

Triin Vihalemm and Gabrielle Hogan-Brun

## Language policies and practices across the Baltic: processes, challenges and prospects

**Abstract:** We examine actions taken in the three Baltic states to (re-)establish their national languages in *de facto* multilingual surroundings. The implementation processes and initial impact of language ideology and language regulation on the language practices and socio-political participation of Soviet-period immigrants and their descendants living in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are described. In presenting a comparative cross-Baltic overview of language practices we discuss the national differences in connection with citizenship and political participation, population distribution and labour market surroundings. Our empirical data are drawn from sociological surveys, population statistics and labour market segregation analyses. We focus on the interaction between regulations, language practices and social structural surroundings asking: How has the national language establishment shaped labour market practices, citizenship and education expectations? And *vice versa*: What could be the effect of the social surroundings on the formation of the language practices? We conclude that despite their different structural provisions, Estonia and Lithuania face somewhat similar future challenges in terms of creating a culturally more integrated education system. The minority agents when confronted with existing policy requirements have fewer possibilities to produce their own (alternative) solutions since ethnicity or language-driven social marginalization is perceived more as a problem here. In Latvia, the minority representatives seem to have sufficient resources in the private sphere to “slow down” existing state level language requirements, which enables them to create suitable surroundings for the ongoing maintenance of the Latvian-Russian multilingual environment.

**Keywords:** Baltic, language policies and practices, citizenship, minorities, participation.

**Resüme:** Artiklis analüüsitakse Balti riikide keelepoliitikaid esimese kahekümne iseseisvusaasta jooksul. Pärast nõuogude okupatsiooni uuesti ülesehitatavate rahvusriikide missiooniks on eesti/läti/leedu keele ja kultuuri säilimine ja arendamine. Kõrvuti selle eesmärgiga on riikide ees teine raske ülesanne – lõimida ühiskonda nõukogude perioodil sisserännanud ja nende järeltulijad – arvukas vene emakeelega elanikkond. Artiklis antakse võrdlev ülevaade peamisest tegevustest riigikeele kehtestamisel ning analüüsitakse poliitilise, demograafilise ning majandusliku keskkonna soodustavat ning takistavat mõju venekeelse elanikkonna keelepraktikate muutumisele, poliitilisele osalusele ja tööturupraktikatele.

Analüüsis kasutatakse sotsioloogiliste uuringute ning rahvastikustatistika andmeid ja tööturu segregatsiooni näitajaid. Artikkel keskendub kahele küsimusele. Esiteks – milline on keelepoliitiliste regulatsioonide, keelepraktikate ja sotsiaalse struktuuri omavaheline vastasmõju? Teiseks – kuidas on riigikeele kehtestamise poliitika kujundanud tööturupraktikaid ja vastupidi, milline on ümbritseva sotsiaal-majandusliku keskkonna mõju keelepraktikate kujunemisele? Analüüsis järeldub, et Eesti ja Leedu väljakutsed on sarnased – luua kultuuriliselt lõimitum haridussüsteem selleks, et vältida osa vene kodukeelega noorte marginaliseerumist. Erinevalt Eestist ja Leedust on Läti vene vähemusel tööturul ja erasektoris küllatki tugev positsioon, mis võimaldab riikliku keelepoliitika nõudmisi pehmenendada ning nende mõjulepääsu aeglustada, säilitades Läti elanike läti-vene kakskeelsust ja vene keele positsiooni mitteametliku kohaliku keelena.

**Резюме:** Мы оцениваем действия, предпринятые в трех странах Балтии для установления их национальных языков в *de facto* многоязычном окружении. Здесь описаны способы осуществления и изначальное влияние языковой идеологии и языкового регулирования на языковые практики и социально-политическое участие иммигрантов советского периода и их потомков, живущих в Эстонии, Латвии и Литве. Мы опираемся на эмпирическую очевидность, отраженную в социологических исследованиях, статистике народонаселения и анализе сегрегации на рынке труда. Мы концентрируемся на взаимодействии между регулированием, языковыми практиками и социальной средой, задаваясь вопросом: как установление национальных языков сформировало практики рынка труда, ожидания в отношении гражданства и образования? И наоборот: каково может быть влияние социального окружения на формирования языковых практик? Мы приходим к выводу, что несмотря на различные структурные предпосылки, Эстония и Литва столкнулись со схожими вызовами в плане создания более культурно интегрированной системы образования. Здесь меньшинства, сталкиваясь с имеющимися политическими требованиями, имеют меньше возможностей производить свои собственные (альтернативные) решения, поскольку этничность или обусловленная языком социальная маргинализация воспринимается здесь в большей степени как проблема. В Латвии же, по видимому, меньшинства имеют достаточно ресурсов в частной сфере для того, чтобы смягчить существующие языковые требования государства. Таким образом создается подходящая среда для продолжающегося сохранения латышско-русской многоязычной среды.

**Zusammenfassung:** Wir untersuchen gewählte Handlungsstränge in den drei baltischen Staaten Estland, Lettland und Litauen zur Wiederherstellung des offi-

ziellen Status und der Funktionalität der jeweiligen Staatssprachen in ihren tatsächlich mehrsprachigen Umgebungen. Wir besprechen nationale Unterschiede im Zusammenhang mit Staatsbürgerschaft und politischer Teilnahme, der Bevölkerungsverteilung und den Arbeitsmarktumgebungen. Im Hinblick auf die Wechselwirkungen zwischen Sprachregelungen, Sprachpraxis und soziostrukturellen Faktoren fragen wir: Wie hat sich die Landesspracheneinrichtung auf die Arbeitsmarktpraxis, Staatsbürgerschaft und Ausbildungserwartungen ausgewirkt? Und umgekehrt: Was könnte die Auswirkung der Sozialumgebungen auf Sprachpraktika sein? Empirisch beziehen wir uns auf soziologische Übersichten, Bevölkerungsstatistiken und Arbeitsmarktsegregationssanalysen.

**Resumen:** Analizamos las acciones llevadas a cabo en tres repúblicas bálticas para (re)establecer su lengua nacional en entornos multilingües de facto. Se describe el establecimiento e impacto inicial de la ideología lingüística y la regulación lingüística de las prácticas lingüísticas y la participación socio-política de los inmigrantes del periodo soviético y sus descendientes con residencia en Estonia, Latvia y Lituania. Al presentar una visión global comparada de las prácticas lingüísticas a lo largo del Báltico, se analizan las diferencias nacionales en lo relativo a ciudadanía y participación política, distribución de la población y entornos del mercado de trabajo. Nuestros datos empíricos proceden de encuestas sociológicas, estadísticas de población y análisis de segregación del mercado de trabajo. Nos centramos en la interacción entre regulaciones, prácticas lingüísticas y entornos sociales para contestar la siguiente pregunta: ¿De qué forma ha condicionado el sistema de lengua nacional las prácticas del mercado laboral, la ciudadanía y las expectativas educativas? Y viceversa: ¿Cuál puede ser la influencia del entorno social en la formación de las prácticas lingüísticas? Se concluye que, a pesar de sus diferencias en condicionamientos estructurales, Estonia y Lituania se enfrentan a similares retos futuros en términos de creación de un sistema educativo de mayor integración cultural. Cuando los agentes minoritarios tienen que enfrentarse a requisitos derivados de políticas ya en vigor, tienen menos posibilidades de ofrecer sus propias soluciones (alternativas) dado que en estas condiciones la etnicidad o la marginalización social de origen lingüístico se perciben más como problema. En Latvia los representantes de la minoría parecen contar con suficientes recursos en la esfera privada para “ralentizar” los requisitos estatales de nivel lingüístico, lo que les permite crear contextos apropiados para el mantenimiento en el tiempo de entornos multilingües latvio-rusos.

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**Triin Vihalemm:** University of Tartu, Estonia, E-mail: triin.vihalemm@ut.ee

**Gabrielle Hogan-Brun:** University of Basel, Switzerland, E-mail: g.hogan-brun@bristol.ac.uk

# 1 Introduction

This paper examines the implementation processes and consequences of language policies surrounding the language practices and social-political participation of Soviet-period immigrants and their descendants living in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. In the early 1990s these states re-started their nation-building project that had been interrupted by WWII and Soviet occupation. Each country's central aim was to re-establish its titular language<sup>1</sup> as a fully functioning medium of communication in the public sphere. The ethno-demographic legacy (see Appendix 1), characterized by a significant percentage of people with another mother tongue together with structurally limited capability for national language acquisition, makes this objective challenging.

We briefly review effects of past language policy implementation and explore institutional and individual agents' practices (their ideological rationalization and justification) when dealing with diverging language use and structural conditions. In addition, we ask whether, how quickly and with what social consequences it is possible to achieve a large-scale change of language practices while joining and staying in the framework of the EU's political, cultural and juridical space. Estonia, Latvia and, to a lesser extent, Lithuania have used relatively similar political means in their national language establishment. However, because of the peculiarities of cultural recourses and the diverging geopolitical and economical structure of each of these societies, the results vary both quantitatively (the speed of change) and qualitatively (the social stratification across existing language lines). This generates different challenges in relation to the socio-political inclusion of language groups and in terms of ways chosen for targeted integrative intervention.

In what follows we first review the general process of national language establishment and the current language practices in the Baltic states. We then discuss country-specific variations in relation to the peculiarities of social structure and civic integration. In conclusion we consider current challenges facing each state mainly *vis à vis* the Russian-speaking minority.

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<sup>1</sup> The terms titular, national, state and local language are used interchangeably for the purposes of this paper and designate the constitutionally anchored official status of Estonian in Estonia, Latvian in Latvia and Lithuanian in Lithuania.

## 2 Baltic language policy interventions: rationales and processes

The language policy rationale in the Baltic states was already drafted prior the restoration of independence. Of central importance in the liberation movements of the late 1980s was the idea of saving and normalising each country's national languages. The situation was more complicated in Latvia and Estonia, where a greater demographic shift had occurred through Soviet immigration policy than in Lithuania.<sup>2</sup> As the immigrants were neither ideologically (Pilkington 1998) nor structurally (Kolsto 1999) motivated to learn the local language, they expected the local population to turn to Russian (Vihalemm 1992; 1993). Thus, by the end of Soviet rule every seventh, fourth and third Russian-speaker in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania respectively reported having some command of their titular languages (Druviete 1997).

The main actions of language political intervention undertaken in the Baltic states are shown in Table 1<sup>3</sup>. The first Language Acts that were adopted Baltic-wide in 1989 (i.e. before the restoration of independence) declared the official status of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian in the respective republics. Russian was removed as an official means of communication.<sup>4</sup> In the 1990s also, to strengthen the sociolinguistic function of the state languages, language skills levels were defined and compulsory examinations set for those entering various professions (for further details see Hogan-Brun et al. 2009: 78). These language requirement systems still control and regulate access and career opportunities in the labour market in all three states. The national languages were also enacted as the main or only medium of state financed tertiary education<sup>5</sup>. In addition, language requirements were stipulated by the respective citizenship laws for access to political rights (for further details see Hogan-Brun et al. 2009: 64) in Estonia and Latvia.

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2 By the restoration of independence, the indigenous population had sunk from 92.4% to 61.5% in Estonia, from 73.4% to 52% in Latvia, and from 84% to 83.2% in Lithuania. About half non-Lithuanians are Poles (cf. Hogan-Brun et al. 2009: 39).

3 The rationale and early implementation process of language laws in the three Baltic states is thoroughly explained in EHDR 2010/2011; Hogan-Brun *et al.* 2009; Rannut 2008; Druviete 1997.

4 This happened through several consecutive Language Laws, approved in 1990, 1992 and 1995 in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, respectively.

5 According to Law in all three countries, university education has to be in the state language. Special regulations exist for foreign language degrees, and courses in English are offered in international study programmes for incoming students. Some private educational institutions exist that have opted for other languages (such as Russian) as the medium of instruction but certificates are usually not nationally accredited.

Lithuania began to create and implement its state language teaching and adult language training systems at an early stage, in 1990 (Table 1; cf. Hogan-Brun and Ramonienė 2003; 2004; 2005a and b). In general, the strong Lithuanian-language social environment facilitated its teaching and learning. Hence the majority of adults were in a position to acquire language proficiency certificates by 2003 (Ramonienė 2011). Soon Lithuania's language certification system became aligned with the compulsory state language examination system for all school leavers (Ramonienė 2006). Lithuanian is now a compulsory subject in all bilingual schools (Ramonienė 2011). By using structural provisions, the country has succeeded in re-establishing its national language relatively quickly and efficiently.

By contrast, the establishment of Estonia's and Latvia's strategic language teaching programmes and adult training systems were considerably delayed. Here, language management consisted mostly of rule setting and controlling, with no systematic integration policy during the first decade of independence (Table 1). Until the end of the 1990s, the main agents in the field were private and third sector organizations. Supporting structures at the national level for adult language acquisition started to be formed in both countries towards the end of the 1990s (Šalme 2006; Rozenvalds 2010: 46–47; Tomusk 2010).

In Estonia, an integration policy was drafted and the relevant institutions (ministries and the Integration Foundation) were established during the period 1997–2000 (for more information see EHDR 2010/2011). The first Estonian State Integration Programme (2000–2007) promoted Estonian language learning as the main indicator of integration. Its successor State Integration Programme (2008–2013) stresses in addition civic integration and participation possibilities. The preparation of an analogous programme in Latvia was redrafted several times before it was finally approved in 2000. It stresses Latvian language training, naturalization and the reform of the educational system as the main objectives of integration.

The regulation of language practices in Latvia and Estonia was mainly intended to steer access and career opportunities within the labour market. The other strategic objective was to initiate social change through education. Both Estonia's and Latvia's aim was that 60 per cent of all subjects should be taught in the respective national language at the secondary school level (grades 10 to 12). In Latvia the (disputed) reform was implemented relatively quickly, in 2004 (see Hogan-Brun 2009b). The rigid and non-inclusive manner in which this change was handled produced large-scale mass protests that involved more than half of the minority secondary school pupils (Djackova 2011b). In Estonia, since its first drafting in 1993, the implementation phase of the education reform took longer. With varying language competencies prevailing amongst pupils, the schools',

parents' and other socializing agents' abilities were recruited to support the switch to the 60/40 model of schooling (Masso and Kello 2011). Although schools were granted time for preparation, the risk of the minority schools' polarization remains high.

At the primary school level (grades 1 to 9), different approaches are used in Latvia and Estonia. In Latvia's case the minority pupils' linguistic adaptation when moving from one educational level to another is guided more systematically, at least when it comes to the institutional framework. From 1999 all minority primary schools had 60 per cent of subjects taught in Latvian<sup>6</sup>. A more detailed analysis of the re-arrangement rationale and the process is provided elsewhere (BISS 2002, *The Aspect of Culture* [..] 2006; Zepa 2010). But it is not clear whether the schools have enough teachers and other resources to teach the subject in Latvian and there is no detailed information how teaching is actually conducted in the classrooms (Djackova 2011b). Officially it has been claimed that implementation of the 60/40 model has not significantly affected the students' learning achievements in Latvia's secondary schools (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia, 2012).

In Estonia it is compulsory to teach Estonian as a subject at the primary level. Since 2000 there have been opportunities to prepare pupils for Estonian-medium learning through language immersion programmes at volunteer schools<sup>7</sup>. Research shows that the effect has been mostly positive (MISA 2012; Masso and Kello 2011). However, there are many primary schools with poor teaching of Estonian (Tomusk 2010), which is likely to hamper the learning progress at the secondary school level.

In general, language management and ideologies are quite similar at the macro level in Estonia and Latvia. Estonia has been quicker at changing language practices within the framework of (civic) integration, whereas Latvia has worked harder to increase competitiveness for young people from linguistic minorities and to provide them with a more "smooth" move from lower levels of the education system to upper levels. Thus, as we shall see below, education has played a key role in re-orienting language practices across the Baltic.

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<sup>6</sup> Primary schools can choose between different programme models. Up to 60 per cent of classes in national minority schools are taught in the Latvian language, but up to 40 per cent of classes are available in the language of the national minority or bilingually (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia, 2012).

<sup>7</sup> According to the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research, about one-fifth of minority pupils have taken part in immersion programmes or learned Estonian in-depth at primary school (Masso and Kello 2011).

	First half of the 1990s	Second half of the 1990s	First half of the 2000s	Second half of the 2000s
Lithuania	<p>Language testing system and reforms of the language teaching system were mostly completed.</p> <p>Language certificates introduced for upper secondary school state examinations.</p> <p>New language law in 1990 removes Russian as an official means of communication.</p>	<p>Further development of the system.</p>	<p>Bilingual models for minority schools since 2001.</p> <p>The majority of adults learnt Lithuanian, passed tests and received proficiency certificates by approximately 2003.</p>	<p>From 2011 it is compulsory to teach some Lithuanian-related subjects in two languages in all minority schools.</p>
Latvia	<p>Principal requirements and control/testing systems established.</p> <p>New language law in 1992 removes Russian as an official means of communication.</p>	<p>Language training system was created.</p> <p>State programme of teaching Latvian as a L2 was launched in 1999.</p> <p>The plan for switching over to Latvian as the language of instruction in Russian-medium secondary schools was drafted but later changed to a 60/40 requirement.</p> <p>Elaboration of the bilingual education model at primary school level and start of the switchover process.</p>	<p>Latvian government took over the language training programme.</p> <p>Elaboration and approval of the State Integration Programme and establishment of implementing institutions.</p> <p>Switch to the 60/40 model in Russian-medium secondary schools planned but postponed and adapted after mass protests.</p>	<p>Switchover to Latvian as the language of instruction in Russian-medium secondary schools mostly completed by the academic year 2007/2008.</p> <p>Minority programmes implemented (60/40 model) at all education levels from grades 1-12.</p>
Estonia	<p>Principal requirements and control/testing systems established.</p> <p>Draft plan for switching over to Estonian as the language of instruction in Russian-medium secondary schools.</p> <p>New language law in 1995 removes Russian as an official means of communication.</p>	<p>State-coordinated language training system and strategy created.</p> <p>Elaboration and approval of the State Integration programme and establishment of implementing institutions (Ministry and the Integration Foundation).</p> <p>Language examination system change in 1999.</p> <p>The plan for switching over to Estonian as the language of instruction changed to a 60/40 requirement with postponed deadlines.</p>	<p>Programmes that aimed at a more holistically designed language environment developed and approved: Estonian Language Development Strategy (2004–2010); Estonian Foreign language Strategy up to 2015.</p> <p>Deadlines for switching over to Estonian as the language of instruction postponed.</p> <p>Voluntary language immersion programmes at primary school level.</p>	<p>New Estonian Language Development Strategy (2011–2017).</p> <p>Switch to Estonian as the language of instruction in Russian-medium secondary schools (60/40 model) mostly completed by the academic year 2010/2011.</p>

Sources: Ramonienė (2006; 2011); Tomusk (2010); Rozenvalds (2010); Šaime (2006); Priedite (2005); Masso and Kello (2011); Djackova (2011a); Vihalemm and Štiner (2011).

**Table 1:** Implementation of language policy in the Baltic states during the two decades after regaining independence.



### 3 Language knowledge and practices today

The rate of linguistic and social integration of non-titular populations varies across the Baltic. Overall, the level of self-assessed state language knowledge among Russian-speakers is highest in Lithuania and poorest in Estonia. In Lithuania, 44% claim to be fluent in Lithuanian, 26% to be able to understand, speak and write in it and 4% to understand a little or no Lithuanian. In Latvia 57% declare either fluency or writing and speaking skills in Latvian (compared to 35% in Estonia). The number of people saying that they do not know or understand their state language is somewhat greater in Estonia (36%) than in Latvia (20%)<sup>8</sup>.

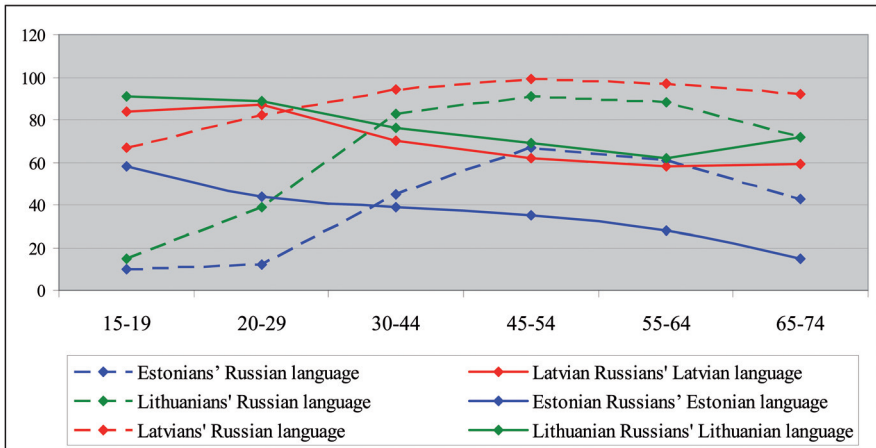
According to surveys, Lithuania shows the highest results of linguistic and social integration of non-titular populations among the Baltic states (see Figure 1). It is likely that this has been generated through a combination of favourable factors such as a more homogenous ethnic composition and a higher “starting” level of state language knowledge. As explained above, the early and appropriate re-arrangement of the system of teaching and learning Lithuanian as a second language has been instrumental in achieving rapid changes in linguistic practices. Three quarters of Russian-speakers report to be using it mostly in public places and in communication with officials, service staff etc., about 40% in personal communication circles and every second person claims to be following Lithuanian-language mass media frequently (Ramonienė 2011).

Furthermore, the language skills in Lithuania are fairly evenly distributed across different education levels and social status groups (Appendix 2). Older minority language speakers have advanced competence of Lithuanian less frequently (but still more so than their peers in Latvia and Estonia; Figure 1). No in-group differentiation in national language mastery can be identified countrywide. Adult education plays a central role in equalizing in-group opportunities for participation in the labour market and more generally in public life. Also in Lithuania, the place of residence (or spatial segregation) is not a significant disadvantage as far as language acquisition is concerned. Even in towns (such as Druskininkai or Visaginas) where over half the population speak other languages a shift to Lithuanian has occurred in the public space (Ramonienė 2011). In addition, the families’ educational preferences have changed in favour of Lithuanian-medium schools and kindergartens to facilitate their children’s future access to employment and higher education (Konickaja 2009; Ramonienė 2011). The solid position of Lithuanian as a medium of communication in the public space is strengthened

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<sup>8</sup> Sources: Estonian Integration Monitoring Survey 2011 and Baltic Human Development Survey 2011.

by the fact that knowledge of Russian among the younger generation has dropped. This decline is remarkable compared to Latvia but not Estonia (Figure 1).



**Figure 1:** Age-dependent (self-assessed) active language knowledge in the Baltic states in 2011 (Percentage of people in each age group who themselves claim to know the language fluently or are able to understand, speak and write in the questioned language). Dotted lines: indigenous people's self-assessed knowledge of Russian; solid lines: Russian-speakers' self-assessed knowledge of their host country's state language.<sup>9</sup>

Source: Baltic Human Development Survey 2011.

In Latvia, knowledge of the state language has significantly increased through established professional language requirements, the reformed minority education system, adult language training and control of language use in the public space. But the linguistic practices of both Russian-speakers and ethnic Latvians have been quite slow to change: Russian still figures extensively in the semi-public and private spheres and also in inter-ethnic oral communication (Djackova 2011a). The largest increase in the use of Latvian is in the professional sphere: Here, the share of people who only speak Russian or more Russian than Latvian

<sup>9</sup> Displaying survey data (rather than test results), Figure 1 provides information on self-reported knowledge as opposed to actual degrees of knowledge. Comparisons of the findings from the 2011 Baltic Human Development survey with those from the 2011 Estonian Integration Monitoring Survey (where people were asked about their language examination certificate) however show that, whilst self-assessment and the language examination results do not correspond fully, there still is a strong correlation between subjective and objective evidence of language knowledge. This type of evidence is not available for Latvia and Lithuania.

has dropped (Djackova 2011a). The mixed usage of Latvian and Russian has increased at workplaces in favour of monolingual communication (either only in Russian or only in Latvian) (Hazans 2010). As a result, changing linguistic practices among Russian-speakers have demanded more frequent code-switching from Latvians. The position of Russian in Latvia is strong across the generations (Figure 1), which may be a barrier (in hindering Russian-speakers to acquire Latvian) or bridge (in facilitating successful communication through joint use of Russian). On the other hand, many Russian-speakers say that they welcome the opportunity to interact in Latvian with Latvians in a tension-free environment (BISS 2010). In Latvia it is less probable than in Estonia that English will become a language of inter-ethnic communication as Latvian language skills are considerably higher among minorities than proficiency in English (Vihalemm and Siiner 2011).

In both Latvia and Estonia instrumental motivation prevails over integrative orientation in the drive to acquire the national language (Siiner and Vihalemm 2011; Djackova 2011a). Estonian Russian-speakers generally consider their state language knowledge as low. Their level of Estonian language competence is statistically significantly age-related<sup>10</sup> according to the authors' calculations on the basis of data from the Baltic Human Development Survey (2011). This points to the importance of personal (educational and economic) resources in this respect. In fact, Estonian language mastery is significantly connected with the Estonian Russian-speakers' social status and their confidence regarding their own economic prospects (Vihalemm et al. 2011). When comparing the social profile of those with active Estonian skills with that of those with passive language competence, the higher social position (managers, specialists and other white-collar job positions), of the linguistically more "equipped" speakers is evident (Appendix 2). Acquisition of Estonian among Russian-speakers might also be aided by the quick "disappearance" of Russian language skills among Estonians, which however could make the social (language-related) surroundings more tense.

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<sup>10</sup> Value of Cramers' V connection with age is 0.24. The value of Cramers' V connection with higher education is 0.173 and with social status is 0.351.

**Table 2:** Language practices of Russian-speakers in communication with speakers of Estonian and Latvian (friends and colleagues). Sources: Estonian Integration Monitoring (2011); Latvian survey „Language“ (2008).

	Communication at work with Estonians/Latvians		Communication with Estonian/Latvian friends	
	Estonian Russians	Latvian Russians	Estonian Russians	Latvian Russians
Only in Estonian/Latvian	11.5%	6%	5%	2%
Mixed usage	64%	66%	50%	48%
Only in Russian	24.5%	28%	45%	50%

Despite the fact that the share of Russian-speakers in the total population is bigger in Latvia, their self-assessed state language knowledge is more positive there than in Estonia, especially among the younger generation (Figure 1). Comparable cross-country data about existing language practices are currently not available but when juxtaposing the similar survey results from 2008 (for Latvia) and 2011 (for Estonia), the distribution of language use preferences in communicating with friends and colleagues of the titular ethnicity looks similar in Estonia and Latvia, i.e. communication only in Russian takes place less frequently at the workplace but still more frequently with friends (Table 2). These data suggest that the language practices in Estonia and Latvia have changed approximately within the same period. In the next section the structural surroundings that may explain this phenomenon are discussed.

## 4 Social surroundings of language policy implementation: Language practices as connected with other social practices

So far in this paper we have elaborated on the political-regulative tools that were implemented during the first decade of nation-building. These intervened mostly within the daily practices of adults and concerned the minority members' access to employment in the labour market, citizenship and state financed tertiary education. We now examine the potential effects of these interventions in different regions, from the perspective of language practices as well as political

participation and labour market practices. Our key questions are: How has the national language establishment shaped the labour market practices, citizenship and education expectations? Or *vice versa*: How have the social surroundings affected the formation of language practices?

#### 4.1 Spatial demographic distribution

The Baltic states differ by spatial factors that shape linguistic practices and integration in general. In all three countries Russian-speakers are concentrated in the cities. The population balance by ethnicity in the five biggest cities is given in Table 3. The distribution of the Russian-speaking population is fairly even in Lithuania. Research shows that their linguistic practices have mostly changed in favour of Lithuanian, including in places where they constitute a majority (Ramoniė 2011). By contrast in north-eastern Estonia, Russian-speakers outnumber ethnic Estonians. They have limited opportunities to practice Estonian with native speakers. Additionally, with a locally high unemployment rate, the socio-economic environment can at best support passive language knowledge. The problem is not so much lacking resources but mainly spatial segregation, in which linguistic integration takes place at a slower rate (Verschik 2005). Latvia's Russian-speaking population too is spatially segregated. The most heterogeneous regions are around Riga and large industrial cities such as Daugavpils (Table 3). Parallel to the Soviet era immigrants there is also a sizeable group of well-established Russian Old Believers who live in Latvia's eastern Latgale region (Monden and Smits 2005). Their sense of rootedness may also be affected by adaptation to ongoing socio-political changes, including language political intervention.

**Table 3:** Characterization of structural provisions and challenges of national language establishment in the Baltic states.

Criterion	Estonia	Latvia	Lithuania
Unexplained ethnic wage gap ( <i>relationship between countries' indicators</i> ) at the labour market	Most significant compared to Latvia and Lithuania		
Sectoral segregation at the labour market		Most significant compared to Estonia and Lithuania	
Statistically significant relations found in regression analysis between the variables*	Knowledge of Estonian and assessment of economic situation of household and overall quality of life.	Ethnicity and assessment of overall quality of life.	Ethnicity and assessment of economic situation of household and overall quality of life.
Language exam is considered as a significant barrier in applying for citizenship	45% of persons with undetermined citizenship consider this as an important factor**	23% of persons without citizenship of Latvia or any other state consider this as an important hindering factor**	zero option approved (see below)
Share and number of Russian citizens in the total population***	6,9% have Russian citizenship	1,6% have Russian citizenship	99% of the population have Lithuanian citizenship
Share of Russians in the 5 biggest cities of the country****	Tallinn 36% Tartu 15% Narva 85,5% Kohtla-Järve 67% Pärnu 15%	Riga 39% Daugavpils 51% Liepaja 31% Jelgava 28% Jurmala 35%	Vilnius 12% Kaunas 4% Klaipeda 20% Siauliai 4% Panevezys 2%

\* Source: Vihalemm et al. (2011).

\*\* Sources: Estonian Integration Monitoring (2011); and survey of Latvian Human Rights Centre (Kruma 2010: 42).

\*\*\* Data of Population Census 2011.

\*\*\*\* Data from residents' register beginning of 2012 provided by the Estonian Statistical Board and Data from Census 2000.

These distinct demographics led to the implementation of different citizenship policies across the Baltic. Below we first juxtapose these policies and then we discuss the implications of the legally and informally established language requirements on the labour market.

## 4.2 Citizenship

Lithuania has legalised the zero option, which granted Lithuanian citizenship for all Soviet immigrants who were resident in the country at the time of independence, and for their descendants. By contrast, Estonia and Latvia followed the restorationist principle<sup>11</sup>. This restricts citizenship to individuals who were not citizens of Estonia or Latvia before Soviet occupation, and their descendants<sup>12</sup>. Estonia approved the citizenship law quickly and the naturalization process began in 1992. In Latvia, the legal status of previous Soviet residents was undecided from 1991 till 2005 and the issuing of non-citizens' passports started in 2007. Thus Estonia was somewhat ahead in using the citizenship policy in order to promote language acquisition. Latvia's long vacuum in citizenship matters led to the disillusionment of initially loyal minded Russian-speakers who were disappointed by the ethnic policies of the Latvian power elite (Rozenvalds 2010). The naturalization conditions differ somewhat between Latvia and Estonia (Kruma 2010; MISA 2012), but both include a language and civic/history examination. From 1993–1996 there was a peak period for naturalization applications in Estonia, when about 20 per cent of previous Soviet citizens and their descendants obtained Estonian citizenship. After that, the naturalization rates dropped in both countries. Every second non-citizen in Estonia (EIM 2011) and every fourth in Latvia (Kruma 2010) maintains that the language test is a significant barrier (Table 3).

During the early phase of Baltic EU accession preparation, some scholars (e.g. Laitin 1998) predicted that many Russian-speakers residing in Estonia and Latvia would in time choose to apply for citizenship as a means to gain access to the West. Naturalisation rates were duly up initially but started to drop when in 2006 non-citizen passport holders were granted the right for free movement and

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<sup>11</sup> The main objective of the citizenship policy in Estonia and Latvia was not only the promotion of language acquisition. See e.g. Smith (2003), Commercio (2008), Lagerspetz (2001) for discussions on citizenship policies in these states.

<sup>12</sup> The Soviet-time immigrants who have not naturalised (yet) are considered as “non-citizens” in Latvia or “people with undetermined citizenship” in Estonia. Special aliens' passports are issued for them.

residence in the EU. This is a unique status of *de facto* EU citizens who have no other citizenship. With this advantage more non-citizens now opt to apply for residence permits (which also requires passing a language examination) than for citizenship in Latvia.

In all likelihood, the citizenship and wider language policy regulations have been in stronger mutual interaction in Estonia due to their parallel implementation. But the language courses that prepare applicants for the citizenship (language) examination are not the sole means to promote language competence and practices. The fact is that on the whole, more people choose to learn the language to enhance their employment opportunities rather than for citizenship (Vihalemm 1999; 2008). Although language barriers play a leading role in maintaining non-citizen status, approximately a third of people whose mother tongue is not Estonian and who do not have citizenship know Estonian reasonably well<sup>13</sup>. Their reasons for not applying for Estonian citizenship vary from ideological to pragmatic. The 2011 Integration Monitoring Report refers to a group of (young) people who know Estonian quite well and intensively follow Estonian-language mass media. Although they are linguistically well integrated, their national allegiances are weak and they do not value Estonian citizenship highly. They report on average exposure to ethnic conflicts as experienced through mass media and social media networks (EIM 2012). Paradoxically, it seems that language acquisition, when not supported by civic education and a network of personal contacts, can also hinder the formation of civic identity. As a consequence, the language establishment policy has supported the development of rather complicated self-identification patterns and practices of social and political participation.

We now consider the effects of language political intervention practices in the labour markets of the Baltic states.

### 4.3 Labour market

The language requirements set for the professions in the early 1990s coincided with significant restructuring and turbulence in the labour market caused by the transition from the Soviet state economy system to the market economy. In 1993 three quarters of Russian-speakers feared the prospect of becoming unemployed (Baltic Barometer data 1993). Yet not all Russian-speakers hurried to enrol in

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<sup>13</sup> Authors' calculations of the 2011 Integration Monitoring database and of the 2011 census data. The census data split by ethnicity and mother tongue are not available yet but preliminary data about ethnicity, mother tongue and citizenship are available at: [http://pub.stat.ee/px-web.2001/I\\_Databas/Population\\_census/PHC2011/PHC2011.asp](http://pub.stat.ee/px-web.2001/I_Databas/Population_census/PHC2011/PHC2011.asp) Accessed in 30.09.2012.



language courses. The newly introduced professional language requirements also created practices of resistance. For example, 60 per cent of Estonian Russian-speakers admitted in 1995 that Estonian is needed for a career but at the same time 43 per cent expressed the belief that a Russian-speaking person can find employment with good personal connections or professional skills, rather than mastery of Estonian itself (Vihalemm 1999). Undoubtedly, in the interaction of official requirements and grass-roots level coping practices certain subsequent mechanisms formed in the Baltic labour markets had an effect on language policy interventions and the further development of labour market relations.

Naturally, state language competence plays an important role in employment perspectives in general. Unemployment rates are higher, compared to the majority, among minority members in all three states. Economists use the index of ethnic segregation by economic sector as a tool in their analysis of language establishment surroundings. This index reflects the centrality of the public and private sectors in providing employment opportunities for the majority and minority populations. Since the language requirements concern mainly positions in the public sector and only a few private sector jobs, the sectoral employment patterns reflect also the impact of language political regulation. Among the three states, Latvia has a comparatively small number of minority employees in the public sector (OECD 2003). Hazans (2010) has found in analyzing later data that the sectoral segregation of the labour market is bigger in Latvia compared with Estonia. Thus the jobs offered in the public sector (which require a set level of language knowledge) are either not attractive or not accessible for minority applicants. But the position of Russians is strong in Latvia's business sector, which acts as a „softening buffer“ for language policy interventions. Many Russians in Latvia have used their Soviet-time connections (in Moscow and other places of Russian Federation) to secure a job (Morris 2003; Commercio 2010). Commercio argues in her recent study that „participation in Latvia's private sector enables Russians to make a living despite constraints imposed by nationalization policies and practices designed to preserve an all-Latvian public sector“ (2010: 79). Therefore there is no significant socioeconomic marginalization of Russian-speakers in Latvia's private business sector (Kolsto 2000).

Of course, the impact of labour market conditions on existing language practices may be gradual. During the period 1997–2007 the employment gap between Latvians and non-Latvians decreased. By 2007 it had disappeared altogether due to the development of ethno-linguistically more liberal hiring standards. According to Hazans (2010) the representation and quality of Latvian usage worsened initially as a result of these developments. But this practice offered people from different language backgrounds a greater chance to work together in the Latvian-medium environment. Consequently, the share of Russian-speakers

using (some) Latvian in interethnic conversations increased by about 10 per cent during the period of economic growth (during 2004–2008). With the recession the employment gap increased again in Latvia, especially among people with higher education (Hazans 2010), which is likely to lessen opportunities for non-Latvians speakers to practice Latvian on the workforce.

Another index used in economic analyses is occupational ethnic segregation which reflects the share of majority and minority representatives in various occupations. The general patterns are similar in all three countries, with language minorities over-represented among manual workers and under-represented among senior officials, managers and professionals (in Lithuania also among technicians) (OECD 2003). By the end of the first decade of transition according to this document, the occupational segregation appeared strongest in Lithuania and weakest in Latvia. A comparison of the social status profiles in 2011 also reveals that Russian-speakers in Lithuania tend to occupy managerial and top specialist positions less frequently than in Estonia and Latvia (Appendix 2). This pattern may be indicative of low self-confidence among Lithuania's minority employees in applying for white collar jobs. Considering their overall good state language skills, (implicit) ethnic differentiation comes into question. Indeed, ethnicity in Lithuania is strongly related to peoples' self-assessed positioning of their own economic perspectives.

In Estonia by contrast, where occupational segregation is strong, the minorities' socio-economic self-positioning is related to their level of state language competence (Appendix 2). Employers seem to set high language standards and Russian-speakers can enjoy equal opportunities (for a promotion at work or when applying for higher positions) if they can demonstrate advanced (writing, listening and speaking) skills in Estonian (Lindemann 2010). Their generally more moderate language performance can also explain the ethnic gap in returns to higher education, which is statistically not significant in Latvia and Lithuania (Hazans 2003).

The third tool for analysis of labour market relations is the ethnic wage differential between the majority and ethnic minority populations. Here, Estonia has the largest difference when compared to Latvia and Lithuania. The ethnic wage gap can partly be explained by the language requirements (OECD 2003). For example, in 2005 those Latvian Russian-speaking employees with good state language skills earned on average 2 per cent more than native speakers of (solely) Latvian. The wages of people with more limited knowledge of Latvian were on average 9–12 per cent lower compared to those of native speakers (Hazans 2010). Among Estonia's younger Russian-speakers, those with good Estonian language skills get an average salary, while those with no mastery of Estonian receive up to three quarters less pay (Lindemann and Vöörmann 2009).

Thus, Estonia is differentiated from its Baltic neighbours by a four-fold unexplained ethnic wage gap<sup>14</sup> (OECD 2003). The unmet language requirements may provide a clue as to what is happening, i.e. that if a prospective employee is unable to produce the relevant language certificate, employers can choose to lower their pay offer for the same job either by explicit or implicit agreement of both parties. During the first decade of the scheme's implementation, approximately every second Russian-speaker of working age acquired a language certificate. Only about a quarter of the remainder ended up working in professions where the language requirements applied (Estonian language learning needs survey 2002)<sup>15</sup>.

Thus on the one hand, the extensive use of labour market tools used to promote language learning and shape language practices has had a significant effect in changing these practices. In Lithuania's multilingual cities, Lithuanian is used overwhelmingly in public and in the business sphere (Ramonienė 2011). The greatest shift in Latvia's Russian-speakers' language practices has occurred at work: as many as 91 per cent of them claimed in 1996 to speak solely or predominantly Russian with Latvian work colleagues; by 2008 the share has diminished by some 66 per cent (data of the survey „Language“, cited from Djackova 2011a). Similarly in Estonia, 71 per cent of Russian-speaking medical doctors admitted in 1992 to be interacting only or mainly in Russian with their Estonian colleagues (Vihalemm 1992) as opposed to 36 per cent of the Russian speaking specialists by 2011<sup>16</sup>. In 2011, not only medical doctors were questioned, but other specialists, like teachers, engineers etc. as well.

However, the adult language certification system that shapes the employment practices also tends to generate specific social environments for the younger generation's language practice. In Estonia, the ethnic gaps in employment, salaries and career opportunities are closely linked to the divided school system which has not (yet) been able to boost the Estonian language skills needed to apply for certain desired posts in the labour market. *Vice versa*, there are limited possibilities to practice the language at the workplace (Siiner & Vihalemm 2011). This gap has supported assimilative strategies: a growing number of socio-eco-

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14 The unexplained ethnic wage gap signifies a difference in the wages of people of different ethnic background who have the same occupation, education, living and who are working in the same region etc. Native Estonians earn more than people of other ethnicities who are working on similar occupations. The wage difference in Estonia (12–16%) is four times bigger compared to the same indicator in Latvia and Lithuania (1–4%).

15 Today about two thirds of Russian-speakers who are active in the labour market do not have a valid language certificate that corresponds to the European standards running from level A2 to level C2 (EIM 2011).

16 Authors' calculations on database of EIM 2011.

nominally advanced Russian-speaking parents are now sending their children to mainstream Estonian-medium schools.

To sum up, the demographic, political and economic surroundings have favoured the quick acquisition of Lithuanian and promoted its prevailing usage in the public and professional spheres, even in places where ethnic Lithuanians do not form a majority. Thus in this country, employees are best equipped with state-specific capital (citizenship and state language knowledge). Yet there is an ethnic gap that blocks many from applying for specialist occupations, and a move to socio-economically higher status positions. Also the survey results (Table 3) show that in Lithuania, ethnicity tends to outweigh the language skills, which may in turn support assimilative strategies.

In Latvia, where the share of Russian-speakers is the largest of the three countries, and where they form approximately one half of the population in many of the cities, Russian employers play an important role in the labour market. This fact somewhat „muffles“ the intended language policy effects in terms of labour market relations as well as naturalization rates. An (unintended) positive side effect of the less stringent linguistic requirements may be more opportunities to practice the state language. While structural segregation is weaker in Latvia than in Estonia, the labour market and career opportunities may gradually start to work as incentives for (further) language acquisition and usage. The development of bilingual education at the primary school level is an important factor here as it enables youngsters to find work and start practising Latvian early outside the classroom. This is socially significant since language and communicative competence can best be achieved in interaction between equal partners with easy relationships.

In Estonia, the spatial concentration of Russian-speakers in the north-eastern cities is a big problem. The population there is economically deprived and geographically isolated. Current language and education policies support rather than hinder local mechanisms of socio-cultural reproduction of socio-economic marginalization among these people living at the country's periphery.

## 5 Discussion

Overall, we conclude that Lithuania has been effective in shaping the language practices of Russian-speakers, especially among the younger generation but also among those who came to Lithuania in the period of Soviet power<sup>17</sup>. Both the

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<sup>17</sup> However, this country entertains more tense and complicated relations with the Polish segment of the population, an elaboration of which lies outside the remit of this paper.

labour market analysis and survey results cited above reveal that ethnicity remains a powerful factor there in differentiating peoples' subjective wellbeing. Thus the Russians and other minorities may see themselves on a negative path dependence because of their ethnicity (which tends to outweigh their actual language skills). This may in turn direct future strategies towards assimilation.

Although there have been somewhat diverging language political interventions in Latvia and Estonia, state language knowledge and usage among Russian-speakers are relatively similar in both countries. However, some (more qualitatively rather than quantitatively) differing characteristics that mark these societies could possibly shape the future process of national language establishment. Mainly, in Latvia the socio-psychological surroundings that would condition changing practices tend to be somewhat less tense than in Estonia, for several reasons.

First of all, the role of state language competence is significant in creating intra-group and in-group social stratification in Estonia. Opportunities for Russian-speakers with good and poor language skills are polarized here and already embedded into the economic and cultural environments. In Latvia by contrast, the emergence of major socioeconomic differences in income levels between the language communities has not been witnessed, and ethnic origin is not strongly correlated with poverty (Rozenvalds 2010; Rajevska 2010). Hence economic inequality is perceived in geographical rather than ethnic terms in Latvia (Van Meurs 2003). What is more, neither ethnic nor linguistic factors play a significant role in peoples' subjective self-positioning in economic terms. According to ethnic differentiation measurements of the labour market, Latvia also presents the "flattest" scenario of the three Baltic states, possibly because of the stronger position of Russians in the Latvian economy and in the labour market.

Second, the potential for bilingualism with Russian is quickly diminishing in Estonia whereas it is being preserved in Latvia. The position of Russian in Latvia is strong across the generations. This could hinder further acquisition of Latvian by Russian-speakers but it might also help create personal contacts on a more equal basis.

Third, Latvia's education system has undergone more systematic language political intervention than Estonia's, particularly in terms of the institutional and legal framework. The principle of teaching 60 per cent of subjects in Latvian has been implemented from primary schools upwards to the secondary level, thus establishing a logical chain where the state language is progressively acquired throughout consecutive grades, permitting entrance to the tertiary education system. This has in turn produced higher wages. Today, the Latvian labour market seems to be more favourable for minority employers, and there appear to be less unexplained wage differentials and occupational segregation. In Estonia by contrast, more mismatches occur between the social subsystems. Estonian is taught as

a subject at the primary school level but is used as the medium of learning other selected subjects in secondary education. When young people with a minority background enter the higher education system, a new discord can emerge as they prepare to move on to the labour market: Among the three Baltic states, Estonia has the lowest return investment of higher education. In terms of wage prospects there are greater incentives to learn English than Estonian. Ethnic occupational segregation is also characteristic in the Estonian labour market. These structural mechanisms may disappear or be transformed with the up-coming generation when a critical mass of young employees and citizens enters the public space and the labour market. Thus current approaches chosen for language political intervention in the education system may need to be revised.

The Latvian education strategy seems to be more systematic. We do not know yet how the education reform has affected (the quality of) learning there due to lack of research funding. In Estonia too, such monitoring will need to be continued. Despite the differences in the local context, the differing experiences could have mutually valuable learning potential. At the level of the ministries, exchange lines are already open but they still need to be established between schools. Clearly, education will continue to figure as a key “democratizing” mechanism in settings where language stratification produces negative side effects and where limited language knowledge has led to ghettoisation and social marginalization, preventing social integration across existing structural divides.

The endeavour and relevant actions of the three Baltic states to establish their national languages in *de facto* multilingual settings has brought about somewhat different language political implications and arrangements. Lithuania’s language policy has been at the “soft” end regarding quick actions taken (particularly pertaining to the adult language learning system) to equalize the minorities’ participation possibilities on the labour market and also in politics (through the zero option variant of citizenship). However, labour market analyses and survey results still point to implicit ethnic differentiation that is historically rooted and cannot be easily wiped away with language political interventions. For Lithuania, the challenge will be to establish a culturally more integrated education system. The fact that Russian families send their children to mainstream schools points to their perceived need for more acculturation (not only in terms of language learning).

Latvia’s and Estonia’s socioeconomic conditions for the full establishment of their national languages are more complicated. These countries have initially used more sanctions (“sticks”) than incentives (“carrots”) by setting requirements, practicing control and letting the solutions come from the private sphere. In Latvia, there seem to be enough resources in the private sphere either to resist or to “slow down” existing state level language requirements, thereby paradoxically creating suitable surroundings for the ongoing maintenance of the Latvian-Rus-

sian environment. By contrast in Estonia, where the economic and social “buffers” are “thinner”, and where minority agents when confronted with policy requirements have fewer possibilities to produce their own (alternative) solutions, language-driven social polarization is proceeding. Ultimately, Estonia and Lithuania face somewhat similar challenges in terms of creating a culturally more integrated education system.

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## Appendix 1. Population by ethnicity and mother tongue in the Baltic states according to census 2011

	Estonia	Latvia	Lithuania
Total population	1 294 236	2 070 371	3 043 429
Number and share of Estonians/ Latvians/Lithuanians	889 770 (68.7%)	1 285 136 (62%)	2 561 314 (84%)
Number and share of two biggest minority groups	Russians 321 198 (24.8%) Ukrainians 22 302 (1.7%)	Russians 557 119 (26.9%) Belorussians 68 202 (3.3%)	Poles 200 317 (6.6%) Russians 176 913 (5.8%)
Share and number of people whose mother tongue is different from the national language	407 377 (31,5%) (–1.5%*)	905 477 (43.7%) (+1.7%*)	628,192** (18%**)

Sources: 2011 census data in Estonia and Latvia; 2011 and 2001 census data in Lithuania.

\* compared with 2000 census data.

\*\* 2001 census data. The new data for 2011 are not available yet.

	Estonia	Latvia	Lithuania
Number and share of people whose mother tongue is Estonian/main home language is Latvian	886 859 68.5%	1 164 894 56%	<i>Data not available yet</i>
Number and share of people whose mother tongue/main home language is Russian	383 062 29.6%	698 757 34%	<i>Data not available yet</i>
Change in the share of titular ethnic group from 1989–2011	61.5–68.7%	52–62%	79.6–84%
Change in the share of Russians from 1989–2011	30.3–24.8%	34–26.9%	9.4–5.8%
Change in the share of other ethnic groups from 1989–2011	8.2–6.5%	14–11.1%	4–3.6%

## Appendix 2. Socio-demographic profile of people with passive or active command in national language (100% of all people in the relevant subsample)

	Estonia			Latvia			Lithuania	
	Passive command in Estonian	Active command in Estonian	All people whose L1 is Russian	Passive command in Latvian	Active command in Latvian	All people whose L1 is Russian	Active* command in Lithuanian	All people whose L1 is Russian
Higher education	18	37	21	15,5	26,5	21,5	20	17

Source: Baltic Human Development Survey 2011.

\* The number of people with Russian as their L1 who had a passive command in Lithuanian was too small in the survey sample to make statistically reliable calculations.

	Estonia			Latvia			Lithuania	
	Passive command in Estonian	Active command in Estonian	All people whose L1 is Russian	Passive command in Latvian	Active command in Latvian	All people whose L1 is Russian	Active* command in Lithuanian	All people whose L1 is Russian
Secondary education	68	65	63	68	57	61	67	67
Primary education	18	10	16	16	17	18	20	18
Self-employed	7	2,5	5	3	2	2	2	1
Manager, top specialist	6	15	8	3	12	10	4	2,5
Specialist, clerk, service staff	6	26	11	10	22	16	13	15
Worker	28	16	25	22	13	21	18	12
Unemployed	19	10	14,5	19	19	19	29	23,5
Retired	22	5	19	33	15	23,5	16	25
Student, pupil	8	19	11,5	5	11	8	18	12

\* The number of people with Russian as their L1 who had a passive command in Lithuanian was too small in the survey sample to make statistically reliable calculations.