared that there are no ethnic differences in opportunities if the ethnic minority population in the region is small (all Estonian regions except Eastern Estonia and Tallinn area) and consequently, ethnic segmentation is less likely in these areas.

In contrast, Study IV also indicated that being a member of the minority is a disadvantage in the Tallinn area, as young Russian-speakers with good Estonian skills experience longer unemployment and secure jobs of a lower quality than Estonians. Ethnic differences emerge regardless of the best general labour market

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<sup>26</sup> The residential segregation of ethnic-linguistic groups is evident in Ukraine (Study III). Ukrainians who prefer to speak Ukrainian live mostly in the western part of country, while Ukrainians who are monolingual Russian-speakers and ethnic Russians often live in eastern part. However, bilingual Ukrainians are quite a heterogeneous group in terms of place of residence. We controlled for the regional effect in Study III.

figures in Estonia, indeed the results showed that Estonians are more successful in all economic sectors. Despite some benefit from Russian language skills, ethnic resources do not seem to be of much use to young Russian-speakers. Due to the sizeable ethnic minority community in Tallinn, young Russian speakers might grow up in a Russian-speaking environment and have few contacts with Estonians. The Estonian Integration Survey of 2011 showed that about a half of Estonians and a third of Russian-speakers have almost no contacts with people from other ethnic groups in Tallinn (Lauristin et al. 2011).

However, the effect of belonging to the Russian-speaking minority is positive for securing high-status jobs in Eastern Estonia, as ethnic minority youth who have good Estonian skills find high-quality jobs in the service and industrial sectors. Russian-speakers have been dominant in the industrial sector since the Soviet period and ethnic minority youth might be more connected to this sector through social networks. These results can be interpreted as supporting the idea that the usefulness of ethnic resources depends on a sizeable ethnic community (Esser 2004). However, many young people leave Eastern Estonia to go to the Tallinn area where there are more options for studies and the general labour market conditions are better. Despite high out-migration from Eastern Estonia, the ethnic composition in the area has not changed much in a comparison of data from the censuses of 2000 and 2011 (Statistics Estonia 2013).

## CONCLUSION

This dissertation has explored how a linguistically divided educational system and the linguistic context in the labour market affect structural integration of young Russian-speakers in post-Soviet societies. At the centre of the research were the outcomes of structural integration in post-Soviet context in Estonia, which I contrasted with post-Soviet contexts in Latvia and Ukraine. In 1991, the collapse of the Soviet Union brought about a new minority status for the Russian-speaking communities in former Soviet Republics. In the last twenty years, the incorporation of Russian-speaking minority populations has been actively debated in these societies. Furthermore, in some of those countries economic difficulties relate to the lack of host country language skills and structural unemployment. Since 1991, a new generation of Russian-speakers has grown up who were born in the host country and mostly have attained their education during the post-Soviet time. This dissertation focused on second and later generation Russian-speakers. I researched how ethnicity and language skills at the individual level influence performance at school, educational transitions and labour market entry and how these influences depend on contextual effects. I also studied the influence of local contexts on outcomes of structural integration in different Estonian regions.

The idea of linear assimilation presumes that the structural integration of immigrants into a dominant population occurs swiftly over a few generations. In several Western European countries, educational attainment of second generation immigrants becomes more similar to that of the native population (Thompson and Crul 2007). The situation in Estonia is quite the opposite, as there is not a discernible trend in swift structural integration in terms of educational outcomes. The results of Study I and Study II reveal that Russian-speakers have a lower educational performance and less ambitious educational choices compared to Estonians. The gap in educational attainment has widened across immigrant generations.

The low social background of individuals is the main explanation for lower educational attainment of several ethnic minority groups in Western European countries (Heath and Brinbaum 2007). By contrast, in Estonia, social background at the individual level is not the reason for the lower educational performance or less favourable educational transitions of Russian-speakers. Thus, general stratification mechanisms do not explain the ethnic gap in educational attainment in Estonia. In addition, Estonian language proficiency of ethnic minority parents does not influence educational transitions of their children. This result was expected because the language of instruction is mostly Russian in ethnic minority schools. However, the importance of parental Estonian language skills might grow due to the transition to bilingual teaching at Russian upper secondary schools and the increasing number of language immersion programs in Russian basic schools. In addition, motivation to study and occupational aspirations of students do not explain the lower educational performance of Russian-speakers. In contrast to some findings

concerning the particular optimism of immigrants and their children in Western European countries, the motivation and aspirations of students of the ethnic minority and majority in Estonia seem rather similar.

Language has a key role in the process of integration. In Estonia, the rules and regulations in the labour market and society in general strongly support the usage of the Estonian language. At the same time, Russian-speakers have doubts about the quality of Estonian language teaching at Russian schools (Saar 2008). Indeed, the results of this dissertation show that a stronger inclusion into ethnic majority group (by attending Estonian schools) and Estonian language proficiency promotes the educational success of young Russian-speakers. This finding is in line with the classic assimilation perspective argumentation: more connections with the ethnic majority group promote structural integration. Estonian language skills are important for educational attainment despite the existence of Russian basic and secondary schools as well as private higher education institutions using Russian as the language of instruction<sup>27</sup>. In particular, very good Estonian skills and Estonian citizenship relate to a higher likelihood of continuing in higher education. This result is expected because low Estonian proficiency is an impediment for access to public higher education. In addition, Russian-speaking youth who attend Estonian schools have better performances in mathematics than their co-ethnics in Russian schools even in cases of similar motivation and parental background. Russian schools should, however reduce the negative effect of language difficulties as students can partly study in their mother tongue. Besides the probable positive effect of Estonian schools, there might be unmeasured pre-selection effects that account for Russian-speakers' higher performances, such as highly supportive parents or the abilities of the students. Thus, attending Estonian schools seems to improve performances of ethnic minority students but they still lag behind Estonians studying in the same schools, probably due to language skills. Some of these Russian-speaking students who are in Estonian school at the age of 15 years might have started their education in Russian or attended Russian pre-school. Another question is how well teachers and students in Estonian schools are prepared for ethnic diversity.

The local social environment affects the outcomes of integration in education. However, according to the segmented assimilation theory, value-orientations as well as networks of social support and control in ethnic community may contribute to the success of second generation immigrants, even in unfavourable social conditions (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997). Thus, inclusion in their own ethnic community might promote the educational successes of second generation immigrants. However, the results of this dissertation indicate that Russian schools do not function as a medium to capitalize material and moral resources within the ethnic community to promote the educational successes of young Russian-speakers,

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<sup>27</sup> However, reasons for not continuing in Russian-language private universities might not only be a lack of financial resources but also limited choice of study areas and applied orientation of education in several of these institutions (Saar 2008; Tõnisson 2011).

indeed quite the opposite seems to be evident. Downward mobility of the Russian-speaking community in the labour market in the 1990s has lowered the socio-economic composition of Russian schools. In addition, the preferences of Russian-speakers contribute to this situation as students at Russian schools have parents with lower occupational status compared to Russian-speaking students at Estonian schools. The results show that school composition in terms of average occupational status of parents partly explains the lower educational performance of students in Russian schools. School composition might also reflect the broader social environment, such as conditions in the local labour market and social problems associated with it. Thus, advantages and disadvantages that students bring from home create the school environment that is less favourable for good performances at Russian schools than in Estonian schools.

However, a linguistically divided educational system does not necessarily have a negative effect on the educational attainments of the ethnic minority youth. The Latvian context suggests that linguistically divided schools could secure somewhat similar educational performances for students from both the ethnic minority and majority if social distance between ethnic communities is not large or at least not as large as in Estonia. In other words, the broader integration context in the country shapes the educational outcomes of ethnic groups. For example, the intermarriage rate (between the ethnic Russian-speaking community and the ethnic majority) is higher in Latvia than the comparable intermarriage rate in Estonia, which means that Latvia's ethnic-linguistic communities are more mixed. Also, the economic differences between the two communities are smaller in Latvia than in Estonia although the Russian-speaking population experience difficulties in the labour markets of both countries (Rozenvalds 2010; Hazans 2010). Thus, compared to Estonia, the more advantageous integration context in Latvia, in terms of the interactions at the level of everyday life and participation in the labour market<sup>28</sup>, might support similar educational performances of ethnic groups. However, it is important to note that language reforms in Russian schools were highly debated in Latvia and caused an increase in the tensions between the two communities (Hogan-Brun et al. 2008).

Labour market entry of second generation immigrants might be complicated even if they succeed in the educational system. The results of this dissertation indicate that second and later generation immigrant Russian-speakers are less successful labour market entrants than ethnic majority youth in Estonia. Host country language skills are decisive for labour market integration. This tendency is similar with findings for the first generation immigrants in Western European countries (e.g. overview in Esser 2006). In Estonia, the implementation of strict language requirements is closely monitored in the labour market. Indeed, the acquisition of Estonian

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<sup>28</sup> My conclusions here do not take into account participation in political institutions and political conflicts between ethnic groups. Although political participation is an important aspect of structural integration, it requires more profound analysis than was possible in the scope of this thesis.

language is viewed as a pragmatic necessity by the ethnic minority population but does not relate to improving inter-ethnic attitudes (Korts 2009). The situation in Estonia is in contrast to Ukraine where the proficiency in the official language is less important for successful labour market entry than in Estonia, as the Russian language is more highly rewarded. In addition to the linguistic closeness of Russian and Ukrainian languages, strong economic and political connections with Russia contribute to the linguistic situation in Ukraine. The influences of neighbouring Russia are more limited in Estonia, although it is clear that Russia has an impact on attitudes toward integration among Estonian Russian-speakers (Kruusvall et al. 2009). The comparison of Estonia and Ukraine underlines that despite the legal language requirements, the practical usage of minority and host country languages as well as their status in society affects the importance of language skills in the process of labour market entry.

The comparison of different Estonian regions showed that Estonian language proficiency is an important predictor of labour market success everywhere, while Russian language proficiency has almost no effect on transitions to the first stable job with higher occupational status. The ability to communicate in Russian is certainly required in the Estonian labour market for a number of jobs but some of these jobs are not higher-status (e.g. in the sales industries) and there seems to be sufficient high-level jobs for youth who do not speak Russian. However, in the Tallinn area, Russian language proficiency helps quicker transitions out of unemployment to any kind of first job (including short-term or unstable jobs). This finding is consistent with idea that ethnic minority language skills as human capital have a particular regional value in areas with high ethnic concentrations (Pendakur and Pendakur 2002; Esser 2004).

Crul and Vermuelen (2003) find that there is a clear polarisation within some ethnic groups regarding the success of structural integration in several Western European countries. In the Estonian context, the outcomes of structural integration seem to be divided along lines of linguistic competences within the Russian-speaking ethnic minority group. Findings suggest that the disadvantage of low social background, insufficient Estonian language proficiency and low educational attainment tend to accumulate for young Russian-speakers and result in serious difficulties for labour market entry. Second and later generation Russian-speakers who do not have good Estonian skills are the slowest in transiting to the labour market and they often settle in low-status jobs in enterprises where the majority of the other employees are Russian-speakers. Most probably many of them have studied in Russian schools and have few or no contact with Estonians, which infers that young Russian-speakers not sufficiently proficient in Estonian face either the risk of ethnic segmentation or marginality. Ethnic segmentation, i.e. inclusion into own ethnic group and exclusion from the host society, is especially likely for Russian-speakers without good Estonian language skills living in areas with large Russian-speaking communities like Tallinn and Eastern Estonia.

Belonging to the Russian-speaking minority affects the success of labour market entry even if the ethnic minority youth have good Estonian language skills. The results show that in areas with small Russian-speaking population, ethnic minority youth proficient in the host country language do not experience more difficulties at labour market entry than their Estonian peers, they are probably already more integrated with the ethnic majority population through school or friendship networks. However, being a member of the ethnic minority is a disadvantage for labour market entry in the Tallinn area but this is not the case in Eastern Estonia, where young Russian-speakers seem to manage even better than Estonians. It is likely that the almost similar size of the ethnic groups competing in the labour market and the relatively large number of people living in the Tallinn area supports a dual, ethnically segmented labour market. There are too few Estonians in Eastern Estonia for a similar divided labour market to develop. Furthermore, the social capital of young Russian-speakers might not be sufficient to compete with Estonians in Tallinn. The opportunities for the reproduction of useful social capital diminished for Russian-speakers in the 1990s (Vihalemm and Kalmus 2009; Kazjulja 2011). In Eastern Estonia, by contrast, Russian-speakers' ethnic capital such as social networks, language or even support of own ethnic community might smooth the transition to the labour market compared to young Estonians living in the same area.

Other possible reasons for ethnic differences in the Tallinn area are employers' discriminatory preferences or very high demands for Estonian language skills. Compared to other Estonian regions, Russian-speakers living in Tallinn perceive there is more unfair treatment in the labour market (Lauristin et al. 2011). The unfair treatment by employer might occur due to imperfect information about the capabilities of applicants in the employment process. For this reason, discrimination is particularly a risk at labour market entry when young people do not have previous work experience. Employers might prefer not to hire minority youth if they believe that members of the minority have generally less skills, e.g. their language skills are not good enough (Phelps 1972; Spence 1973). The question is also whether unequal chances are related to the public sector jobs, as there are many such workplaces in Tallinn. Previous research has shown that ethnic minorities with many resources (higher education, Estonian language skills and citizenship) have more equal chances with Estonians to achieve a higher position in the private sector than in the public sector (Helemäe 2008). In Eastern Estonia, the sizeable Russian community reduces the risk of discrimination for Russian-speakers. However, my analysis does not allow for making firm conclusions about discrimination because the ethnic gap in employment opportunities might also be caused by other characteristics, such as different social networks.

The results of this dissertation suggest that the structural integration of young Russian-speakers is neither a swift nor uniform process in Estonia. Young Russian-speakers' smaller successes in education and labour market entry can be seen as an outcome of ethnic-linguistic segmentation as well as reproduction of this type of

segmentation. Segmentation to own ethnic community does not contribute to upward mobility but rather turns into a mobility trap in terms of educational and labour market success. The lower socio-economic composition of Russian schools reflects the risk of downward mobility: the weaker labour market position of Russian-speaking parents translates into a less resourceful environment in Russian schools and result in the lower performances of ethnic minority students. The educational choices of Russian-speakers are less ambitious and they achieve lower positions at labour market entry. At the same time, expectations have a crucial effect on educational transitions. Previous studies have shown that ethnic minorities have lower expectations for educational success and they often perceive inequality of opportunities in the labour market (Saar 2008; Lindemann 2011a). Thus, according to the argumentation of the rational choice model, investing less in further education might be a rational decision at the individual level if expected returns are lower. However, there is no uniform pattern of downward mobility. Excellent Estonian language skills promote the successful structural integration of young Russian-speakers in securing higher levels of education and smoother transitions to the labour market.

These results are not surprising in light of the timing and the character of language and educational reforms in Estonia. At the beginning of the 1990s, the systems of language requirements and control were established but state-coordinated language teaching programmes started at a much later date. Thus, language management during the first decade of independence was mostly rule setting and controlling, without a systematic integration policy (Vihalemm and Siiner 2011). In addition, the implementation of the education reforms in Russian basic and upper secondary schools has been a long process in Estonia. The question is also whether or not the situation would have been different if, instead of a quick transition to Estonian language studies at the level of higher education, the educational reform had focused primarily on intensive language training at lower levels of education. The Integration Survey of 2011 showed that most Russian-speakers desire intensive Estonian language learning for their children at the pre-school level (Masso et al. 2011). In Russian basic schools, only about a fifth of students participate in language immersion programs or in special Estonian-language classes (HTM 2012) and implementing these programs has been more difficult in Eastern Estonia<sup>29</sup> (Sau-Ek et al. 2011). In Latvia, on the other hand, educational reforms in Russian schools were conducted slightly earlier than in Estonia and started from adapting bilingual teaching in all Russian basic schools<sup>30</sup>. Studies show that bilingual teaching has improved Latvian language skills of students (Cara 2010; Zepa 2010). Despite the doubts about transition to bilingual education at upper secondary level, the results

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<sup>29</sup> In addition to regional variations, the unsolved question is how the social background and parental language skills affect selection to language immersion programs.

<sup>30</sup> However, Russian-language instruction was eliminated from Latvian public higher education already in the 1990s.

of some standardised exams are even slightly better in Russian schools than in Latvian schools<sup>31</sup> (Baltic Institute of Social Science 2009).

A further question is how the integration context in Estonia might lead to the accumulation of disadvantage over the life-course. Some educational transitions can be more consequential due to institutional arrangements in educational system. Such institutional arrangements might lead to accumulation of disadvantages at an early stage of the process and grow larger over time (DiPrete and Eirich 2006). In Estonia, it seems that the choice between Estonian and Russian basic school and even pre-school has more far-reaching consequences, because having good Estonian language skills is increasingly significant for the next step in the educational system. This is especially valid for the ability to learn in bilingual upper secondary school and participate in higher education. Also later in the life-course, labour market entry depends on a good command of Estonian.

In conclusion, the outcomes of youth structural integration vary in the three studied post-Soviet societies that are each hosts to large Russian-speaking minority groups. There are many similarities in the Estonian and Latvian contexts, although in Latvia, social distance between ethnic groups is smaller and there is no large ethnic gap in school performance. In Ukraine, success at transition to the labour market is more an issue of language than the ethnic group. The linguistic context in the Ukrainian labour market continuously supports the use of the ethnic minority language and Russian-speakers experience no difficulties at labour market entry. In Estonia, the large distance between ethnic groups in the educational system, and society in general, accompanied by the strong emphasis on Estonian language skills in the labour market means that structural integration remains a challenge for young Russian-speakers. Under these conditions, the linguistic division in the educational system is likely to promote the socio-economic separation of ethnic communities.

The focus of this dissertation was the structural dimension of integration, but integration also includes other aspects such as culture, ethnic identity and citizenship. Previous studies in Estonia have not found a significant relationship between structural integration and a greater sense of belonging to Estonian society (Nimmerfeldt et al. 2011). However, the question for the future is how the trend towards attaining education in Estonian schools, the transition to bilingual teaching in Russian upper secondary schools and improving Estonian language skills of Russian-speakers affect other aspects of integration.

This dissertation suggests possible explanations for the outcomes of structural integration although the longitudinal individual-level data that connects educational performance, choices and labour market entry is necessary for testing causal mechanisms directly. Another important issue concerns educational transitions between Russian and Estonian schools, particularly how Russian-speakers, who start their studies at Russian basic schools but change for Estonian school, manage

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<sup>31</sup> Baltic Institute of Social Science (2009) analysed the exams that were conducted at the end of upper secondary school from 2007 to 2009.

the transition. In addition, young people of all ethnicities are a dynamic population and leaving Estonia is an increasingly attractive option. Previous research among upper secondary school students has shown that about 40% of young Russian-speakers wish to leave Estonia to study or work in other countries (Masso and Kello 2011). This number is high although some of these youth might plan to return or have no real chances to leave in the first place. The future research should elaborate in more detail how educational and labour market opportunities in other European countries and the proximity of Russia affect the mechanisms discussed in this study, particularly the motivation to invest in language skills and education.

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# KOKKUVÕTE

## Venekeelsete noorte struktuurne integratsioon postsovetlikes kontekstides: hariduse omandamine ja tööturule sisenemine

### *Eesmärk ja uurimisküsimused*

Doktoritöö uuris venekeelsete noorte struktuurne integratsiooni postsovetlikes kontekstides Eestis, Lätis ja Ukrainas ehk riikides, mis olid osa endisest Nõukogude Liidust. Töö keskmes olid venekeelsed noored, kes on sündinud uuel asukohamaal<sup>32</sup> ja omandanud hariduse peamiselt pärast 1991. aastat. Seega vaatles töö teise ja hilisema põlvkonna immigrantide toimetulekut. Struktuurne integratsioon näitab üldiselt kaasatust ühiskonna institutsioonidesse. Doktoritöös analüüsiti struktuurse integratsiooni kolme tahku: õpitulemusi<sup>33</sup>, haridusvalikuid<sup>34</sup> ja tööturule sisenemist. Eesmärgiks oli leida, kuidas rahvus ja keeleoskus mõjutavad hariduse omandamist ja tööturule sisenemise edukust ning kuidas need sündmused sõltuvad kontekstist – keeleliselt jaotunud haridussüsteemist ja keelekeskkonnast tööturul. Töö keskendus Eestile kui postsovetliku konteksti näitele, võrdlused teiste riikidega aitasid avada Eesti eripära. Eestit võrreldi Lätiga, sest mõlemas riigis jagunevad üldhariduskoolid õppekeele alusel. Eesti ja Ukraina võrdlus tulenes eeldusest, et keelekeskkond tööturul mõjutab esimese töö leidmise edukust. Eesti regioonide võrdlus näitas kohaliku sotsiaalse keskkonna mõju struktuurse integratsiooni tulemustele.

Teise põlvkonna uurimuste põhjal Lääne-Euroopas oletatakse sageli, et rahvusvähemuste nõrgemate haridussaavutuste põhjuseks on ebapiisav keeleoskus. Eesti ja Läti kontekst võimaldas uurida, millised on haridussaavutused keeleliselt jaotunud koolisüsteemis, kus venekeelne vähemus saab osaliselt õppida oma emakeeles. Lisaks uuriti teise ja hilisema põlvkonna immigrantide keeleoskuse mõju tööturule sisenemisele, mida Lääne-Euroopa uurimustes on vähe käsitletud (pigem pööratakse tähelepanu esimese põlvkonna keeleoskusele). Samuti on vähesed uuringud analüüsinud rahvusvähemuse keele oskuse olulisust tööturule sisenemisel.

Töö otsis vastuseid kahele peamisele uurimisküsimusele: 1) Kuidas sõltub hariduse omandamine ja tööturule sisenemine keeleoskusest ja rahvusest? Kuidas mõjutab sotsiaalne päritolu eri rahvusest noorte hariduse omandamist? 2) Millist mõju avaldavad struktuurse integratsiooni tulemustele keeleliselt jaotunud haridussüsteem ja keelekeskkond tööturul?

Eestis, Lätis ja Ukrainas moodustab venekeelne vähemus suhteliselt suure osa kogu rahvastikust. Vastupidiselt immigrantidele, kes saabusid töötamise eesmärgil

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<sup>32</sup> Siin kokkuvõttes on *host country* tõlgitud asukohamaaks.

<sup>33</sup> *Educational performance* on tõlgitud kui õpitulemus. Sellega tähistatakse koolis omandatud teadmisi ja oskusi, kuid mitte omandatud haridustaset.

<sup>34</sup> Haridusvaliku ja haridusülemineku all mõistetakse suundumist põhikoolist keskkooli ning keskkoolist kõrgkooli.

Lääne-Euroopa riikidesse 1960. ja 1970. aastatel<sup>35</sup>, ei iseloomustanud Nõukogude Liidu (NL) perioodil<sup>36</sup> sisserännanud venekeelset elanikkonda kohalikest elanikest madalam tööalane positsioon või üldine haridustase. Sel ajal oli Eesti, Läti ja Ukraina haridussüsteemi ja tööturu ülesehituses mitmeid ühiseid jooni. Siiski olid erinevalt Eestist ja Lätist venelased juba 20. sajandi alguses Lõuna- ja Ida-Ukraina linnades suurim rahvusgrupp ning nendes piirkondades võtsid ukrainlased üle vene keele, mille kasutamist propageeriti kogu NL perioodil aktiivselt. Kuigi kõigis kolmes riigis on pärast NL kokkuvarisemist ainult üks riigikeel<sup>37</sup>, siis on Ukrainas vene keele staatus ühiskonnas püsunud kõrgena ning ka kontaktid Venemaaga on tugevad. Eesti ja Läti venekeelse elanikkonna jaoks kerkisid pärast 1991. aastat esile mitmed raskused, nt kodakondsuse saamine, ebapiisav riigikeele oskus või tööturul vähekasulikud sotsiaalsed võrgustikud. Need probleemid iseloomustavad sisserännanuid ka Lääne-Euroopa riikides.

Doktoritöö koosnes neljast alauurimusest. Analüüsiloogika lähtus inimese eluteest. *Uurimus 1* analüüsis põhikooli lõpuklassides õppivate 15-aastaste noorte õpitulemusi Eestis ja Lätis. Uuriti, kuidas emakeeles õppimine mõjutab õpitulemusi ning milline on sotsiaalse tausta ja koolikeskkonna olulisus keeleliselt jaotunud haridussüsteemides. Riikide võrdlus aitas selgitada integratsioonikeskkonna rolli. *Uurimus 2* analüüsis noorte eestlaste ja venelaste haridusüleminekuid põhikoolist keskkooli ja keskkoolist kõrgkooli. Uuriti, kas haridusvalikud seostuvad sotsiaalse tausta, eesti keele oskuse ja kodakondsusega ning kuidas keeleline jagunemine haridussüsteemis võib viia rahvusühise haridusliku ebavõrdsuse tekkeni. Omandatud haridusel on oluline mõju tööturuvõimalustele, kuid otsustavad võivad olla ka teised tegurid. Seetõttu uuriti keeleoskuse ja rahvuse rolli tööturule sisenemisel. *Uurimus 3* analüüsis Eesti ja Ukraina võrdluses, kuidas enamuse ja vähemuse keele oskuse olulisus esimese töö leidmisel sõltub ühiskondlikust kontekstist. *Uurimus 4* analüüsis, kuidas keeleoskuse ja rahvuse mõju tööturule sisenemisele sõltub kohalikust sotsiaalsest keskkonnast kolme Eesti regiooni võrdluses: (1) Tallinn ja Harjumaa, (2) Ida-Virumaa, ning (3) ülejäänud Eesti.

### *Mõned teoreetilises taustas esitatud lähenemised*

Doktoritöö teoreetiline taust lähtus ühelt poolt ühiskonna ja etnilise grupi tasemel integratsiooni seletavatest lähenemistest ning teisalt indiviidi tasemel integratsiooni tulemusi seletavatest käsitlustest.

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<sup>35</sup> Teise põlvkonna uuringud Lääne-Euroopas keskenduvad sageli selle immigrantide grupi lastele.

<sup>36</sup> Erinevalt Eestist ja Lätist kestis NL periood Ukrainas 1922-1991.

<sup>37</sup> Alates 2012. aastast laiendas Ukraina vene ja teiste vähemuskeelte ametlikku kasutamist avalikus sfääris.

*Klassikaline assimilatsiooniteooria* eeldab, et struktuurne integratsioon enamusühiskonda<sup>38</sup> on lineaarne protsess üle põlvkondade, millega kaasneb ülenev mobiilsus (Alba ja Nee 1997). Assimilatsiooniteooria kaasaegsem versioon rõhutab, et enamusühiskond on muutunud järjest mitmekesisemaks ning seega tähendab assimilatsioon ennekõike rahvusvähemuste sarnaseid võimalusi enamusühiskonnaga. Mitmetes Lääne-Euroopa uurimustes on selgunud, et võrreldes esimese põlvkonnaga paraneb teise põlvkonna hariduslik ja tööalane positsioon (Thompson ja Crul 2007; Heath jt 2008). Seevastu *segmenteeritud assimilatsiooniteooria* esitab kolm immigrantide kohanemise mudelit (nt Portes ja Zhou 1993). Esiteks, klassikaline lineaarne integratsioon, mida järgivad kõrgema sotsiaalmajandusliku positsiooniga vähemused. Teiseks, alanev integratsioon ehk sulandumine ühiskonna madalaima kihi hulka, mis on riskiks diskrimineeritud ja vaesemate etniliste gruppide jaoks. Kolmandaks, kohanemine etnilise grupi sees, mille eelduseks on grupisisene toimiv sotsiaalne võrgustik, mis aitab koondada ressursse (sh ka moraalne toetus). Selle tulemusel võib teine põlvkond olla edukas hariduses ja tööturul, isegi kui sotsiaalne keskkond on ebasoodne (nt elatakse kõrge töötusega piirkonnas). Siiski võib samaaegse nii vähemus- kui ka enamusgruppi kaasatuse asemel olla tulemuseks kaasatus ainult etnilisse gruppi, mis võib kujuneda mobiilsuslõksuks ning tagajärjeks on etniline *segmentatsioon* (Esser 2006). Nendele eelkõige Ameerika Ühendriikide kontekstist lähtuvatele teooriatele on oponentide Euroopa uurijad, leides, et etnilise grupi rolli tähtsustatakse üle ja rohkem peaks tähelepanu pöörama integratsiooni kontekstile riigi tasemel, sh eriti haridussüsteemile (Thompson ja Crul 2007).

Indiviidi tasemel kujundavad omandatud haridustaset nii õpitulemused koolis kui ka haridusvalikud (Boudon 1974). Õpitulemused koolis seostuvad õpilaste ja nende vanemate keeleoskusega (nt Heath ja Brinbaum 2007). Õpilased võivad kogeda ebapiisavast keeleoskusest tulenevaid raskusi ka kaudselt, sest kooliülesanded on seotud keelelise ja kultuurilise konteksti mõistmisega. Seniste uurimuste tulemused on aga mitmekesised ja seetõttu ei saa teha ühtset järeldust keeleoskuse ning ka kakskeelsete õppeprogrammide mõju kohta õpitulemustele (Esser 2006). Samuti on olulised sotsiaalne taust ja ootused. Lääne-Euroopa riikides põhjustab rahvusgruppide erinevaid õpitulemusi suures osas immigrantidest vanemate madalam haridustase või tööturupositsioon. Teisalt eeldatakse, et haridusvalikud on tugevalt seotud tulevikkuvaatava ratsionaalse otsustamisega (Breen ja Goldthorpe 1997; Jackson jt 2012). Seetõttu võivad teise põlvkonna haridusvalikud hoolimata madalamatest õpitulemustest olla kohalikest isegi ambitsioonikamad, kui haridust nähakse võimalusena ühiskonnas edasi liikuda (nt Heath jt 2008). Seda tendentsi nimetatakse ka “immigrantide optimismiks” (Kao ja Thompson 2003). Samas, kui rahvusvähemus ei usalda kooli ja arvab, et kool surub maha nende identiteeti, võib välja kujuneda vastukultuur koolile (Ogbu ja Simons 1998). Õpitulemused ja haridusvalikud sõltuvad ka koolikeskkonnast. Eeldatakse, et õpilased loovad

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<sup>38</sup> *Mainstream society* on tõlgitud kui enamusühiskond.

koolikeskkonna paremusest ja puudusest, mida nad kodust kooli toovad (Portes ja Hao 2004).

Tööturule sisenemist mõjutab lisaks omandatud haridusele ka keeleoskus. Üldiselt võib keeleoskust käsitleda kui riigispetsiifilist inimkapitali, mis on osadel tööturgudel väärtuslikum kui teistel (Chiswick 1978). Tööturгу käsitlevad uurimused näitavad, et esimese põlvkonna immigrantide ebaedu peamine põhjus on ebapiisav riigikeele oskus. Seevastu rahvusvähemuse keele oskus aitab tööturul ainult siis, kui keelel on teatud regionaalne või globaalne väärtus (Esser 2004). Palju sõltub keelekeskkonnast – millised on ametlikud ja tegelikud keelenõuded tööturul. Samuti on oluline piirkonna keeleline või rahvuslik koosseis, sest kasu vähemuskeele oskusest tõuseb rahvusvähemuse osakaalu suurenedes (Pendakur ja Pendakur 2002). Uurimuste järgi on rahvusvähemuse ebaedu põhjuseks ka rahvusepõhine diskrimineerimine või eelarvamustega suhtumine aktsendiga rääkimisse (Stolzenberg ja Tienda 1997).

#### *Andmed, muutujad ja meetod*

*Uurimus 1* põhines OECD PISA 2006 uuringule, mis mõõdab 15-aastaste õpilaste teadmisi ja oskusi. Kuna PISA-s kogutakse andmeid nii õpilase kui ka kooli tasemel, siis kasutati hierarhilist lineaarset regressiooni, et analüüsida matemaatika õpitulemusi. *Uurimus 2* põhines Eesti TIES 2007/2008 uuringule, milles küsitleti Tallinna ja Kohtla-Järve piirkonnas elavaid noori eestlasi ja teise põlvkonna venelasi. Selle uuringu eeliseks on tagasivaatelised andmed indiviidi haridus- ja töötee kohta. Haridusvalikute (keskharidus ja kõrgharidus) analüüsimetodiks oli logistiline regressioonanalüüs. *Uurimused 3* kasutati samuti Eesti TIES 2007/2008 uuringut ja Ukraina Noorte Uuringut 2007. Meetodiks oli sündmusajaloo analüüs (*event history*), mis selgitas kui kiiresti leiavad noored pärast kooli lõppu stabiilse töökoha kestusega vähemalt 6 kuud, sh analüüsiti ka kõrge staatusega teenindussektori töö saamise tõenäosust. *Uurimus 4* põhines Eesti Tööjõu-uuringutele aastatest 2002-2011, mis sisaldavad andmeid ühe aasta tööturuliikumiste ja esimese stabiilse töö kohta. Esiteks analüüsiti töötuse kestust enne esimese töö leidmist (sh võeti arvesse ka ebastabiilseid ja madala staatusega töid). Teiseks uuriti ametialast staatust esimesel stabiilsel töökohal (kestusega vähemalt 6 kuud). Meetoditeks oli sündmusajaloo analüüs ja lineaarne regressioonanalüüs. Kõikides uuringutes määratlesid vastajad ise oma rahvuse ja emakeele ning hindasid oma keeleoskuse taset.

#### *Peamised tulemused ja järeldused*

Doktoritööst selgus, et erinevus omandatud haridustasemes on noorte eestlaste ja teise põlvkonna venelaste vahel suurenenud võrreldes nende vanematega (*uurimus 2*). Kui vanemate põlvkonnas oli rahvusgruppide üldine haridustase võrdlemisi sarnane, siis teise põlvkonna venelaste haridustase on võrreldes eestlastega

madalam. See tulemus on vastupidine Lääne-Euroopa riikides leitud, kus kehtib pigem lineaarse assimilatsiooni printsiip, mille järgi iga järgnev põlvkond läheneb oma haridustasemelt ja tööturupositsioonilt enamusrahvusele (Thompson ja Crul 2007). Erinevus saavutatud haridustasemes võib tuleneda õpitulemustest koolis ja haridusvalikutest. *Uurimusest 1* selgus, et vene koolides õppivad 15-aastased noored said PISA testis ligikaudu 40 punkti madalama matemaatikatumemuse, mis OECD (2010) hinnangul võrdub ühe kooliaastaga. Õpitulemused vene koolides on nõrgemad hoolimata tuttavast keelelisest ja kultuurilisest keskkonnast<sup>39</sup>. *Uurimus 2* näitas, et rahvus mõjutab haridusüleminekuid. Võrreldes eestlastega jätkavad teise põlvkonna venelased oma haridusteed üldkeskkoolis ja kõrgkoolis vähemtõenäoliselt.

Uurimused Lääne-Euroopa riikides on näidanud, et rahvusvähemuste nõrgemad õpitulemused on peamiselt seotud nende madalama sotsiaalmajandusliku taustaga (Heath jt 2008). Samas ei tingi Eestis üldised stratifikatsioonimehhanismid rahvusgruppide erinevaid õpitulemusi ja haridusvalikuid (*uurimus 1* ja *uurimus 2*). See tähendab, et venekeelsete noorte madalam haridustase ei ole otseselt põhjustatud nende vanemate haridusest ja tööalasest positsioonist. Samuti näitasid tulemused, et venekeelsete vanemate madal eesti keele oskus või puuduv Eesti kodakondsus ei vähenda nende laste võimalusi jätkata õpinguid üldkeskkoolis ja kõrgkoolis (*uurimus 2*). See tulemus on oodatav, sest keskkoolis saab õppida vähemalt osaliselt vene keeles, kuigi kasvav eestikeelse õppe osakaal vene õppekeelega koolides võib suurendada ka vanemate keeleoskuse olulisust. Vanemate sotsiaalsest taustast võivad sõltuda ka õpilaste motivatsioon ja püüdlused<sup>40</sup>. *Uurimuse 1* tulemused näitasid, et vahe eesti ja vene kodukeelega õpilaste õpitulemustes ei ole tingitud nende motivatsioonist õppida matemaatikat ja tulevikupüüdlustest, vaid need on kahel grupil küllaltki sarnased. Seega Eesti tulemused ei viita nn. immigrantide optimismile, mis ilmneb mitmetes Lääne-Euroopa riikides.

Keeleoskusel on kahtlemata võtmeroll struktuurse integratsiooni edukuses. Doktoritöö tulemused näitasid, et suurem kaasatus enamusgruppi (õppimine eestikeelses koolis) ja eesti keele oskus soodustavad edu hariduses. See tulemus on vastavuses lineaarse assimilatsiooniteooria argumentatsiooniga, mis eeldab, et tihedamad kontaktid enamusgrupiga aitavad kaasa struktuursele integratsioonile. *Uurimusest 2* selgus, et eesti keele oskusel on tugev seos haridusüleminekutega<sup>41</sup>. Eesti keelt hästi oskavad noored jätkavad sagedamini õpinguid üldkeskkoolis ja

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<sup>39</sup> Põhikooli matemaatika lõpueksami tulemused eesti ja vene õppekeelega koolides ei erine. Lõpueksami tulemused näitavad ennekõike õppekavas nõutavate teadmiste omandamist, kuid PISA mõõdab üldisi teadmisi ja oskusi matemaatikas.

<sup>40</sup> *Aspirations* on siin tõlgitud kui püüdlused (hariduspüüdlused, ametialased püüdlused). See tähistab inimeste soove tuleviku suhtes, mille korral ei ole reaalsed võimalused nende täitumiseks nii olulised.

<sup>41</sup> Kuna keeleoskust mõõdeti küsitluse ajal, siis on seos kahe-suunaline ehk üldkeskkoolis ja kõrgkoolis õppimine tõstab keeleoskust.

kõrgkoolis. Samuti suurendas Eesti kodakondsuse omamine keskkooli lõpus tõenäosust jätkata õpinguid kõrgkoolis. Need tulemused olid oodatavad, sest madal eesti keele oskus piirab juurdepääsu tasuta kõrgharidusele. Eestikeelses koolis õppimine seostub ka õpitulemustega. *Uurimusest 1* ilmnes, et vene kodukeelega õpilased saavutavad eesti õppekeelega koolis paremaid õpitulemusi (isegi kui võtta arvesse vanemate sotsiaalmajanduslikku tausta). Samas ei saa seda tulemust tõlgendada kui ainult eesti õppekeelega kooli positiivset mõju<sup>42</sup>, sest olulised võivad olla analüüsis mõõtmata eelvalikumehhanismid nagu eesti koolis õppivate venekeelsete õpilaste võimalik suurem võimekus või vanemate tugev motiveeritus. Siiski jäävad venekeelsete noorte õpitulemused alla samas koolis õppivatele eestlastele.

Integratsiooni edukust hariduses mõjutab kohalik sotsiaalne keskkond. *Uurimus 1* näitas, et nõrgemad õpitulemused vene õppekeelega koolides on osaliselt tingitud nende koolide sotsiaalmajanduslikkust koosseisust (mõõdetud kui koolis õppivate õpilaste vanemate keskmine tööalane staatus). Võib järeldada, et venekeelse elanikkonna üldine alanev mobiilsus tööturul 1990. aastatel on madaldanud vene õppekeelega koolide sotsiaalmajanduslikku koosseisu. Seda soodustavad ka vähemuse enda eelistused, sest kõrgema tööalase staatusega venekeelsed vanemad on oma lastele sagedamini valinud eesti õppekeelega kooli kui tööturul vähem edukad vanemad (uurimus 1). Kui neid tulemusi võrrelda segmenteeritud assimilatsiooniteooriaga, mille järgi sotsiaalsed võrgustikud ning toetus etnilise grupi sees võivad aidata kaasa edule koolis isegi ebasoodsates majanduslikes tingimustes, siis Eesti kontekstis võib pigem järeldada, et vene õppekeelega kool ei toimi kui kanal, mille kaudu kogukond koondaks oma võimalusi soodustamaks noorte edukust hariduses.

Siiski ei saa järeldada, et keeleliselt jaotunud haridussüsteem suurendab paratamatult ebavõrdsust hariduses. Selgus, et Lätis saavutavad õpilased läti ja vene õppekeelega koolides sarnaseid õpitulemusi (*uurimus 1*). Üldiselt iseloomustavad Läti ja Eesti poliitilist ja majanduslikku arengut mitmed ühised jooned ning mõlema riigi integratsioonipoliitika rõhutab riigikeele olulisust (Vihalemm ja Kalmus 2009). Samas on kahe riigi integratsioonikeskkonnas ka erinevusi, mis võivad seletada haridussaavutustes ilmnenuid erisusi. Lätis on igapäevaelu tasandil distantsem enamuse ja vähemuse vahel mõnevõrra väiksem: rahvusgruppide sotsiaalmajanduslik positsioon on sarnasem, rohkem on eri rahvuste vahelisi abielusid ja territoriaalne segregatsioon ei ole nii tugev kui Eestis<sup>43</sup> (Hazans 2010; Rozenvalds 2010).

Teine põlvkond võib kogeda tööturule sisenemisel enam raskusi isegi kui neil on õnnestunud omandada hea haridustase. Doktoritöö tulemused näitasid, et teise ja hilisema põlvkonna venekeelsetel noortel kulub eestlastest rohkem aega, et leida

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<sup>42</sup> PISA uuring ei võimalda teha otseseid põhjuslikke järeldusi kooli mõju kohta, sest õpilaste teadmisi mõõdetakse ainult ühel ajahetkel.

<sup>43</sup> Analüüsis ei käsitleta poliitilise keskkonna ja konfliktide mõju, vaid pigem oletatakse, et kogukondade seotus või eraldatus igapäevaelu tasandil võib selgitada gruppidevahelisi erinevusi õpitulemustes.

esimene stabiilne töökoht ja nad saavad madalama staatusega töökohad. Seejuures sõltub nende edu tugevalt riigikeele oskusest. Sarnane tendents on ka ilmnenud paljudes Lääne-Euroopa riikide uurimustes, mis käsitlevad esimese põlvkonna immigrante (Esser 2006). Olukord Eestis on vastupidine Ukrainale. *Uurimusest 3* selgus, et Ukrainas ei ole ukraina keele (riigikeele) oskus esimese töö leidmiseks oluline, kuigi ametlikult nõutakse seda avaliku sektori kõrgetasemelistel töödel. Venekeelsed noored on kõige edukamad tööturule sisenejad. Ukrainat ja Venemaad ühendavad tugevad majanduslikud ja poliitilised sidemed ning vene keele staatus ühiskonnas on jäänud kõrgeks. Seevastu kontrollitakse Eestis rangelt keelenõudmiste järgmist tööturul. See peegeldub venekeelse elanikkonna suhtumistes, sest enamik peab eesti keele oskuse omandamist ennekõike pragmaatiliseks vajaduseks (Korts 2009). Eesti ja Ukraina võrdlus rõhutab, et hoolimata ametlikest keelenõuetest sõltub keelte olulisus tööturule sisenemisel nende tegelikust kasutusest ja staatusest ühiskonnas.

Eesti regionide võrdluses selgus, et eesti keele oskus aitab tööturule sisenemisele kaasa kõigis piirkondades, isegi Ida-Virumaal, kus ligikaudu 80% elanikkonnast on venekeelne (*uurimus 4*). Ida-Virumaal on eesti keelt hästi oskavad venekeelsed noored kõige edukamad tööturule sisenejad, ka kohalike eestlastega võrreldes. Samas viitavad tulemused, et keelekeskkond Ida-Virumaal vähendab venekeelsete noorte jaoks ebapiisava eesti keele oskuse negatiivset mõju. Tulemused näitavad, et Eestis ei mõjuta vene keele oskus noorte võimalusi leida esimene stabiilne kõrge staatusega töökoht (*uurimus 3* ja *uurimus 4*). On selge, et paljudel töökohtadel vajatakse vene keele oskust, kuid osad sellised tööd ei ole kõrge staatusega (nt müügitöö) ja tõenäoliselt on tööturul piisavalt kõrgetasemelisi töid ka madala vene keele oskusega noortele. Veel analüüsiti doktoritöös igasuguse esimese töö leidmist, kaasaarvatud lühiajalise ja madala staatusega töö leidmist. Selgus, et vene keele oskus annab eelise sellise esimese töö leidmisel piirkondades, kus venekeelne elanikkond on arvukas. See tulemus toetab osaliselt eeldust, et vähemuskeele kui inimkapitali kasulikkus sõltub rahvusvähemuse osakaalust piirkonnas.

Et selgitada rahvusgrupi mõju tööturule sisenemisele võrreldi hästi eesti keelt oskavate venekeelsete noorte edukust eestlastega, kelle haridustase ja keeleoskus on sarnane. *Uurimus 4* näitas, et rahvus võib mõjutada tööturule sisenemist olenemata heast keeleoskusest ja sarnasest haridustasemest. Selle mõju olulisus varieerub erinevatest Eesti piirkondades. Selgus, et piirkondades, kus venekeelne kogukond on väike, ei erine eesti keelt oskavate venekeelsete noorte ja eestlaste väljavaated hea töökoha leidmiseks. Võib oletada, et sellistes piirkondades soodustavad lõimumist tihedamad kontaktid eestlastega koolis ja sõprusvõrgustikes. Seevastu jäävad venekeelsed noored tööturu konkurentsis eestlastele alla Tallinnas, kus keelekogukondade suurus on peaaegu võrdne. Võrreldes eestlastega otsivad väga hea eesti keele oskusega venekeelsed noored esimest töökohta pikemalt ja nende esimene stabiilne töö on madalama staatusega. Eestlased saavad paremad töökohad kõigis majandussektorites. Põhjuseks võib olla tööturu segmenteeritus, mida soodustab ka suurearvuline venekeelne kogukond, ja vähem kasulikud sotsiaalsed

võrgustikud. Põhjusena ei saa välistada tööandjate diskrimineerivaid eelistusi või väga kõrgeid nõudmisi eesti keele oskusele. Olukord on vastupidine Ida-Virumaal, kus eesti keelt hästi oskavad venekeelsed noored on eestlastest edukamad tööturule sisenejad. Seejuures ei ole eelis tingitud ainult vene keele oskusest. Majandussektorite võrdluses selgus, et riigikeelt oskavad venekeelsed noored leiavad kõrge staatusega töö teenindussektoris<sup>44</sup> või tööstuses, mis on Ida-Eestis olnud pigem venekeelne sektor. Nende noorte edu võib soodustada keelekeskkond ja sotsiaalsed võrgustikud.

Venekeelsete noorte väiksemat edu hariduses ja tööturule sisenemisel saab tõlgendada nii etnilise segmentatsiooni tagajärje kui ka selle taastootmisena. Vene õppekeelega koolide madalam sotsiaalmajanduslik koosseis viitab alaneva mobiilsuse riskile: venekeelsete vanemate nõrgem positsioon tööturul kandub edasi vene õppekeelega koolidesse, mis nõrgendab seal õppivate noorte õpitulemusi. Samuti võib ootustel olla otsustav mõju haridusvalikutele. Eelnevad uuringud on näidanud, et eestlaste ja venekeelse elanikkonna hariduspüüdlused sarnanevad, kuid venekeelsed noored ei ole oma reaalsete võimaluste suhtes saavutada kõrget haridustaset nii positiivsed ja sagedamini tajutakse ebavõrdsust tööturul (Saar 2008; Lindemann 2011a). Seega võib väiksem panustamine edasisse haridusse olla indiviidile ratsionaalne valik. Eesti kontekstis ei aita segmenteerumine etnilisse kogukonda saavutada ülenevat mobiilsust hariduses ja tööturul, vaid pigem osutub „mobiilsuslõksuks“. Tulemused viitavad halvemuste kuhjumisele: venekeelseid noori, kelle eesti keele oskus ei ole hea, iseloomustab sageli madalam sotsiaalne päritolu ja haridustase ning suur tõenäosus asuda tööle madala staatusega töökohal ettevõttes, kus enamik teisi töötajaid on samuti venekeelsed (*uurimus 3*). Siiski ei ilmne doktoritööst ühtset venekeelse elanikkonna alaneva mobiilsuse mustrit. Väga hea eesti keele oskus aitab kaasa edukale struktuursele integratsioonile kindlustades parema haridustaseme ja sujuvama tööturule sisenemise.

Need tulemused ei ole Eestis toimunud keele- ja haridusreformide valguses üllatavad. Keelenõuete ja kontrolli süsteem asutati 1990. aastate alguses, kuid riigi koordineeritud keeleõpe ja integratsiooniprogrammid alustasid palju hiljem (Vihalemm ja Siiner 2011). Ka haridusreformide elluviimine vene õppekeelega koolides on mitmesugustel põhjustel olnud aeglane<sup>45</sup>. Kuigi vene õppekeelega põhikoolides kasvab keelekümbluse programmides osalevate laste arv, siis osaleb selles ikka ainult viiendik õpilasi (HTM 2012) ja nende programmide edukas toimimine on keerulisem Ida-Virumaal (Sau-Ek jt 2011). Lätis algasid reformid üldhariduskoolides varem ja esimese sammuna viidi põhiharidus üle kakskeelsele õppele. Uuringud näitavad, et see on oluliselt tõstnud õpilaste läti keele oskust

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<sup>44</sup> Siin kontekstis tähistab teenindussektor äriteeninduse ja avaliku haldusega seotud töökohti ning sellesse kategooriasse ei arvestatud müügi ja isikuteenindusega seotud töökohti.

<sup>45</sup> Küsimuseks jääb, mil määral olukord erineks, kui kiire eestikeelsele õppele ülemineku asemel kõrghariduses oleks hariduse reformimine alanud intensiivse keeleõppega madalamatel haridustasemetel. Eesti Integratsioonimonitooringust 2011 selgus, et suurem osa venekeelsest elanikkonnast eelistaks intensiivset eesti keele õpet juba lasteaias (Masso jt 2011).

(Cara 2010; Zepa 2010). Kuigi 2004. aastal tõi Lätis venekeelsete gümnaasiumite üleminek kakskeelsele õppele kaasa tugevad protestid, siis on riigieksamite tulemused kakskeelsetes gümnaasiumites paremad kui läti õppekeelega keskkoolides (Baltic Institute of Social Science 2009). Oluline küsimus on ka, kas Eesti integratsioonikontekst ja haridussüsteem võivad soodustada halvemuste kuhjumist elutee jooksul. Mõned haridusvalikud võivad olla eriti olulised ja viia olukorrani, et üks valik kahandab järgnevaid võimalusi elutee jooksul (DiPrete ja Eirich 2006). Eesti kontekstis võib juba valik eesti ja vene õppekeelega põhikooli või lasteaia vahel omada kaugeleulatuvaid tagajärgi, sest eesti keele oskuse tähtsus järgnevatel haridustasemetel aina suureneb (võimekus õppida kakskeelses gümnaasiumis ja osaleda kõrghariduses).

Kolmes uuritud postsovetlikus kontekstis – Eestis, Lätis ja Ukrainas – erinevad venekeelsete noorte struktuurse integratsiooni tulemused. Kuigi Eesti ja Läti ühiskondade arengutes on palju sarnaseid jooni, võib järeldada, et sotsiaalne distants igapäevaelu tasandil rahvusvahemuse ja enamuse vahel on väiksem Lätis ja puudub suur lõhe eri rahvusest noorte õpitulemustes. Ukrainas on tööturule sisenemine pigem keele kui rahvuse küsimus, sest keelekeskkond toetab jätkuvalt vene keele kasutamist ning venekeelsed noored on esimese töö leidmisel teistest isegi edukamad. Eestis seevastu tähendab rahvusgruppide eraldatus haridussüsteemis ja eesti keele oskuse määrav olulisus tööturul, et struktuurne integratsioon on siiani venekeelsete noorte jaoks katsumus. Seega aitab keeleline jaotumine haridussüsteemis pigem kaasa kogukondade sotsiaalmajanduslikule eraldatusele.

Doktoritöö selgitas struktuurse integratsiooni tulemusi, kuid põhjuslike seoste sügavamaks analüüsiks on vajalikud longituudsed andmed, mis ühendavad indiviidi õpitulemused, haridusvalikud ja tööturule sisenemise. Edasised uurimused peaksid ka selgitama, kuidas hariduse omandamise ja tööturu võimalused teistes Euroopa riikides ja Venemaa lähedus mõjutavad selles doktoritöös arutatud sotsiaalseid mehhanisme, eriti venekeelsete noorte motivatsiooni investeerida keeleoskusesse ja haridusse.

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