



**European Master in Human rights and democratisation
European Inter-University Center
2010/2011**

**DEMOCRACY VERSUS NATION-STATE ?
The Estonian case-study**

Alexandra Korsakoff

Tartu University

Responsible of the programme : Professor Lauri Mälksoo

Thesis director : Professor Vello Pettai





**European Master in Human rights and democratisation
European Inter-University Center
2010/2011**

**DEMOCRACY VERSUS NATION-STATE ?
The Estonian case-study**

Alexandra Korsakoff

Tartu University

Responsible of the programme : Professor Lauri Mälksoo

Thesis director : Professor Vello Pettai



ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to highlight if both concepts of polyarchy and ethnos nation-state may reconcile in practice despite their inner theoretical contradiction. Our Estonian case-study reveals that the definition of national identity according to ethnic cores prevents the state to take positive state duties towards ideal democratic conditions, and so any reconciliation to take place. Indeed, the consequent ethnic nationalism and monopoly of the cultural domain do undermine both inclusiveness and effective participation democratic conditions, while lessening non-members of the core nation's both psychological and material resources, thus entailing their self-withdrawal.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to thank the myriad persons who provided support and encouragement throughout the pursuit of this project. In particular:

Vello Pettai for providing excellent instruction, as well as a general helping hand ;

Kristina Kallas and Kristjan Kaldur for offering me useful materials ;

Olga Sõtnik, Olga Burmakina, Vadim Poleshchuk, Jevgeni Ossinovski and Mart Nutt for having taken some time answering my questionnaire;

All members of my family and friends who rendered this project possible.

To Amour.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	4
Acknowledgments	5
Table of contents	6
List of tables	8
List of annexs	9

Introduction: Democracy and nation-state, hegelian dialectic or unreconcilable dichotomy? (page 10)

1/ Defining democracy	11
2/ Defining nation-state	13
3/ Towards the practical reconciliation of democracy and ethnos nation-state, based on contradictory theoretical assumptions?	14
4/ Introducing our Estonian case-study	15

FIRST PART: Theoretical and historical framework: the Estonian differentialist and Volk centered conception of nationhood confronted to the democratic willingness (page 17)

Section 1: The Estonian nation-state, the embodiment of the Estonian ethnic nation.....18

A] <u>The Estonian nation, built as an ethno-cultural artefact</u>	19
1/ From an « historyless people » to an Estonian ethnic community	19
2/ Estonian nationalism, nation-building and the right to self-determination	21
B] <u>The new independent Republic of Estonia as an ethnos nation-state, a prime outcome of a growing nationalism during the Soviet period</u>	25
1/ The strengthening of nationalism during the Soviet period	25
2/ Independence and the will to establish an ethnic nation-state	29

Section 2: Practical attempts to reconcile the Estonian ethnic nation-state with democratic conditions.....30

A] <u>Towards the implementation of the inclusiveness democratic condition</u>	31
1/ The legal restorationist ideology and the very first challenge of inclusiveness	31
2/ The opening up of naturalization procedures	32
B] <u>Current challenges of the Estonian democracy</u>	34
1/ The problematic definition of national identity in a multicultural ethnos nation-state	34
2/ Ethnopolitics: the Estonian democracy at stake	37

Section 3: Summary.....39

SECOND PART : Empirical study of political participation of the non-core nation members: self-withdrawal from the democratic process (page 40)

Section 1: Acquisition of political rights and willingness to get the citizenship.....41

A] <u>Legal provisions concerning the acquisition of the Estonian citizenship</u>	42
1/ A liberalized naturalization procedure under the Citizenship Act of the 19 th January 1995	42
2/ A preferential status of Estonian citizens by birth over those naturalized	45
B] <u>Integration policies aimed at facilitating access to citizenship</u>	49
1/ The state programme « Integration in Estonian society »	49
2/ Towards the elimination of practical barriers in language learning of citizenship applicants	53
C] <u>Self-withdrawal from the Estonian citizenship, a lack of interest in political rights?</u>	55

1/ Rights granted through the acquisition of citizenship	55
2/ The negation of the « political animal » myth?	56

Section 2: Political participation in elections.....59

A] <u>Study of the political participation in national elections</u>	60
B] <u>Study of the political participation in local elections</u>	63
C] <u>Study of the reasons alleged for explaining political abstention</u>	65

Section 3: Summary.....66

**THIRD PART: Towards an explanation of this self-withdrawal phenomenon:
the ethnos nation-state as the responsible of a decrease of non members
of the core nation's political resources (page 67)**

Section 1: The lack of social unity and the decrease of psychological political resources.....68

A] <u>Failure to achieve feeling of belonging</u>	69
1/ Lack of identification as a member of the Estonia nation	69
2/ A lower political interest	71
B] <u>Failure to achieve feeling of security</u>	74
1/ Feeling of illegitimacy over the Estonian statehood	74
2/ Efficacy and distrust towards public authorities	76

Section 2: The preeminence of the Estonian nation and the decrease of material resources...79

A] <u>The Estonian-centred cultural domain and the language issue</u>	80
B] <u>The nationality as an important factor in defining socio-economic status</u>	82
C] <u>The lack of descriptive representation and the exclusive approach of politics</u>	85

Section 3: Summary.....88

Conclusion: Is every nation-state entitled to endorse the « tyranny of the majority »? (page 89)

1/ The national identity promoted by the state at the very core of the democratic theory.....	89
2/ Polyarchy and necessary state positive obligation for the highest attainment of the democratic process.....	91
3/ Is every nation-state entitled to the « cultural tyranny of the majority » ?.....	92

Bibliography 96

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table 1</u> : Composition of the population living in Estonia by citizenship.....	36
<u>Table 2</u> : Comparison of the activities planned in the 2000-2007 implementation plan and activities which have been effectively implemented which may have a direct impact on the citizenship issue.....	52
<u>Table 3</u> : Number of persons who have acquired Estonian citizenship through naturalization from 1992 to 2011.....	58
<u>Table 4</u> : Political participation of the population in 2002 and 2005 local elections according to nationality.....	60
<u>Table 5</u> : Political participation of the population in 2002 and 2005 local elections according to nationality and citizenship status.....	61
<u>Table 6</u> : Political participation of Estonian citizens in 2003, 2007 and 2011 Riigikogu elections according to nationality.....	64
<u>Table 7</u> : Main reasons allegeded for political abstention among non-members of the core nation in 2003, 2005 and 2007 elections.....	65
<u>Table 8</u> : Conception of Estonianhood according to nationality.....	70
<u>Table 9</u> : Self-identification as a member of the Estonian nation according to nationality and citizenship status.....	71
<u>Table 10</u> : Level of interest in politics according to nationality.....	73
<u>Table 11</u> : Perception of the meaning of the « <i>Estonian people</i> » mentioned in the Constitution according to nationality and citizenship status.....	75
<u>Table 12</u> : Level of trust in the three main Estonian political institutions according to nationality.....	78
<u>Table 13</u> : Scheme of the practical impact the claim of an ethnos nation-state has on democratic conditions.....	90

LIST OF ANNEXS

<u>Annex 1</u> : Extracts from the citizenship act passed on the 19 th January 1995.....	100
<u>Annex 2</u> : Questionnaire Democracy versus Nation-State ? The Estonian case-study.....	103
<u>Annex 3</u> : Post-election survey on political participation, University of Tartu 2003.....	105
<u>Annex 4</u> : Post-election survey on political participation, University of Tartu 2005.....	121
<u>Annex 5</u> : Post-election survey on political participation, University of Tartu 2007.....	136
<u>Annex 6</u> : Post-election survey on political participation, University of Tartu 2011.....	150

INTRODUCTION: Democracy and Nation-State, hegelian dialectic or unreconcilable dichotomy?

“Free institutions are next to impossible in a country made up of different nationalities [...] It is in general a necessary condition for free institutions that the boundaries of governments should coincide in the main with those of nationalities”(John Stuart Mill)¹

As a firm advocate of democratic liberalism, John Stuart Mill found that he had no choice but to endorse nationalism meanwhile having endorsed democracy. His main argument was based on the analysis of the necessary conditions for a flourishing democracy: *“Among a people without fellow-feeling, especially if they read and speak different languages, the united public opinion necessary to the workings of representative institutions cannot exist”*².

Mill here echoed a widespread assumption among scholars according which nationalism would be a component of democracy without which this last could not exist. Indeed, nationalism is usually perceived as the force that has claimed to provide some kind of criteria for defining the political unit for democracy. Following the Pericles' famous maxim, taken up later by Abraham Lincoln, according which *“democracy is the government of the people by the people and for the people”*, nationalism exactly helps to define *“we, the people”* in concrete terms. Therefore, the key point of a working democracy is political unity which in turn relies on a *“shared political identity”* according to Norman³. The basis of such identity seems more contingent and affective and it is the very first task of nationalism to elaborate it in order to determine who the majority of the people identify with, feel solidarity with. Consequently, the vast majority of scholars advocate for a strong interdependence between democracy, both emerging and established ones, and nationalism. While Ghia Nodia argues that nationalism is needed for starting democratic enterprise, that democracy never exists without nationalism⁴, Margaret Moore claims that shared national identity facilitates democratic governance as far as it is instrumental to achieve two constituent goods of democracy, namely representation and participation⁵. Those are two mere examples of the mainstream approach of the relations between both concepts but very relevant to our cause.

¹ MILL, J.S: *Considerations on Representative Government*, Liberal Arts Press, New York, 1958, pages 232-233

² *Ibid*, page 392

³ NORMAN, W.: « The ideology of shared values: a myopic vision of unity in the multinational state » in: *Is Quebec nationalism just ? Perspectives from anglophone Canada*, Carens, J.H., McGill-Queen's University Press, Montréal, 1995, pages 137-159

⁴ NODIA, G.: « Nationalism and Democracy » in *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 3, Number 4, 1992, pages 3-22

⁵ MOORE, M. « Normative justifications for liberal nationalism: justice, democracy and national identity » in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 7, Number 1, 2001, pages 1-20

However, nationalism is usually defined as a theory of political legitimacy which requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones, and in particular, that ethnic boundaries within a given state should not separate the power-holders from the rest. Ultimately, it claims for national self-determination and establishment of nation-states. As a consequence, democracy and nation-state are often regarded as complementary, or at least very compatible with. Besides, many modern nation-states in the world, like France, Germany, Portugal, Greece, Japan or Sweden, to give only a few examples, all proclaim themselves democracy as well.

However, without denying the strong linkage between democracy and nation-state, we would contradict here this common idea that democracy and nation-state are complementary, and even go further while asserting that they rely on contradictory theoretical assumptions. But for a better understanding, let us have a look on definition of both concepts before arguing for our assertion.

1/ Defining Democracy.

The Pericles' maxim we quoted earlier obviously makes explicit the democratic principle but is still not enough. It refers to the idea according which a democracy consists of a specific dynamic relationship between a state and its citizens. Therefore, to identify a political regime as democratic, we have to find out to which extent the state acts in accordance with the expressed demands of the citizens. The quality and extent of mutually-binding consultation in the individual-State relation is the key element of a democracy.

Whereas any internationally recognized definition has been accepted till today, scholars traditionally use, implicitly or explicitly, four different set of elements to assess this mutually-binding consultation, like Charles Tilly skillfully underlined it⁶.

The first one, or the constitutional approach, focuses first of all on the analysis of contrasting legal arrangements, i.e. on enacted laws concerning political activities. Secondly, the substantial one tends to analyze life conditions and policies promoted in a given state. According to this theory, we might be inclined to call a regime democratic, and regardless of how its constitution reads, if it promotes human welfare, individual freedom, security, equity, social equality, public deliberation and peaceful conflict resolution. Then, the procedural approach, the third one, pays more attention to the existing governmental practices and procedures. In that sense, procedural analysts concentrate themselves on consultative procedures performance, overwhelmingly on elections but also on

⁶ TILLY, C.: *Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2007, page 7

referendum, opinion polls, recall and petitions. Finally, the process oriented approach mainly focuses on the existing processes in the society which affect the relations between the State and its citizens. It describes an interlocking set of political processes that must be continuously in motion for a situation to qualify as democratic. It seeks to identify how the association works, not what techniques it adopts to accomplish its goals.

As far as large discrepancies between announced principles and daily practices often make constitutions misleading and because it goes far beyond the others, we will prefer the process-oriented approach in assessing the mutually-binding consultation of a given political regime.

In this framework, and in a classic statement, Robert A. Dahl identified a set of political processes that distinguishes democracy from all other political regime, a set which merely describes a working process, a series of regularized interaction among citizens and officials. Defined in idealistic terms, those process-oriented criteria for democracy are: effective participation, voting equality, enlightened understanding, control of the agenda and inclusion⁷.

When Dahl moves from local associations to modern national regimes, then he speaks about polyarchal democracy, because of the change of scale and its consequences (representative government, greater diversity, the increase in cleavages and conflicts). Then he holds on to his process-oriented insights but shifts to talk of institutions. According to him, seven institutions are necessary to a modern representative democracy : elected officials, free and fair elections, inclusive suffrage, right to run for office, freedom of expression, alternative information, and finally, associational autonomy⁸. All of them are necessary to satisfy the five previous process-oriented criteria for democracy, and generally to democracy on a large scale. These institutions are necessary to the highest feasible attainment of the democratic process but not sufficient.

More than in Dahl's definition of democracy, we are even more interested here in the theoretical assumptions on which it relies on. Indeed, while asserting "*it is obvious [...] that the emergence and persistence of a democratic government among a group of people depend in some way of their beliefs [...] Among a group whose members believe that they are all about equally qualified to participate in the decisions of the group, the chances are relatively high that they will govern themselves through some sort of democratic process*"⁹, Robert A. Dahl lays down the very basic philosophical foundations of the democratic phenomenon: the widespread acceptance of certain beliefs, namely "*the Strong Principle of Equality*", which he defines as the assumption of

⁷ DAHL, R.A.: *Democracy and its critics*, Yale University Press, New Heaven, 1989, page 108

⁸ *Ibid*, page 221

⁹ *Ibid*, page 30

individuals' roughly equal qualification to govern themselves¹⁰. This last in turn rests on two propositions, both personal autonomy and equal consideration of interests.

The first one, the personal autonomy supposed that no person is more likely than yourself a better judge whether a policy is in your best interest. Paraphrasing Dahl, you may delegate the choice of means to bring certain results to those more qualified in that respect, but you cannot yield the right to judge whether the results were in your interest.

On the other hand, the equal consideration of interest refers somehow to the idea of intrinsic equality, as far as it implies that during a process of collective decision-making, the interests of every person who is subject to the decision must (within limits of feasibility) be accurately interpreted and made known.

2/ Defining Nation-State.

As a result of the late 18th and 19th centuries developments, the nation-state reflects today the idea of a certain unity between the state, as a political entity, and the nation.

This equation of state and nation has initially been rendered possible through the Rousseauist social contract theory thanks to the Enlightenment rationalism. Indeed, as soon as the principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the Nation, the State has been regarded as a voluntary and contractual association, fused together by the integration of its individual members in the homogeneous nation, and manifesting its will in a representative manner. In that sense, it laid down the very first foundations to regard the state as the embodiment of the nation.

But for a better understanding of the concept, we have to know what exactly nation means. As far as there is none internationally recognized definition of the term, like the failure of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe to agree upon one in June 2003 illustrates it, this last lacks a uniform interpretation and therefore is still highly debated among the scholars community. To begin with, according to Max Weber, the nation means « *that one may exact from certain groups of men a specific sentiment of solidarity in the face of other groups* »¹¹. Even if rather vague, this definition has the merit to underline the main feature of the notion: the necessity of a shared awareness based on internal psychological mechanisms.

But traditionally, two main conflicting grounds for such solidarity feeling are used, like Ulrich Preuss skillfully highlighted¹²: the ethnos/ Kulturnation/ blood sense, and the demos/ Staatsnation/

¹⁰ Ibid, page 97

¹¹ WEBER M.: *Economy and society: an outline of interpretive sociology*, Volume 2, Bedminster Press, New York, 1968, pages 921-926

¹² PREUSS U.K.: « Constitutional powermaking of the new polity: some deliberations on the relations between constituent power and constitution », in: *Constitutionalism, Identity, Difference and legitimacy: Theoretical*

contract sense.

The demos nation comes from the rationalist spirit of the Enlightenment and has to be understood as an artificially constructed entity resulting from the voluntarist desire to live together. In that sense, Ernest Renan argued that « *a nation is a daily plebiscite* »¹³.

The ethnos nation has been developed in reaction to this rationalist pattern. The German political thought, taken up by counter-French revolutionary doctrine, focused on the organic particularity of the concrete people, cemented by its own language, history, social symbols, etc... According to this romantic approach, strongly defended by Johann Gottfried Herder, the nation is regarded as a closed entity resulting from a natural and historical process.

Therefore, it is easy to understand the consequences such distinction implies concerning the concept of nation-state. Indeed, a demos nation-state is supposed to embody the whole people living on its territory bound by the desire to live together. The state does not embody a particular cultural community but a group of people sharing some objective values and who desire to live together. We will come back later to this subtle point because any ethnic references are in reality difficult to avoid. For instance, what is important to remember is the official promoted discourse in such nation-state: the equal interests and legitimacy of all members of any ethnic and cultural communities living on the territory.

In contrast, an ethnic nation-state, which officially constitutes the legal personification of a particular cultural and historical community, is supposed to ensure first of all the core nation's preservation and interests. It is even its « *raison d'être* », its ultimate purpose. Therefore, at first sight, such state appears much less inclusive as far as the official discourse promotes large discrepancies between members of the core nation's legitimacy over the state and consideration of interests comparing to the non-members'.

3/ Towards the practical reconciliation of democracy and ethnos nation-state, based on contradictory theoretical assumptions?

Both notions, democracy and nation-state are part to two different sphere of ideas. However, and despite the widespread idea of their complementarity/compatibility, some contradictions appear quite quickly between both notions. A. Stepan and J.J. Linz were among the very first scholars who underlined such phenomenon while arguing that they pursue conflicting logics, regarding the inclusiveness of a given political regime¹⁴. But more than conflicting logics, we would argue here

perspectives, Rosenfeld, M., Duke University Press, Durham, 1994, pp.143-164

¹³ RENAN E.: «What is a nation? », conference at La Sorbonne, Paris, 1882

¹⁴ LINZ J.J. and STEPAN A: *Problems of democratic transition and consolidation. Southern Europe, South America,*

that they are based on contradictory theoretical assumptions.

Indeed, like we have already noted above, in Dalh's theory, democracy rests upon the acceptance of the "*Strong Principle of Equality*". This last derives from both the presumption of personal autonomy and equal consideration of interests. An ethnos nation state do not deny individuals' personal autonomy but raises some difficulties before equal consideration of interests, and therefore the "*Strong Principle of Equality*" itself. While legally personifying a particular historical and cultural community, it is supposed to ensure the core nation's preservation and interests. Consequently, it establishes a kind of hierarchy among the interests of the people living on its territory whereas in a democratic regime they should be considered as valid and equally valid. Here is the very core of the theoretical contradiction between both concepts: whereas the "*Strong Principle of Equality*" applies to all members of a given political regime, it is exclusively reserved for the members of the titular nation in a nation-state.

If we assume that both concepts of democracy and ethnic nation-state rely on contradictory theoretical assumptions in relation to the consideration of interests, a main question arises: is it possible to reconcile them in practice? Or does this inner theoretical contradiction prevent any ethnic nation-state to be democratic?

As far as any state in the world cannot be considered as mono-cultural or mono-ethnic, this question seems very relevant and could be studied in the light of numerous ethnic nation-states. However, we will concentrate ourselves on Estonia which appears to be a very interesting case-study in order to find an answer to this dilemma.

4/ Introducing our Estonian case study: methodology and research design.

The Estonian case may be regarded as a very relevant case-study in order to assess the possibility of a practical reconciliation of democracy and ethnos nation-state. Indeed, commitments to both concepts appeared very strong as soon as the recovery of independence in 1991, thus entailing many challenges public authorities had to face. As a result, these last have undertaken great efforts towards their both realization, trying to allow their compatibility

However, we will assume here that despite all these efforts, Estonian officials have still not succeeded to ensure inclusiveness and effective participation democratic conditions because of widespread ethnic nationalism and the monopoly of the cultural domain, both inherent to the claim

and Post-Communist Europe, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1996, page 24

of an ethnic nation-state, which tend to lessen non-members of the titular nation's political resources. Our main argument here relies on their observed self-withdrawal from Estonian democratic processes. Consequently, we may argue here that whatever the positive state efforts towards the realization of the two former democratic conditions, the perception of the Republic as an ethnic nation-state prevents them to realize in practice due to its impact on non-members of the core nation's political attitudes.

Our research has been based on data-analysis and semi-structure interviews.

Respondents of the questionnaire (see annex 2) are representatives of the four main political parties in Estonia, as well as the main human rights non-governmental organization:

- Olga Sõtnik, **Estonian Centre Party**, Riigikogu member in charge of minorities issues
- Mart Nutt, **Pro Patria and Res Publica Union**, member of the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, former Riigikogu member (1992-2011)
- Jevgeni Ossinovski, **Social Democrat Party**, Riigikogu member in charge of minorities issues
- Olga Burmakina, **Estonian Reform Party**, assistant to the first vice-President of the Riigikogu
- Vadim Poleshchuk, **Legal Information Centre for Human Rights**

On the other hand, we also used data-analysis from diverse official documents, as well as four post-elections surveys about political participation conducted in 2003, 2005, 2007 and 2011 by the Institute of Baltic studies at Tartu University (see annexes 3, 4, 5 and 6).

Before drafting a theoretical conclusion from our Estonian case-study, we will divide our work in three main parts.

The first one will set up the historical and theoretical framework in which the issue takes place, in order to highlight on which practical issue this theoretical contradiction between democracy and ethnos nation-state tend to crystallize on : the national identity.

The second one will be dedicated to an empirical study of the non-members of the titular nation's participation in Estonian democratic processes in order to point out this trend of self-withdrawal.

Then, in the last part, we will move on some explanations of such phenomenon in relation to this Estonian centred national identity : the decrease of non-Estonians' political resources.

To avoid any confusion, it is worth-mentioning that we reserve below the term “Estonian” to refer to ethnic nationality, and not citizenship.

FIRST PART:
**THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK: THE ESTONIAN
DIFFERENTIALIST AND VOLK CENTERED CONCEPTION OF NATIONHOOD
CONFRONTED TO THE DEMOCRATIC WILLINGNESS**

In this first part, we will seek to highlight why, and above all, how the new Estonian state endorsed both democracy and ethnic nation-state commitments at the dawn of the independence in 1991. The purpose of this theoretical and historical study is to determine if the theoretical contradiction between both concepts we have mentioned earlier may be found in practice.

In order to do so, we will divide this study in three sub-parts.

First of all, we will question how Estonians came to claim their right to national (ethnic) self-determination, which directly led to the establishment of an ethnic nation-state.

Secondly, we will analyze the main challenges this new established ethnic nation-state encountered and still encounters towards democratic conditions.

Then, in a third part, we will sum up the overall study in order to underline on which practical issue the inherent tension existing between both concepts crystallizes one.

Section 1: The Estonian nation-state, the embodiment of the Estonian ethnic nation

A] The Estonian nation, built as an ethno-cultural artefact

B] The new independent republic of Estonia as an ethnos nation-state, a prime outcome of a growing nationalism during the Soviet period

Section 2: Practical attempts to reconcile the Estonian ethnic nation-state with democratic conditions

A] Towards the implementation of the inclusiveness democratic condition

B] Current challenges of the Estonian democracy

Section 3: Summary

SECTION 1:

The Estonian nation-state, the embodiment of the Estonian ethnic nation

« Unwavering in their faith and with a steadfast will to secure and develop a state which is established on the inextinguishable right of the Estonian people to national self-determination and which was proclaimed on February 24, 1918, [...] which shall guarantee the preservation of the Estonian nation, language and culture throughout the ages – the Estonian people adopted, on the bases of article 1 of the Constitution which entered into force in 1938, by referendum held on June 28, 1992, the following Constitution... » (Preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia, adopted on the 28th June 1992, and entered into force on the 3rd June 1992).

As soon as the recovery of independence, the preamble of the new Constitution provided the idea of an Estonian ethnic nation-state, in that it set forth the task of the Estonian statehood to guarantee the preservation of the Estonian nation and its culture throughout the ages. In this context, the term nation (in Estonian: rahvus) did not signify the people (in Estonian: rahvas) but took on an ethnic meaning, defined as a community of shared origins, traditions and mother tongue.

In the name of self-determination, nationalism here was needed to achieve independence and nurtured the legitimacy of the new political regime. In this regard, Nodia underlined: *« We must be sure not too overlook the important difference between emerging democracies (which often are found in new emerging states) and established democratic regimes existing in states with long traditions of uninterrupted sovereignty. Nationalism works differently in each of these two types of countries. Taking these two distinctions together, one could say that the test of mature democracy consists in achieving the right mixture of liberal and democratic principles, while the birth pangs characteristic of emerging democracy betoken an effort to arrive at such compromise »¹⁵.*

But if nationalism was needed to legitimate the independence and get the democratic enterprise started, one may ask why it endorsed an ethnic rather than civic shape. This choice has to be understood as the result of a lasting and voluntarist nation-building process, fomented by a growing nationalism over the past decades and mediated by both historical contingencies and conscious political efforts. Indeed, the prime construction of the Estonian nation as an ethno-cultural artefact out of any statehood, coupled with a growing feeling of necessary national self-determination during the Soviet period, inevitably led to the establishment of a ethnic nation-state at the dawn of the independence in 1991.

¹⁵ NODIA, G.: « Nationalism and Democracy » in *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 3, Number 4, 1992, page 5

A] THE ESTONIAN NATION, BUILT AS AN ETHNO CULTURAL ARTEFACT.

The roots of the current perception of the Estonian nation as an ethno-cultural artefact may be traced back to the nineteenth century, when Estonian awoken elites created nationalism as a conscious demand for political outcome based on the Estonian ethnic identity. Indeed, as far as this last had been discovered through bonds of shared discrimination and subjection under some other domineering nations along the history, it seems quite understandable that the emphasis fell less upon the civic and more upon the ethnic national conception.

1/ From an « historyless people » to an Estonian ethnic community.

Because for most of the intellectuals at that time the Estonian people was dedicated to disappear through assimilation by the various and bordering domineering nations along the history, Estonians were usually qualified as an « historyless people » according to the so-called Engel's terminology. Indeed, whereas Estonians in the middle-ages may have been distinguished by outsiders as a separate ethnic category, the members themselves had little or no positive notion of who they were.

Collective cultural identity formation only occurred in the nineteenth century, then transforming this ethnic category into a more compact, self-conscious and organized ethnic community. In that sense, Ernest Gellner stated: *« There are some very clear cases where modernism holds true. Take the Estonians. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, they did not even have a name for themselves. They were just referred to as people who live on the land, as opposed to German or Swedish burghers and aristocrats and Russian administrators. They had no ethnonym. They were just a category without any ethnic self-consciousness. Since then, they have been brilliantly successful in creating a vibrant culture »*¹⁶.

What is interesting to underline here is that this intellectual movement did not come at first from the native people but rather from the German romantists, and then Baltic-Germans, who tended to perceive men as rooted in a specific language, territory, culture and people. The upgrading of those features replaced the previous peasant culture by a new one, popular and learnt, in adequacy with the European written culture. This modern phenomenon instilled social solidarity among at least the Estonian elites, who played a very important role in drafting this new culture.

¹⁶ GELLNER, E.: "Do nations have navels?", opening statement during the Warwick debates on nationalism, 24th October 1995, Warwick University

Without entering into the virulent debate opposing structuralists and essentialists, some authors even qualified this last as « *invented traditions* », characterized by their modern political and social roles without which they would have not appeared. In that sense, Eric Hobsbawm defined them as « *a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past [...]. However, insofar as there is such reference to a historic past, the peculiarity of « invented » traditions is that the continuity with it is largely fictitious. In short, they are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition* »¹⁷.

Therefore the Estonian people was endowed with the main features of an ethnic community, defined by Anthony D. Smith as « *a named community of shared origin myths, memories and one or more element(s) of common culture, including an association with a specific territory* »¹⁸.

The codification of the Estonian language took definitely place in the second half of the nineteenth century: both dialectal written languages of the North and South were replaced by one based on the central dialect of North Estonia; the lexicon was enhanced, several new grammars were published as well as a new spelling in 1870. The first newspapers in Estonian even arose.

A national mythology was also elaborated at that time. The new « *Kalevipoeg* » epic, drafted by the doctor and folkloriste Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald, was published both in Estonian and German at the end of the fifties, beginning of the sixties. Diverse national myths, hymns and poetries were designed along the remembrance of the cruel sufferings undergone by the Estonians during the wars. Like Ernest Renan skillfully underlined it, « *more valuable by far than common customs posts and frontiers conforming to strategic ideas is the fact of sharing, in the past, a glorious heritage and regrets, and of having, in the future, [a shared] programme to put into effect, or the fact of having suffered, enjoyed, and hoped together. These are the kinds of things that can be understood in spite of differences of race and language. I spoke just now of 'having suffered together' and, indeed, suffering in common unifies more than joy does. Where national memories are concerned, griefs are of more value than triumphs, for they impose duties, and require a common effort* »¹⁹.

The traditional peasant culture was rediscovered, updated, « reinvented » as a whole: folklore, customs, former popular songs, traditional clothes and small business crafts... In that sense, numerous cultural institutions appeared, expressing and disseminating the self-consciousness of a

¹⁷ HOBBSBAWN, E. and RANGER T.: *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983, introduction, pages 1-14

¹⁸ SMITH, A.D: "When is a Nation?" in: *Geopolitics*, Volume 7, n° 2, 2002, page 15

¹⁹ RENAN, E.: « What is a nation? », conference at La Sorbonne, Paris, 1882

collective cultural identity, first of all among the educated elites and later among the people.

However, and contrary to mere nationalist discourses, national solidarity is generally based on self-identification against other groups, more than on objective likeness. More than the cultural ties, the exclusion of the Estonians by the Baltic-Germans from the public affairs forged bonds of shared discrimination and subjection, and then awoke a certain feeling of unity. Indeed, the nineteenth century was characterized by both an important growth of the Estonian population and the emergence of a middle-class thanks to the new agrarian laws adopted in the Baltic provinces. Then, excluded from Baltic-German organizations, Estonians developed their own independent institutions: voluntary fire brigades, agronomic societies, agricultural cooperatives, banks, craftsmen brotherhoods became part of a new tremendous network of relations among the population. This last was therefore used by the educated and awoken elites as a propaganda channel to promote cultural practices, and so Estonian identity.

At this point, and paraphrasing Anthony D. Smith, Estonians began to acquire the main features of an ethnic community: a self-designated proper name, myths of origin, migration and election, an ethno-history including memories of heroes and golden ages, one or more elements of shared culture, including perhaps a link with a particular ancestral terrain, and a measure of social solidarity among, at least, the elites.

Those features do not have to be underestimated as far as, from an ethno-symbolist approach, they represent the inner symbolic foundation of a nation, a vital development in the formation of the Estonian nation. However, even if any institutionalized public culture, real sense of clear-cut historic homeland and standardization of customs did not exist yet at that time, a strong nationalist movement then occurred, trying to organize attempts to achieve the attributes of a fully-fledged nation.

2/ Estonian nationalism, nation-building and right to self-determination.

Indeed, Estonian awoken elites created nationalism ex nihilo in the nineteenth century as a conscious demand for political outcome based on the identity of the Estonian ethnic community. Nationalism is a theory of political legitimacy which requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones, and in particular, that ethnic boundaries within a given state should not separate the power-holders from the rest.

From a classical modernist perspective, nationalism created nations. In that sense, and

according to Ernest Gellner²⁰, nations are considered as the product of specifically modern conditions, closely related to the spread of capitalist trade and industrialized relations. Indeed, agrarian societies were characterized by internal cultural diversity where person's identity was defined by his status, whereas the industrial ages marked this transition from spontaneous non-literate low cultures to highly cultivated, specialized and literate high cultures due to high social mobility and the lack of prescribed roles that define identity. In this framework, labour market became highly specialized and required standardized preparation, cultural standardisation, which implied a necessary exo-educational society, and so cultural homogeneity.

Even if we partially embrace this modernist theory while considering nation and nationalism as products of modernization and features of modernity, however we do not have to forget the persistence of ethnic ties and cultural sentiments in the formation of nation. From an ethno-symbolist approach, we may argue that we can find an ethnic component in many national communities, whether these last were formed slowly or were the outcome of a more concerted project of nation-building.

In that sense, in the mind of the Estonian intellectual-awakeners, nationalism offered elements that could help to forge a community based on ethnic and often presumed genealogical ties, thereby providing the cohesion and solidarity required for the tasks of modernization. Therefore they tried to include the mass of the people into an ideological movement for the attainment of autonomy, unity and identity of the Estonian ethnic community they conceived to constitute an actual and potential nation.

A nation is a politically conscious ethnic group, the modern version of ethnic community. Anthony D. Smith defined it as « *a named community possessing an historic territory, shared myths and memories, a common public culture and common laws and customs* »²¹. In other words, an ethnic group is a broader, looser and closer cultural community to felt kinship ties, while the national type also incorporates territorial, legal and public elements lacking in ethnies.

Therefore, the creation of this national movement organized attempts to achieve the attributes of a fully fledged nation, namely a collective proper name, myths and memories of communal history, a common public culture, common laws and customs, and at least a historic territory and homeland.

Indeed, according to the ethno-symbolist approach, self-identification, myth-making and memory selection, the creation of a public culture, legal standardization and ritual codification, as well as the territorialization of memory and hardening of space are some of the key social and symbolic processes which allow us to chart the formation of a nation.

²⁰ GELLNER, E.: *Nations and Nationalism*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1983

²¹ SMITH, A.D: "When is a Nation?" in: *Geopolitics*, Volume 7, n° 2, 2002, page 15

As a subject nation, striving for self-determination, it is quite understandable to comprehend that in these conditions, the emphasis fell less upon the territorial political community and more on the selection of the contents of myths, memories and traditions of earlier ethnies, and on communal attachments to the homeland and rituals of membership.

Consequently, in order to reconstruct their community as a nation, intelligentsia launched « *politics of cultural revolt* »²²: with a good deal of effort and standardized and sustained propaganda, they turned the ethnic culture into a new rival high culture of a historical political unit allegedly once build around that same culture. Little by little, and through this cultural revolution, the late nineteenth century thrust the previous ethnic community into the political arena, turning them into the Estonian political nation. In this respect, Pierre Minaudier qualified the Estonian nation as « *one of the most beautiful oeuvre d'art of the nineteenth century* »²³.

However, a firmer identification of the community with its homeland took place, leading to the idea according which the only way to protect one's culture from some others was the « *protective roof of one's state* ». In that sense, the claim of national territorial autonomy only occurred in 1905 in the newspapers *Uudised* by the socialist Peter Speek. Initially conceived as independence in a democratized and federal Russian empire, the idea of national self-determination started to penetrate the minds with the economic and social consequences of the first world war (inflation, shortages, requisitionings, fall to exports). Finally, this autonomy was recognized on the 30th March of 1917, right after the February revolution and the Tsar's abdication. But this did not last because after the Estonian communist *coup d'état* in October, the German army launched an assault on Tallinn on the 25th February of 1918, with the approval of the international community as far as it was supposed to keep in check the Soviets.

Finally, Estonia became independent in early February 1919, thereby putting an end to a lasting and difficult liberation war. For the first time in the history, Estonians had their own state and were free to choose the conditions of their cultural development. As a result, they established a strong link between nation- and state-building, using the state as a tool to consolidate their culture and identity. An Estonian national state was thus established as soon as 1920, a state which was defined as the result of a natural historical process, the legal personification of the ethnic Estonian nation. Consequently, the Estonian language became the only one official language, used by

²² SMITH, A.D: « Nations and their past », opening statement during the Warwick debates on nationalism, 24th october 1995, Warwick University

²³ MINAUDIER, J.P: *Histoire de l'Estonie et de la nation estonienne*, ADÉFO / L'Harmattan, collection Bibliothèque finno-ougrienne, 17, Paris, 2007

bureaucracy and in the educational system. A vast array of cultural institutions were created: language and science academies, writers union, public fund responsible for financing cultural projects,...

But as soon as 1933, the democratic constitution was replaced by a new one, nationalist and authoritarian, and, as a result a corporate republic took place in Estonia between 1934 and 1940. Many reasons explaining this turning point can be argued here, among which the lack of democratic culture, governmental instability, bad economic situation, or again the widespread minorities discontentment may be highlighted.

This period of authoritarian rule was mainly characterized by strong nationalist discourses of state authorities and most of the intellectuals at that time. A national communion around customs, traditions, and more generally the peasant culture of the previous ethnic community, became the foundation of the new state.

However, this independence era ended with the second world war during which Estonia was caught in a vice-like between Germany and the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). As a result of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact concluded between German and Soviet authorities, the signature of a mutual assistance agreement between Tallinn and Moscow took place as soon as September 1939, a pact which planned a Soviet military settlement on the Estonian territory. This agreement signaled the very beginning of a lasting Soviet dominance in which Estonia became the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic (ESSR).

B] The new independent Republic of Estonia as an ethnos nation-state, a prime outcome of a growing nationalism during the Soviet period.

As Klara Hallik and Vello Pettai skillfully pointed out: « *For most Estonians, the essence of their nationalism lay in their profound perception of injustice as a result of, first, the loss of their fledgling interwar independence through forcible occupation by the Soviet Union in 1940, secondly, repeated waves of Stalinist deportation during the 1940s and thirdly, the steady influx of Soviet-era immigrants through to the mid-1980s* »²⁴. Indeed, even though Estonian nationalism existed before the Soviet period, it became more critical during this totalitarian period, while coming to the fore as the major principle capable of both holding the previous society together and denouncing the forcible occupation.

Moreover, the forced alteration of the demographic balance without any or very few official efforts towards the integration of the new settlers in Estonian society played as a catalyst for nationalist flourishing. Paraphrasing the previously quoted authors, separate Russian-speaking enclaves developed on the territory, provided with all aspects of ethno-cultural life including Russian-language media and government services, cultural resources, as well as educational institutions. This trend thus enhanced feelings of solidarity and unity among Estonians in the face of perceived « *foreigners* ». But the strengthening of Estonian nationalism has been primarily rendered possible due to an irreconcilable contradiction towards nationalism in the Bolshevik ideology.

1/ The strengthening of nationalism during the Soviet period.

Indeed, national cultural autonomy was initially perceived as contradictory with the aim of social-democracy as far as it was regarded as strengthening the ties between workers and bourgeois of individual nations. In that sense, following Marx's ideology, Lenin argued as soon as 1913 that: « *Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism – these are two irreconcilably hostile slogans that correspond to the two great class camps throughout the capitalist world, and express the two policies in the national question...The proletariat cannot support any consecration of nationalism; on the contrary, it supports everything that helps to obliterate national distinctions and remove national barriers; it supports everything that makes the ties between the nationalities closer and closer, or tends to merge nations. To act differently means siding with reactionary nationalist philistinism* »²⁵.

²⁴ PETTAI, V. and HALLIK, S.: « Understanding processes of ethnic control: segmentation, dependency and co-optation in post-communist Estonia » in *Nations and nationalism*, Volume 8, n°4, 2002, pages 508

²⁵ LENIN : « Critical remarks on the national question » in: *Collected works*, 4th English Edition, Volume 20, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, page 26

But, in order to keep the integrity of the Russian Empire and to hold on to power, Bolsheviks made short-term concessions which contradicted pre-revolutionary ideology. They tolerated self-determination for nationalities. The best example can be found in the issue of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia which supported « *the right of the peoples of Russia to self-determination, even to the point of separation and the formation of an independent state* ».

Advocating for the right to self-determination was supposed to solve the nationalities problem and accelerating the international proletarian revolution. The main idea was that it had to be allowed to run its course in order to burn itself out and, as a result, see the rise of a new and common Soviet culture. Stalin explained this theory quite briefly as soon as 1930 in « Deviations on the national question »: « *the blossoming of cultures national in form and socialist in content under the proletarian dictatorship in one country, with the object of their fusion into a single, common socialist (both in form and content) culture with a single, common language, when the proletariat is victorious throughout the world and socialism becomes an everyday matter- such is the dialectal nature of the leninist presentation of national culture* »²⁶.

In practical terms, this position was untenable as far as the development of national cultures and their merger pursued conflicting logics. Moreover, it supposed that national culture is isolated from national identity, and so that there is no link between culture and politics. Besides, the USSR never succeeded to achieve this Soviet identity.

The policy of *korenizatsiia* is a perfect example of such contradiction. It was an affirmative action programme, a policy based on the idea that the best way to win over nationalities was to win over their mind. Its translation in the real life was that one had to speak to it in its own language, use its national symbols and be sensitive to its national culture and history, which led to precipitate several contradictory policies. Whereas state and party apparatuses on the local level had to be purged of any nationalist elements, this policy strengthened the use of local languages in the conduct of affairs, the development of national cultures and the means to disseminate them (through national clubs, schools, institutions of higher education, publishing houses) but also the building up of national units in the armed forces, the establishment of nationalities quota system for party membership and other positions.

In concrete terms, this policy led to the blossoming of Estonian national culture, created a nationally conscious political elite, formally institutionalized ethnicity in the state apparatus and reinforced the territorial division of the Union. Moreover, the rapid industrialization that accompanied *korenizatsiia* also led to greater national control over the means and distribution of production, which fostered a certain sense of domesticism.

²⁶ KEMP, W.A.: *Nationalism and communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. A basic contradiction?*, Macmillan Press, London, 1992, page 82

In sum, while constitutionally recognizing them in a federal structure which included the right to self-determination, Lenin unlocked the door of the « *prison of nations* ». Stalin then enacted a series of policies that made national cultural autonomy even more viable, and strengthened feeling of national consciousness. As a result, discontent aroused and became stronger when it was denied. Neither the following Socialist leaders took the nationalist threat very seriously and until the fall of the regime, nationalism was used as a tool for the furtherance of democratic and Socialist aims. It was perceived as a psychological phenomenon, without dynamic on its own, connected to the feeling of distress from other national domination. They all underestimated how much stronger appeal nationalism showed itself than Socialism.

Consequently, Bolsheviks acted and reacted *vis à vis* nationalism over the years, according to a recurrent pattern: they tried to use it for their own purposes while trying to neutralize it in the short-term. Kemp skillfully explained this cyclical undoing: « *official words and actions [stemming from a desire for legitimacy (1)], stressing support for nationalism which are subsequently or simultaneously undercut by actions to support statism or centralism [so as to hold on to power and ensure ideological conformity (2)], which have the effect of neutralizing nationalism in the short-term, but in the process increasing anti-state and pro-national sentiments which, in large part feed off of the opportunities afforded by the seemingly token gestures mentioned earlier (1) and the sense of national identity which is strengthened by the reaction to (2)* »²⁷.

As a result of such policies, national identity and nationalism progressively took root in the society, to reach the point of a widespread willingness to separation and self-determination for its own sake.

2/ Independence and the will to establish an ethnic nation-state.

Mikhail Gorbachev's *perestroika* allowed for the first Estonian grievances to take place as soon as 1986-1987, even though it concerned mainly environmental issues and economic reforms. But soon two rival nationalist political organizations appeared in Estonia, paving the way toward independence.

A special congress of artistic and creative Union held in Tallinn in April 1988 took the nationalist project to a new level although independence was not yet on the agenda. Indeed, more than merely challenging the ethno-political balance, it directly led to the creation of a new political organization, the Estonian popular Front, led by the moderate cultural figures who took part in it. As

²⁷ KEMP, W.A.: *Nationalism and communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. A basic contradiction?*, Macmillan Press, London, 1992, page 83

soon as October 1988, and until the dawn of independence, they called for the recognition of the right of ethnic Estonians to self-determination . Later, in 1990, they won roughly forty per cent of the seats in the Supreme Council, thus leading to the establishment of a Popular Front government which brought independence.

On the other hand, it is worth-mentioning the emergence of the Estonian Citizens Committees in February 1989, which influenced a lot this process towards independence too. Indeed, while propagating an alternative legal restorationist ideology we will study in deeper details in the second part, they operated a shift in the Estonian nationalist struggle by “*framing independence in legalistic juridical terms that seemed to remove the actual nationalist sting from the process*”²⁸. They rapidly launched a successful unprecedented campaign aimed at registering citizens of the pre-war Republic and their descendents in order to reconstitute a legal citizenry, endowed with the legitimate right to decide the future of the occupied state. Out of the roughly 600 000 registered citizens, 500 000 participated in the poll to elect the new Congress of Estonia on the 24th February 1990. From its first meeting in March until the attainment of independence, this last enacted resolutions calling on the Soviet authorities to recognize their illegal power and to take immediate steps toward the restoration of legal authority of the pre-war Estonian nation-state.

The nationalist claim of Estonian self-determination finally reached its peak with the plebiscite of the 3rd of March 1991 organized by the Popular Front government despite the opposition of their nationalist rival, the Congress of Estonia: 77.8% of the population, including both pre-war citizens and Soviet-era immigrants, pronounced themselves in favor of an independent and democratic Estonian state. However, the fortunes of the Congress were saved by the attempted conservative putsch in Moscow on the 19th August 1991 and the rapid collapse of the central Soviet power. Indeed, while anticipating a possible crackdown, leaders from both concurrent nationalist parties, the Congress and the Popular Front, met several times in order to agree on the wording of a definitive declaration of independence, which finally endorsed the legal restorationist ideology promoted by the Congress.

Estonians finally proclaimed their own independence on the 21st of August 1991, an independence only recognized on the 6th of September 1991 by the USSR.

One of the very first claim they did was to qualify this new Estonian state as a nation-state, understood in its ethnic variant. Indeed, as a result of this growing nationalism among the years, it is quite understandable that getting its own state was perceived as the natural result of the Estonian

²⁸ PETTAI, V. and HALLIK, S.: « Understanding processes of ethnic control: segmentation, dependency and co-optation in post-communist Estonia » in *Nations and nationalism*, Volume 8, n°4, 2002, pages 510

nation-building process: the state was therefore proclaimed as the embodiment of the Estonian nation. National self-determination provided political legitimacy of new Estonian Republic.

As told before, mainly as a subject nation over the years, the emphasis fell less upon the territorial component than the ethnic one. The Estonian nation had always been defined in ethnic terms, and so, the new Estonian nation-state. Moreover, we have to remind here the only one statehood experience in the Estonian history at that time: from 1918 to 1940, the state was also an ethnic nation-state endowed with a task of nation-building and development. As a result, this choice seems quite logical along the Estonian history.

What is interesting to highlight here is that more than logical, establishing an ethnic nation-state was perceived as a necessity by Estonians who felt their culture and nation insecure at the dawn of independence.

Indeed, first of all, the Soviet period has been characterized by large demographic changes, due both to the elimination of national elites (around 180 000 persons had been deported at that time) and the immigration of numerous Russian-speaking workers (attracted by the large industries present at that time on the territory). As a result, in 1991, only 68% of the population living on the Estonian territory were considered as ethnic Estonians, who then feared their « *extinction* ».

Secondly, we may argue that national culture has been also padded out at that time. It is true that on one hand, the Soviet policies towards nationalism allowed for growing national consciousness and a certain blossoming of the nations. But on the other hand, it tried to eliminate its theoretical contradiction towards nationalism by pursuing policies of compulsive homogeneity or assimilation. As a result, Russian became widely speaking and dominant over Estonian in the everyday life. The erosion of the Estonian language, which remains the core symbol of Estonian identity, thus worried the population.

In these conditions, the establishment of an Estonian ethnic nation-state was regarded as the only one mean to ensure the survival of the Estonian nation.

SECTION 2:

Practical attempts to reconcile the Estonian ethnic nation-state with democratic conditions

"Estonia is an independent and sovereign democratic republic wherein the supreme power of state is invested in the people" (chapter 1 article 1 of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia, adopted on the 28th June 1992, and entered into force on the 3rd June 1992).

Democratic transitions from post-totalitarian regime are usually considered as quite difficult to take place as far as, to paraphrase Alfred Stepan and Juan Linz²⁹, more than a mere democratic institutions building, new officials had to ensure the rule of law, and operate a complete transformation of both bureaucracy, civil, economic and political societies.

Despite these numerous difficulties and widespread skepticism, we may argue that the new independent Republic of Estonia has done pretty well so far to reach the point of being internationally recognized as a working democracy only two decades after the fall of the USSR.

However, this question is still at the core of intense debates among the scholar community, some debates which tend to crystallize on the inclusiveness democratic condition.

Indeed, the « *conflicting logic* » towards this last, which characterized every nation-state engaged in a process of democratization according to the two former authors³⁰, has been particularly problematic in the Estonian case: from an initial complete exclusion of non-Estonians at the dawn of independence on the basis of a legal restorationist ideology, they slowly moved towards the inclusion of other nationals living on the territory. But this phenomenon raised other issues such as the need to reconstruct the national identity promoted by the state which did not match anymore with the reality of the demos.

Whereas at the beginning, most of the scholars refused to qualify the Estonian political regime as democratic as far as it was not enough inclusive, by now most of them accept the qualification. However, there is still a remaining minority who deny this democratic character on the basis of ethnopolitic considerations, i.e. the balance of power among the different ethnic groups in Estonia.

²⁹ LINZ, J. and STEPAN, A.: *Problems of democratic transition and consolidation: Southern Europe, South America and Post-Communist Europe*, The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1996

³⁰ *Ibid*, page 24

A] TOWARDS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INCLUSIVENESS CONDITION.

Since the recovery of independence, Estonian authorities have slowly moved towards the enforcement of the inclusiveness democratic condition, with the opening up of naturalization procedures as soon as 1993. This has led to the international recognition of the democratic character of the Republic of Estonia in the political arena.

1/ The legal restorationist ideology and the very first challenge of inclusiveness.

Unlike most of the ex-Soviet Socialist Republics who decided to grant citizenship to all their permanent residents who wanted it at the dawn of independence, Estonia adopted a very different perspective, while embracing the legal restorationist ideology initially promoted by the Congress, which shifted the discursive context of independence from talk of secession from the Soviet Union to the restoration of occupied statehood.

The very core of this ideology centred around the claim that 1940 takeover of Estonia had amounted to forcible occupation and annexation, which following international law was illegal. As a result, Estonia was not a Soviet republic struggling for more autonomy or reform within the Soviet Union, but rather it was an unjustly occupied state, which had the right to full and immediate independence. Domestically, meanwhile, this situation of illegality also rendered all of Estonia's Soviet structures illegitimate. Thus the power within the Republic had to go back to those from whom it had been taken in 1940, namely the citizens of the prewar Republic and their descendants.

In concrete terms, isolating non-members of the titular nation from the political arena was a mean to ensure the national project of independence. Indeed, due to a strong alteration of the previous demographic balance, the Soviet period led more to a multicultural state, with a very high number of Russian-speakers living on the territory, rather than a purely Estonian one. As a result of these rapid changes, most Estonians felt threatened in their identity and culture and saw the Estonian nation-state as the only one way to counter assimilation. But such project needed a strong electoral support which was then met while embracing the legal restorationist ideology.

However what is interesting to underline here is that, at that time, the legalistic message had officially very little to do with ethnicity but was primarily concerned with international law in relation to the Estonian state and citizenry. The issue was resolved in legalistic-juridical terms rather than ethnic ones, and article 49 of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 according to which ushering non-native population into an occupied territory is illegal, provided a strong lawful basis to the initial exclusion of the non-members of the core nation from the citizenry. Therefore, as a result

of a declaration of the Supreme Council on the 7th November 1991, the citizenship was restored only to preoccupation citizens and their descendants. Consequently, almost one third of the total population was then deprived from citizenship, while the remaining two thirds, mostly from Estonian ethnic descent, were granted full citizenship.

Consequently, one may ask if a political regime may be qualified as democratic if a so high amount of its population is isolated from democratic procedures and political life. Of course, the previous cities in the Ancient Greece have often been referred as the very first examples of democracy in the history, while excluding the vast majority of its population from the *Agora*. But along the history, wealth, sex, race, etc, ... have little by little been rejected as legitimate reasons to restrict the *demos*, and as a result, the inclusiveness condition slowly asserted oneself.

In this regard, Robert A. Dahl, while identifying the five necessary conditions for a democratic process, defined the inclusiveness criteria as: “*The demos must include all adult members of the association except transients and persons proved to be mentally defective*”³¹.

In this classical approach of the democratic condition of inclusiveness, restricting citizenship is regarded legitimate only if it concerns persons who do not have the legal capacity (children and persons proved to be mentally defective) and those who are not directly concerned by the political life of the country (transients). Of course, adults who have been living in a territory during some decades, like most of the migrants from the Soviet period living in Estonia at the dawn of the independence, do not enter in this last category.

2/ The opening up of naturalization procedures.

Aware of this obvious undemocratic drift, a very first opening of the naturalization process took place with the law of the 26th February 1992 which only entered into force in the early 1993 (then excluding all the immigrants of the Soviet period from the first democratic parliamentary elections which took place in September 1992) .

Despite the numerous complexities of the chosen procedure, naturalization conditions only required knowledge of the Estonian language and having been living in Estonia for at least two years. As a result, in 1995, approximately 40 000 new persons obtained the Estonian citizenship. However, we have to underline here that in practice very few people went to this formal naturalization procedure at that time. Indeed, roughly 75% of the naturalizations during the period 1993-1995 involved people who had either registered as citizens in 1989-1990 with the Congress of Estonia, or were given citizenship because they were « *ethnic Estonians* », i.e. from Estonian

³¹ DAHL, R.A.: *Democracy and its critics*, Yale University Press, New Heaven, 1989, page 109

descent.

But as soon as 1995, the Estonian Parliament, the Riigikogu, decided to harden its legislation in order to ensure the Estonian preeminence among the political life and in the society. The June 1993 crisis over the new Aliens law, which established procedures for non-citizens to receive Estonian residency and work permits, and how this eventually led to the secession referendums in Narva and Sillamäe, strengthened Estonians' feelings of fear and hostility towards migrants from the Soviet period. To a certain extent, international relations also certainly helped to bring this decision too, as far as the citizenship question had been in the heart of the relations between Estonia and Russia for a long time. Indeed, while placing the treatment of the Russian-speaking minorities in the previous Socialist Republics as a matter of human rights, Russia used this question to adopt a more interventionist attitude towards these Republics, like using it as an excuse to not sign the bordering treaty with Estonia for a while.

In this context, and whereas the 1992 law had been a compromise that had to go through the Supreme Soviet, it was keen to tighten naturalization procedures after Union of Pro Patria and Res Publica political party won the first Riigikogu elections. As a result, the coalition government easily got the votes to modify the legislation during the waning days of the parliamentary term, as soon as the 19th January 1995: henceforth, five years of permanent residence, a good knowledge of Estonian, as well as a civic exam in Estonian became compulsory. As a result, the number of new demands decreased a lot, and scarcely 1 000 naturalizations took place by the end of 1997. This system is still working today and will be study more deeply in the second part. But we have to underline that despite this tightening of naturalization procedures, these last are by now not more difficult or restrictive than those in the vast majority of Western democracies.

A further amendment to the citizenship law was adopted in December 1998: since then, all children born on the Estonian territory after the independence whom parents, although non-Estonian, have a permanent residence permit, were granted citizenship. As a result, as soon as it came into force on the 12th July 1999, 6 500 new children had the right to be naturalized on this basis.

B] CURRENT CHALLENGES OF THE ESTONIAN DEMOCRACY.

In concrete terms, the opening up of naturalization procedures allowed for democratization to take place in practice, for inclusiveness condition to slowly assert oneself. But including non-members of the titular nation into the Estonian demos brought another issue to be solved: the need to reconstruct the national identity promoted by the state, which did not match anymore with the reality as far as it was almost exclusively perceived as an ethno-cultural artefact.

1/ The problematic definition of national identity in a multicultural ethnos nation-state.

Aware of the numerous social consequences of the marginalization of stateless persons (much higher level of unemployment, poverty, criminality and delinquency among non-citizens had been recorded at that time), and under pressure of European institutions, public officials decided to start a very voluntarist naturalization policy as soon as 1997 through integration. The same year, both a national foundation for integration and an inter-ethnic relations ministry (became since then the population ministry) were created in order to tackle with these difficult issues. On the 10th June 1998, the Riigikogu proclaimed the integration as a national cause. This was followed by a detailed program “Integration of Estonian society 2000-2007, drafted by a committee of experts (in partnership with local communities, numerous NGOs, universities,..) and which gave the following description of the integration process: *“The nature of the integration of Estonian society is shaped by two processes: on the one hand the social harmonisation of society on the basis of knowledge of the Estonian language and the possession of Estonian citizenship, and on the other hand the enabling of the maintenance of ethnic differences on the basis of the recognition of the cultural rights of ethnic minorities. The harmonization of society also means the integration of both Estonians and non-Estonians around a unifying common core »*³².

For the first time in the history, the multicultural character of the Estonian society was officially recognized. As far as any working democracy needs a shared national identity, public authorities counterbalanced the crystallization of ethnic identities as a result of multiculturalism by providing the basis of common principles which may help to foster solidarity between the different ethnic groups. Thus the strong common core in Estonian society in the public sphere was officially defined as general humanistic and democratic values, a common sphere of information and Estonian-language environment, common state institutions, as well as knowledge of the main facts

32

See English translation at <http://www.riik.ee/saks/ikomisjon>, (01.07.2006).

of Estonian history, the valuing of being a citizen of the Republic of Estonia and awareness of the multiculturalism of Estonian society.

Having endorsed multiculturalism as part of their shared national identity, all different cultures functioning in Estonia were thus officially recognized as equal. However, the common cultural domain remained Estonian-centred and the prime objective of Estonian statehood was still the preservation and development of the Estonian cultural domain. Of course multiculturalism imposed that the state had to create cultural development opportunities for minorities too. But as far as Estonian culture was the only one used to define the common cultural domain and had a preferential status in relation with the state, we may argue that Estonian culture was not that equal to the ones of minorities and is still given preeminence over the others today.

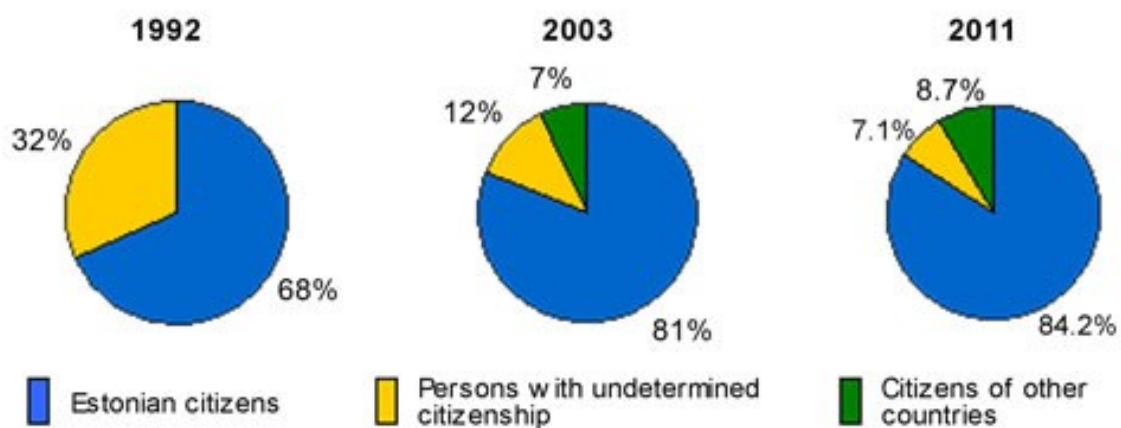
On the other hand, contributions of this Integration program do not have to be underestimated as well because it set a clear distinction between ethnic and national identity promoted by the State. Both of them tended to merger before and since then, public officials assume that it is possible for a minority to identify with the national identity promoted by the State without losing their cultural, ethnic identity as long as they endorse this strong common core. A positive official public discourse towards inclusiveness was then promoted.

But at the same time, we may consider that the Estonian officials failed to construct a national identity as a cohesive whole of the different ethnic cultures present in the society . They did not succeed to define a hyphanated, combined emerging culture with which everyone would be able to identify equally as far as the common cultural domain remained Estonian centred. As a result, preserving one's ethnic identity and adopting the national identity promoted by the State was a bit more difficult for non-members of the core nation.

Usually, this phenomenon can be viewed as the expression of the two main dimensions of psychological acculturation, defined as a two sided process: maintenance or loss of the original culture and adoption of or separation from the new host culture. Multiculturalist policies allow them to maintain their prime ethnic identity but adopting the state one mean also endorsing some features of the Estonian ethnic identity, and moreover agree upon the preeminence of this last over the state. In this framework, and according to Hutnik's « *strategies of self-categorization* », four acculturation strategies are therefore possible: integration, assimilation, separation or marginalization, dependent on differing correlation patterns between ethnic and national identities. Thus, it led to a very mixed result: whereas the majority of non members of the core nation embarked on integration and assimilation, a minority chose the separation option, even marginalization one. According to the

Ministry of Interior (see Table 1), as of the 1st April 2011, 7.1% of the total registered population of the country still remain stateless and 8.7% possess an another citizenship. This means that 15.8% of the total registered population in Estonia (whatever their nationality) chose separation or marginalization. However, an another question then arises: to which extent those who decided to integrate or assimilate themselves were successful in recognizing themselves in the national identity promoted by the state.

TABLE 1: Composition of the population living in Estonia by citizenship



Source: Ministry of the Interior, Population Register

Despite this remaining high number of individuals living in Estonia who do not have the citizenship, the democratic character of the Republic is by now largely recognized on the international political scene, a recognition of which the peak was met with the European Union accession. By now, separation and marginalization of some non-members of the core nation are mostly perceived as the result of individuals' choices and not state restrictions (which have been removed along the implementation of naturalization and integration policies). Consequently, the inclusiveness condition is usually known as being fulfilled.

This is exactly what we are going to question in the next parts but by now, it seems necessary to take into account what are the current debates towards the Estonian democracy in the scholar community. We have already mentioned above the position of the international community which is eager to recognize its fully democratic character. Nonetheless, many scholars are still questioning this point while highlighting the dominance of the Estonian nation over the others in the context of a multicultural state. Consequently, in the coming sub-part, we operate a shift in the approach of the issue, but it seems necessary to underline the current debates which are going on about the nature of the Estonian political regime before entering in our empirical study.

2/ Ethnopolitics: the Estonian democracy at stake.

Indeed, the current scholar debates do not take up any traditional approach of democracy to tackle this issue, and so do not match with our choice to endorse a process-oriented approach of Estonian political regime. They rather crystallize over ethnopolitics, i.e. the structure and balance of power among ethnic groups in a single state in relation to the maintenance of ethnic identities. It is worth-mentioning here that this different perspective seeking to analyze how material, political, social and discursive resources are distributed in Estonia raised some doubts on whether the state may be labeled as democratic or not.

In this framework, the main consensus over the very nature of Estonian political regime can be expounded through Priit Järve's words: « *Estonia can be characterized as a combination of a strongly-defined ethnic democracy (citizens of the core ethnic nation are dominating the other citizens) and a control system (citizens of the core ethnic nation are dominating the stateless individuals of non-core ethnic origin). As the number of stateless persons is diminishing, the system of control slowly disappears and ethnic democracy may prevail* »³³.

This mixture of both ethnic democracy and system of control refers to two different models in contemporary political thought.

The control model of a political system was introduced by Ian Lustick in 1979 in order to explain Arab acquiescence in Israel³⁴. This theory is based on the principle that one specific ethnic group takes over the state, imposes its culture on the society, and takes measures to prevent the non-dominant groups from organizing politically and upsetting the status quo. It consists of segmentation (the non-dominant group is denied access to the dominant one), dependency (non-dominant-groups are made economically dependent on the dominant group and deprived of the means for waging political struggle) and co-optation (certain benefits and favours are partially extended to non-dominant elites). In this framework, Klara Hallik and Vello Pettai made a great contribution while applying this model to Estonia³⁵. They identified the legal restorationist ideology and the initial exclusion of non-members of the core nation from citizenship with segmentation. Then they argued that non-Estonian communities became increasingly dependant of the Estonian one due to economic changes as a result of market transition which altered

³³ JARVE, P.: *Ethnic democracy and Estonia: application of Smootha's model*, ECMI Working paper 7, Farimah Daftary and William McKinney, 2000, p.1

³⁴ LUSTICK, I.: *Arabs in the Jewish State: Israel's control of a national minority*, University of Texas Press, Austin and London, 1980

³⁵ PETTAI, V. and HALLIK, K.: « Understanding processes of ethnic control: segmentation, dependency and co-optation in post-communist Estonia » in *Nations and nationalism*, Volume 8, n°4, 2002, pages 505-529

considerably the economic resource base of both communities. Finally, they pointed out a co-optation policy among key non-Estonian leaders, especially in 1992-1993 and to a certain extent through the « *State integration program* » mentioned earlier.

On the other hand, ethnic democracy is “*an empirical tool to analyse reality and not a normative model*”³⁶ developed by Sammy Smooha in 1999 on the basis of the Israeli case³⁷.

It has been conceptualized as a deficient or second-rate democracy, while defining a political system that combines extension of democratic rights for all with institutionalization of dominance by one ethnic group. According to Smooha, ethnic democracy is characterized by eight main features: ethnic nationalism installs a single core ethnic nation in the state; the state separates membership in the single core ethnic nation from citizenship; the state is owned and ruled by the core ethnic nation; the state mobilises the core ethnic nation; non-core groups are accorded incomplete individual and collective rights; the state allows non-core groups to conduct parliamentary and extraparliamentary struggle for change; the state perceives non-core groups as a threat; the state imposes some control on non-core groups.

Priit Järve applied this model to Estonia and found out that Estonia could be labeled as an ethnic democracy even if he demonstrated that one of the eight features of the model was not relevant in the case, namely the Estonian state does not mobilize the core ethnic nation (but at least, he did not pay too much attention to this incompatibility while arguing that this particular feature had been specially drawn on the basis of the Israeli case)³⁸.

However, what is interesting to underline here is that Sammy Smooha in 1998 disagreed with the extension of the model of ethnic democracy to Estonia. In his opinion, such an extension “*blurs the distinction between democracy and nondemocracy and makes it difficult to defend the democratic classification of ethnic democracy.*” At the same time, he saw Estonia as “*a system in a preparatory stage before becoming an ethnic democracy*”, and as a “*good candidate for an ethnic democracy*”³⁹.

By now, thirteen years later, we could certainly rightfully argue that along with the integration and naturalization processes, the ethnic democratic features of the Estonian political regime today have certainly taken precedence over the system of control.

³⁶ SMOOHA, S.: « Types of democracy and conflict management in ethnically divided society » in: *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 8, n° 4, 2002, pages 423-431

³⁷ SMOOHA, S.: « The model of ethnic democracy: Israel as a Jewish and democratic state », in: *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 8, n° 4, 2002, pages 475-503

³⁸ JARVE, P.: « Ethnic democracy and Estonia: application of Smooha's model », ECMI Working paper 7, Farimah Daftary and William McKinney, 2000

³⁹ *Ibid*, page 5

SECTION 3:

Summary

This first part allowed us to comprehend that the theoretical equal consideration of interest issue tends to crystallize in practice on the definition of national identity in any nation-state.

It appears quite logical here that at the dawn of independence, the Estonian Republic endorsed an ethnic conception of nation-state because of, first of all, the history of the formation of the Estonian nation, built as an ethno-cultural artefact, and secondly, the perceived threat against the nation survival after the Soviet domination.

Despite the numerous efforts towards the democratic conditions, and especially the inclusiveness one threatened by the endorsement of a restorationist ideology, national identity is consequently defined according to ethnic cores, thus entailing the monopoly of the cultural domain and the legitimization of ethnic nationalism in the public sphere.

SECOND PART:
EMPIRICAL STUDY OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
OF THE NON-MEMBERS OF THE CORE NATION:
SELF-WITHDRAWAL FROM THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES

In this second part, we will seek to assess the political participation of the non-members of the core nation in comparison with Estonians'. The purpose of this empirical study is to determine if we find out a lesser participation among this population. In other words, if our initial hypothesis according which non-members of the core nation would be less willing to participate in the democratic processes is confirmed in our Estonian case-study.

In order to do so, we will focus on two main issues which are going to constitute our two sub-parts, namely the acquisition of the citizenship and the political participation in elections. The third one will sum up the overall study in order to highlight the main trends which characterized their participation.

So, firstly, we will question the citizenship issue: how many individuals remain living on the territory without the Estonian citizenship? Do any legal provisions and public policies still prevent non-members of the core nation to acquire it?

Then, we will move on political participation in both local and national elections: are there significant differences in terms of vote rates between members and non-members of the core nation?

What are the main reasons alleged for explaining political abstention ?

In order to reach a reliable assessment of this issues, we will use several empirical methodological instruments, such as official documents and suveys data analysis.

Section 1: Acquisition of political rights and willingness to get the citizenship

- A] Legal provisions concerning the acquisition of the Estonian citizenship
- B] Integration policies aimed at facilitating access to citizenship
- C] Rights granted by the acquisition of the Estonian citizenship and the negation of the « political animal » myth

Section 2: Political participation in elections

- A] Political participation in local elections
- B] Political participation in local elections
- C] Study of the reasons alleged for explaining political abstention

Section 3: Summary

SECTION 1:

Acquisition of political rights and willingness to get the citizenship

“Only with a completely organized humanity could the loss of home and political status become identical with expulsion from humanity altogether” (Hannah Arendt⁴⁰).

Defined as the so-called « *right to have rights* » according to Hannah Arendt, however any effective right to citizenship exists today in international law. Of course, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the 10th December 1948 does proclaim a right of every human being to nationality and a right to change or not to be deprived of one's nationality (article 15)⁴¹. But, in practice, the right to citizenship still remains a rather vague concept in international human rights law and a competence at the very core of the state sovereignty.

While not being abided by any international law in this matter, domestic law does not provide for a right to citizenship neither, except for stateless children under fifteen years of age who are entitled with a simplified procedure (chapter III of the Citizenship Act passed on the 19th January 1995 and which entered into force on the 1st April 1995). As a result, according to the Ministry of the Interior, as of the 1st April 2011, still 215 151 individuals living in Estonia (15.8% of the total population) do not hold the Estonian citizenship, and so are excluded from most of the Estonian democratic processes.

In order to understand this phenomenon, we have to look deeper in Estonian legislation and policies towards the citizenship issue to assess if the current situation is the result of restrictive provisions or of non-Estonians' deliberate choice.

⁴⁰ ARENDT, H.: *The origins of totalitarianism*, Andre Deutsch, London, 1986, page 297

⁴¹ The use of the term « nationality » is a bit confusing here but it refers to citizenship. The Declaration drafters did not distinguish between both concepts.

A] LEGAL PROVISIONS CONCERNING THE ACQUISITION OF THE ESTONIAN CITIZENSHIP.

Definition of citizenship usually reflects deeply rooted understandings of nationhood, and, as we highlighted in the first part, Estonian nationhood has since its very first inception been understood as an ethno-cultural artefact. Consequently, on the 7th November 1991, the citizenship was restored only to pre-occupation citizens and their descendants. However, like Brubaker underlined it: « *Differences in citizenship policies and practices are not produced exclusively or immediatly by differing understandings of nationhood. Of course, definitions of citizenship are conditioned by state interests. But conceptions of nationhood, to adopt the terms of Weber's metaphor, have determined the tracks along which the politics of citizenship has been driven by the dynamic of interests* »⁴². Putting into practice, this means that Estonian state interests have put forward the necessity to move towards a more civic territorial conception of citizenship, thus entailing liberalization of the legal provisions. But the initial differentialist and ethnic conception of nationhood has drawn the general framework in which this citizenship normalization took place, and so ensuring the jus sanguinis precedence over the jus soli conception of citizenship.

1/ A liberalized naturalization procedure under the Citizenship Act of the 19th January 1995.

By now, and after numerous amendments made to the legislation, as we have already underlined it, the Citizenship Act mentionned above set the conditions for the acquisition of Estonian citizenship. Apart for children under fifteen of age who are entitled with a simplified procedure even though still not automatic, naturalization may occur if the following nine conditions are fulfilled (article 6 of the Act):

→ **be at least 15 years of age**

→ **have a resident permit of a long-term resident or the right of permanent residence**

According to Article 12 (3) of the Law on Aliens, “[a] permanent residence permit may be issued to an alien who has resided in Estonia on the basis of a temporary residence permit for at least three years within the last five years and who has a valid residence permit, a residence in Estonia and permanent legal income for subsistence in Estonia, unless otherwise provided by this Law”. Whereas a temporary residence permit may be issued to aliens for employment, enterprise, study in an educational institution, in order to settle with a close relative permanently resident in Estonia, if permanent legal income ensures their subsistence in Estonia, if application for a residence permit is based on an international agreement, or finally, if applicant is a spouse of a permanent Estonian resident [Article 12 (1)-(2)], permanent residence permit shall not be issued to an alien who received a temporary one for employment or study.

An ethnicity based privileged is established for Estonians, their spouses and minor children. This provision is based on article 36 of the Constitution which provides that « *every Estonian has the right to settle in Estonia* ». The law of aliens bans issuance of a residence permit to fifteen categories of aliens, mainly for having provided false information [article 12 (4) 1)], criminal offence and risk to public order [article 12 (4) 2) 4) 5) 6) 9) 11) 12) 13) 14) 15)] or at last when some

⁴² BRUBAKER, R.: *Citizenship and nationhood in France and Germany*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1992, page 17

doubts exist concerning his loyalty to the Estonian state [article 12 (4) 3) 6) 7) 10)]. However, these prohibitions are worded in vague terms and provide officials with broad margin of appreciation.

- **have lived in Estonia on the basis of a residence permit of a long-term resident or the right of permanent residence for 6 months from the day following the date of registration of the application for Estonian citizenship**
- **have a registered residence in Estonia**
- **have knowledge of the Estonian language in accordance with the requirements provided for in §8 of this act**

Article 8 of the Citizenship Act defines this knowledge as general knowledge of basic Estonian needed in everyday life (listening comprehension, speech, reading comprehension, writing).

Persons who have acquired basic, secondary or higher education in the Estonian language are not required to pass examination [article 8 (5)]. Moreover, people born prior 1 January 1930 are exempted from written part of the language exam [article 34], and, since 2001, any exam shall not be passed by disabled [article 35].

- **have knowledge of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia and the Citizenship Act in accordance with the requirements provided for in §9 of this act**

Paragraphe 9 of the Citizenship Act precises that this knowledge refers to the general principles of the Estonian public order which is provided for in chapters I and III of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia; the fundamental rights, freedoms and duties of every person which are provided for in chapter II; the competence of the Riigikogu, the President of the Republic, the Government of the Republic and the courts in accordance with the Constitution; the conditions and procedures for acquisition, resumption and loss of Estonian citizenship in accordance with the Citizenship act.

This written exam is assessed in Estonian, and again, disabled people are exempted since 2001.

- **have a permanent legal income which ensures his or her own subsistence and that of his or her dependants**

According to article 7 of the Citizenship Act, permanent legal income may be legally earned remuneration on the basis of a contract of employment, contract of service, civil law contract or membership; income received from legal business activity or property; pensions; grants; support; benefits paid on the basis of Acts; maintenance by a family member with a permanent legal income in Estonia.

- **be loyal to the Estonian state**

Despite public authorities have a broad margin of appreciation towards this provision, denial of granting Estonian citizenship on this basis is not a widespread practice. However, we may quote a case in 2003 where a young person was denied after the interference of the Security Police due to some offensive statements towards the Republic of Estonia he had made on his web-page⁴³.

- **take an oath « *Taotledes Eesti kodakondsust, tõotan olla ustav Eesti põhiseaduslikule korrale* »**

[translation: « In applying for Estonian citizenship, I swear to be loyal to the constitutional order of Estonia »]

In sum, we have to underline that Estonian citizenship law both includes jus sanguinis and jus soli elements. Comparing to other European countries, we can even argue that this last is quite liberalized and opened to new citizens, especially for children who were born and grew up in Estonia even though the granting of the Estonian citizenship remains not automatic. However, the jus soli right to citizenship remains limited. The legislation seems to endorse a positive attitude towards naturalization, except concerning the former Soviet security officers who are still excluded

⁴³ POLESHCHUK, V.: *Non-citizens in Estonia. Report 2004*, LICHR publication, Tallinn, 2004, pages 33-34

from citizenship, and whose right to residence relies on diplomatic relations with Russia.

Indeed, it is worth mentioning that certain categories of people are deprived of the right to naturalize (article 21 of the Citizenship Act)⁴⁴.

In practice, these limitations are mostly applied to former Soviet security officers as well as to former Soviet military servicemen and their spouses. At present, some 10 000 Soviet/ Russian military servicemen and their family members live in Estonia. Their right to residence was guaranteed by the so-called 1994 July agreement between Estonia and Russia as long as they do not pose any threat to Estonia's security. Until 2006, before the new European Union regulations were enacted, Estonia provided Soviet Army retirees with temporary residence permits. Now they enjoy the right to a long-term residence permit as national of third states who have legally resided in a EU member state for five years or more.

However, one legal exception exists, which allows former foreign military servicemen to receive Estonian citizenship, if, and only if he or she was married for at least five years to a person that acquired Estonian citizenship by birth, and only by birth, not naturalisation [article 21(1) of the Citizenship Act].

The Republic of Estonia has been very restrictive towards former Soviet military servicemen, while admitting no possible exception made to the legal provisions. In practice, this ban has already been questioned, both at the national and international level, as being discriminatory by nature.

At the international level, this question arised only once, when the stateless resident Vjacheslav Borzov filed an individual complaint on the 2nd November 2001 against Estonia in the United Nations Human Right Committee⁴⁵, an organ which may issue comments concerning individual communications alleging breaches of the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights of 1966 (ICCPR) when the state concerned has ratified the first optional protocol of the covenant by which this last recognizes its competence. Having been married an Estonian citizen by naturalization for many years, Mr Borzov had been denied citizenship on this ground and then unsuccessfully protested the discriminatory character of article 21(1) of the Citizenship Act in Estonian Courts.

In the UN Human Rights Commitee, Vjacheslav Borzov initially argued that he had been the victim of discrimination on the basis of his social origin and the civil status of his spouse, contrary to article 26 of the Covenant which provides that: *« All persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall*

⁴⁴ See annexe 1.

⁴⁵ Vjatšeslav Borzov v. Estonia, Communication No. 1136/2002, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/81/D/1136/2002 (2004)

prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status ». Since its general comment n°18, the application of article 26 is not confined anymore to the rights contained only in the ICCPR but is a general clause of non-discrimination.

About the alleged discrimination on the basis of his social origin, the UN Human rights committee, while considering the complaint at its 81st session in July 2004, pointed out: « *Whereas articles 19, 21 and 22 of the Covenant establish a criterion of necessity in respect of restrictions based on national security, the criteria applicable under article 26 are more general in nature, requiring reasonable and objective justification and a legitimate aim for distinctions that relate to an individual's characteristics enumerated in article 26, including "other status". The Committee accepts that considerations related to national security may serve a legitimate aim in the exercise of a State party's sovereignty in the granting of its citizenship, at least where a newly independent state invokes national security concerns related to its earlier status* »⁴⁶. In other words, the committee did not find out the ban on naturalization towards former Soviet military anchored in the Citizenship Act, like amounting to discrimination as far as it considered the preservation of Estonian national security as an objective and reasonable justification and found the mean employed proportional with the aim sought. As a result, the Committee did not find any violation of article 26 of the covenant.

At the national level, in 2008 the Estonian Supreme Court found that the relevant provisions of the Citizenship Act were in line with the Constitution, even if the case concerned a woman who had worked in the late seventies for less than thirteen months for the KGB as a secretary and argued that the ban on naturalization led to discrimination against former technical staff⁴⁷.

Also, article 21(1) of the Citizenship Act inserts some differences in terms of rights hold by the citizens by birth and those naturalized, which lead us to look deeper in the legislation in order to assess to which extent a preferential status is granted to the citizens by birth.

2/ A preferential status of Estonian citizens by birth over those naturalized.

Indeed, a couple of differences in terms of rights granted to citizens may be found in the Estonian legislation, according to the fact that they acquired it by birth or through naturalization.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*

⁴⁷ Decision of the Supreme Court *en banc* of the 3rd January 2008 in case no. 3-3-101-06, Riigi Teataja, III 2008, 3, 23

First of all and despite naturalized citizens, Estonian citizens by birth cannot be deprived of citizenship for any reason (Article 8, Constitution of the Republic of Estonia; Article 28 (3), Citizenship Act). On the contrary, naturalized citizens can be deprived of citizenship in accordance with Article 28 of the Citizenship Act, i.e. if he or she forcibly attempts to change the constitutional order of Estonia, joins foreign military or intelligence service, etc...

Another important difference may be found in the formal prohibition of double nationality. But in practice, revocation of the Estonian citizenship by birth is only possible on the person's application, thus, citizens by birth have an opportunity to acquire double citizenship, not the naturalized citizens who have to renounce to their previous citizenship if they had one in order naturalization may occur. As a result, Estonian citizenship is only exclusive for naturalized citizens, not for those who acquired it by birth. Therefore one may argue that naturalization does not involve only a change in legal status but also a change in political and cultural identity.

Only children of citizens by birth can be admitted as Estonian citizens from the moment of birth irrespective of the place and the date of birth (Article 5 of the Citizenship Act). Only minors under 15, who have been born before acquisition of citizenship of Estonia, have a right to acquire citizenship by naturalization concurrently with their parents without examinations on the official language, on the Constitution and on the Citizenship Act (Articles 13 and 14). Children of naturalized citizens, who are older than 15, are obliged to apply for citizenship in accordance with common rules. The Law does not take into account the fact that a child has been born in Estonia.

Another difference of treatment is anchored in the Persons Repressed by Occupation Regimes Act, according which only persons who were citizens of Estonia at the time of repression or Estonian residents as of 16 June 1940 can be recognised as illegally repressed persons (Article 2 (1)). In practice subjects of this law are mostly citizens by birth. Thus, the benefits provided for in this act are not granted to numerous victims of Stalinist or Nazi repression, neither to numerous persons who participated in the clean-up of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station.

Also, according to article 79 of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia, only citizens by birth have a right to stand as a candidate for the position of the President of Estonia.

At last, the provision already quoted earlier according which former foreign military serviceman may exceptionally receive citizenship if he or she was married for at least five years to an Estonian citizen by birth, introduce another slightly difference in terms of rights hold by both categories of citizens.

As a result, one may ask if this differential treatment between naturalized citizens and citizens by birth cannot be qualified as discriminatory for the first ones.

Discrimination is prohibited both in national law (the principle itself is anchored in the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia, article 12) and in numerous of international instruments the Republic of Estonia had ratified (and especially the ICCPR of 1966, and the European Convention of Human rights of 1948, which both contained a general clause of non-discrimination). The principle of non-discrimination tends to guarantee that those in equal circumstances are dealt with equally in law and practice. In general international law, difference of treatment usually amounts to discrimination when: a) equal cases are treated in a different manner; b) a difference of treatment does not have an objective and reasonable justification; or c) if there is no proportionality between the aim sought and the means employed. These requirements have been expressly set out by international human rights supervisory bodies, including the European Court (see, e.g., *Marckx v. Belgium*) and the Human Rights Committee (see, e.g., General Comment 18, para. 13 and *Jacobs v. Belgium*).

This question arised once, at the international level in 2001, before the UN Human rights Committee whith the previously quoted Vjacheslav Borzov's individual complaint, while arguing a breach of article 26 of the ICCPR, i.e. a discrimination on the basis of the civil status of his spouse. Unfortunately, this claim was not for purposes of admissibility as far as Vjacheslav Borzov did not raise this question previously before the national courts. As a result, the Committee could not have a closer look on this particular issue and the question remains. However, even though citizenship is usually considered at the very core of the state sovereignty, and thus State parties benefit from a broad marge of appreciation in issues related to this matter, one may argue that serious doubts exist concerning the non-discriminatory character of such legal provisions. It is far from sure that the UN Human Rights Committee would have regarded the Estonian national security as an objective and reasonable justification to justify the unequal treatment between citizens by birth and those naturalized.

This preferential status given to citizens by birth, as well as the previously cited precedence of *jus sanguinis* over the *jus soli* right to citizenship, entrenched in the citizenship law, highlight a continious ethnic and differentialist self-understanding of Estonian nationhood. Besides, the events in the aftermath of the « Bronze soldier » issue in 2007 illustrate this pattern.

On 27th April 2007, just two weeks before the Russians traditionally celebrate the anniversary of the defeat of Nazi Germany, the Estonian government clumsily relocated a Soviet-era war memorial from the centre of Tallinn, provoking street riots by mostly Russian-speaking youths who felt insulted. Approximately 1 200 people were arrested, while many were injured and one Russian citizen was stabbed to death. The riots and their aftermath, such as the siege of the Estonian Embassy in Moscow by a youth organisation implied heated debate ans discussion about the loyalty

of naturalized citizens towards the Estonian state. As a result, the government decided to simplify the procedure aimed at the deprivation of Estonian citizenship. As soon as the 15th of June 2009, the Parliament voted to amend the Citizenship Act in order to deprive naturalized Estonian citizens of their Estonian citizenship in cases where individuals have been convicted for intentional offences against the state, though those offences do not necessarily pose a threat to the security and stability of the state. Finally, this amendment had not been promulgated by the President of the Republic for not being in line with the Constitution but this attempt to deprive more easily naturalized citizens from their Estonian citizenship highlights a recurrent and continuous pattern which tends to differentiate « different classes » of citizens in the eyes of the Estonian Republic according to their nationality. It underlines a lack of trust in naturalized citizens' loyalty towards the Estonian state.

B) INTEGRATION STATE POLICIES AIMED AT FACILITATING ACCESS TO CITIZENSHIP.

Concerned by the remaining high rate of individuals living on the territory who did not hold the Estonian citizenship, governmental authorities quickly involved themselves in public policies aimed at promoting and facilitating its acquisition, as soon as the late nineties.

The general issue was understood in these terms: « *In the case of the non-Estonian target group, integration is expressed in the gradual disappearance of those barriers which today prevent many non-Estonians from being competitive in the Estonian labour market, taking part in the educational opportunities available here and participating in local cultural and political life. These barriers are above all connected with shortcomings in knowledge of the Estonian language and local culture, with uncertain legal status and also with fears and prejudices resulting from rapid social changes* »⁴⁸.

The lack of Estonian language proficiency was identified as the main barrier preventing non-Estonians to integrate themselves in the society, and so to get citizenship. Indeed by now, the basic knowledge of Estonian is required to pass both the language exam and the Constitution and Citizenship Act examination which also takes place in Estonian. As a result, public authorities introduced a very voluntarist policy aimed at improving the general level of Estonian language among society, which was then supposed to increase the number of naturalization.

1/ The State programme “*Integration in Estonian society*”.

Adopted on the 14th March 2000, Estonian authorities launched a large integration state programme, namely the « *Integration programme in Estonian society 2000-2007* » we have already mentioned, aimed at integrating both Estonians and non-Estonians around a unifying common core. The nature of this programme was shaped by two main processes: ensuring the social harmonization of the society on the basis of knowledge of the Estonian language and the possession of Estonian citizenship, and the enabling of the maintenance of ethnic differences on the basis of recognition of the cultural rights of ethnic minorities. Initially divided in four sub-programmes (« *Education* », « *The education and culture of ethnic minorities* », « *Teaching the Estonian language to adults* », « *Social competence* »), three main long-term aims of such policy were identified: linguistic-communicative integration (i.e. a common sphere of information and the re-creation of an Estonian language environment in Estonia under conditions of cultural diversity and

⁴⁸ Official state programme « *Integration in Estonian society 2000-2007* » approved by the government of Estonia on 14th March 2000, page 18

tolerance), legal-political integration (i.e. the formation of a population loyal to Estonian state and the reduction of the number of persons without Estonian citizenship) and finally socio-economic integration (i.e. the increased competitiveness and social mobility of every member of Estonian society). Actually, this integration strategy was far broader than dealing only with the citizenship issue but the reduction of the number of persons without Estonian citizenship was part of its main goals, and, as a result some activities which have been conducted in its framework concerned directly the citizenship issue.

In the 2000-2007 period program, we may find several activities which have been implemented in order to promote and facilitate the acquisition of the Estonian citizenship (see table 2). From this table, we may notice that most of the activities were carried out during the first implementation period from 2000 to 2003. The decrease of foreign assistance during the second one implied a decrease of activities then implemented but the funding of the most sustainable and effective activities from the state budget continued.

However, we may classify the undertaken activities having a direct impact on the citizenship issue into three main different categories:

- those which tended to improve the **quality** of the teaching of Estonian language to adults and of the preparation to the Constitution and the Citizenship Act exam

Activities 2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 14 and 16 especially took place in the first four years of the strategy. However, some efforts had been made again in 2007 with the repeat of the training of employees involved in the Estonian language proficiency examination, and the development of this last system examination.

- those which tended to improve adults' **access** to the teaching of Estonian language and knowledge about Estonian Constitution and Citizenship Act

Among activities 4, 5, 6 and 15, it is interesting to note that a very great emphasis has been put over the years on the extensive subsiduation of result-based language teaching activity, considered as the most resource-effective one (cf. below: B), while the subsiduation of language learning for both socially prioritized groups and social risk groups had been slowly abandoned due to the « *absence of motivation for acquisition of language skills* »⁴⁹. On the other hand, it is quite surprising that the development and implementation of a training programme for individuals preparing for the examination of the knowledge of the Estonian Constitution and Citizenship Act

⁴⁹ Official final report on the final appraisal of the State programme « Integration in Estonian society 2000-2007 », 2009, page 92

had only taken place from 2005.

- those which tended to improve the **visibility and awareness** of how to get the citizenship and about opportunities to learn Estonian language

Activities 1, 8, 11, 12, 13 and 17 did not intervene immediately after the launching of the strategy and have not been very constant over the years. However, public authorities seem more willing to organize occasionally some information days about the opportunities to learn Estonian, and to develop over the years a notification programme on practical information necessary for application for citizenship and how to pass examination, rather than organizing continuing national campaigns. Broader events or campaigns favoring the acquisition of citizenship and the means at the disposal of the individuals had not been organized anymore after the end of the first implementation period.

As far as this Integration strategy ended up in 2007, we may find some official documents which assess its efficiency and impact on the Estonian society. About activities aimed at promoting the acquisition of the Estonian citizenship planned in the « *Social competence* » sub-programme, the final appraisal of the strategy issued in 2009 underlined: « *Informational materials helping to reduce fears associated with the citizenship examination have received positive feedback. However, various experts emphasize that broader activities in addition to supporting applying for citizenship are needed in order to shape activities* »⁵⁰. In other words, such activities are officially regarded as having had a positive impact on the citizenship issue but still remain not enough. On the other hand, concerning the « *Teaching Estonian language to adults* » sub-programme, it concluded: « *It can be said that the SIP programme has increased adult's opportunities for learning Estonian, but a large portion of the Russian-speaking population (mostly elderly people) still does not speak Estonian. Although partially the problem certainly lies in the lack of will to learn Estonian and the real need for it, one can nevertheless see a lack of language learning opportunities. The most serious problem lies in the lack of opportunities for increasing socio-cultural competence* »⁵¹. In other words, activities aimed at improving the quality and accessibility of teaching Estonian language which have been carried out through the Integration strategy are usually regarded as having had a general positive impact as far as « *teaching the Estonian language of higher quality to adults is more available than in early years of the programme* »⁵². But, again, here, some disappointment may be found because this increasing development of opportunities of teaching Estonian to adults did not go hand to hand with a significant improvement of the language skills of adults: the Estonian skills

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, page 123

⁵¹ *Ibid*, page 100

⁵² *Ibid*, page 97

TABLE 2:

Comparison of the activities planned in the 2000-2007 implementation plan (marked yellow) and activities which have effectively been implemented (marked with X) which may have a direct impact on the citizenship issue

Activities	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
« TEACHING ESTONIAN TO ADULTS » SUB-PROGRAMME								
Preparation and distribution of materials introducing language exams and examination procedure (1)	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Development of the system of language proficiency examinations (2)	X	X	X	X				X
Training of the authors of materials, evaluators, examiners and experts of the Estonian language proficiency examination (3)	X	X						X
Subsidising language learning for socially prioritised groups (4)	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Subsidising the language learning for social risk groups (the unemployed, job-seekers) (5)	X	X	X					
Extensive subsidisation of result-based language teaching (6)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Creation of the support person programme for the purpose of teaching Estonian to adults (7)	X	X						
Organisation of information days and events for the target groups (8)	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Organisation of supplementary training for adults' teachers of Estonian (9)	X							
Preparation of teaching materials based on descriptions of the levels of proficiency of Estonian (10)	X							
« SOCIAL COMPETENCE » SUB-PROGRAMME								
Social advertising campaigns motivating-encouraging taking the citizenship examination; ordering programmes and articles; management of media relations (11)	X	X	X					
Development and implementation of a notification programme on practical information necessary for passing the citizenship examination and application for citizenship; organisation of the examination on the knowledge of the Constitution and the Citizenship Act of the Republic of Estonia in companies (12)		X		X	X	X	X	X
Organisation of joint events, debates and other activities related to legal integration targeting young people; supporting the events of Citizen's Day (13)		X	X	X	X			
Expert appraisal of the examination of the knowledge of the Constitution and the Citizenship Act of the Republic of Estonia and development of a new examination model (14)	X	X						
Development and implementation of a training programme for persons preparing for the examination of the knowledge of the Constitution and the Citizenship Act of the Republic of Estonia (15)						X	X	X
Preparation of additional material for people preparing for the examination of the knowledge of the Constitution and the Citizenship Act of the Republic of Estonia (16)	X			X				
Introduction of the new model of the citizenship examination in basic school (no such activity has been directly specified in the implementation plan) (17)			X					

Data source: Implementation plans and annual activity reports

of non Estonian population have improved but the number of adults who do not have any skills of the Estonian language remain high. Indeed, one weakness of the programme was that the number of persons who needed to be taught the Estonian language was far higher than that covered by the activities of the programme.

Because the citizenship issue was still far from being solved by the end of 2007, preparation of people with undetermined citizenship for the examination on the Constitution and the Citizenship Act, as well as the learning of Estonian language was taken up in the next state strategy implemented for the 2008-2013 period.

However, the new integration strategy has a number of differences with the previous one but reliable data about how it has performed so far are not available yet. Namely, dialogue platforms were expected to be initiated on various levels to discuss various aspects of integration questions and through that to involve the people in the development of integration policy more actively than before. Another new activity is to involve naturalized citizens in raising motivation, knowledge and civil activity of less integrated young people and adults and develop activities promoting Estonian citizenship including citizenship ceremonies (e.g. the ceremony of presenting the certificate of citizenship). In addition, compiling a consolidated study material for preparation for examinations for citizenship applicants and introducing the Estonian language and Estonia is planned.

2/ Towards the elimination of practical barriers in language learning among citizenship applicants.

We have already mentioned in the Integration state policy a system of extensive subsidisation of result-based language teaching, one of the most efficient activity of the strategy which has been renewed every year since its inception. Initially part of the PHARE programme which aimed to assist applicant Central and Eastern European countries for joining the European Union, this project was called « *Interest* » and was supposed to ensure the refunding of 50% of the money spent on language learning for individuals who passed the national Estonian language proficiency examination. From 1999 to the 31st December 2005 when the project ended, 11723 payments were made. We may regard this policy as having had a direct impact on the acquisition of the Estonian citizenship as far as, according to the Study of the Users of Support offered by project Interest, 59% of them learnt Estonian in order to acquire citizenship, 39% wanted to find a better job or maintain the existing one.

The Republic of Estonia also joined the supporters of language learners as soon as the 10th

December 2003 by enacting a new amendment to the Citizenship Act which entered into force on the 1st of January 2004 (article 8)⁵³.

Namely, an extra 50% of language learning fees were compensated to citizenship applicants from the state budget in addition to the 50% support funded by the European Union until 2006. As a result, citizenship applicants were fully compensated for their language learning fees. In 2006, after project Interest had ended its support, the state continued to compensate 100% of the language learning fees applicants. These are compensated by the National Examination and Qualification Center, a governmental body administered by the Ministry of Education and Research in order to implement the national education and language policy in the field of primary, basic and secondary education as well as in vocational and adult education.

Since 2009, those who are not covered by this state refunding may still be compensated in the limit of 320 euros to have passed examinations of Estonian language (levels A2, B1, B2 and C1 only) by the Integration Foundation. The fees are reimbursed within a period of two months and is financed through the European Social Fund.

To conclude, we may assume that the late nineties were characterized by a shift in the political discourse and Integration policies undertaken at that time. For the first time since the recovery of the independence, the multicultural character of the society was recognized and integration was officially perceived as a two side processes, where both Estonians and non-Estonian had a role to play.

Towards the citizenship issue, great efforts were made in order to allow people to pass the Estonian language exam and the Constitution and Citizenship Act examination: facilitating the access and the quality of the preparation to these exams were at the very core of the strategy. The need to raise awareness and visibility of the procedure to get the citizenship and the opportunities to learn Estonian language was also tackled with the introduction of different campaigns and events information.

Even if the citizenship issue remains today, we may argue that the Estonian State had undertaken very important steps in facilitating the access to citizenship and endorsed positive obligations. However, we may highlight a recent decrease in the involvement of such strategy over the years. Indeed, we may consider that even though integration policies were drafted mainly by Estonian scholars and personalities, European conditionality and international pressure played a very important role in focusing on these issue.

⁵³ See annex 1

C] SELF-WITHDRAWAL FROM THE ESTONIAN CITIZENSHIP, A LACK OF INTEREST IN POLITICAL RIGHTS?

We have already assessed which conditions needed to be fulfilled in order to be naturalized and to which extent Estonian policies try to help in this process but we did not mention yet which rights are granted by the acquisition of the Estonian citizenship. Indeed, it may be very helpful to underline which rights an individual acquires while getting the citizenship in order to highlight in which they are interested in or on the contrary in which there are not interested at all.

1/ Rights granted through the acquisition of citizenship.

A closer look on Estonian legislation reveals slightly differences between rights of citizens of the Republic of Estonia and non-citizens (whatever they are citizens of the European Union, third country nationals or stateless people), mainly in terms of political rights.

Indeed, first of all, Estonian citizenship provides the right to vote and run at national elections (article 4 of the Riigikogu Election Act). Both Estonian citizens and citizens of the European Union member states residing in Estonia enjoy the right of active and passive suffrage at elections of the European Parliament in Estonia (article 4 of the European Parliament Election Act). As for local elections, Estonian citizens and citizens of the European Union have the right to vote and stand as candidates, but all the permanent and long-term residents who have been living in a particular municipality for at least five years may vote at these local elections (article 5 of the Local Government Council Election Act).

During a short transitional period, especially at 1993 and 1996 local elections non-citizens were obliged to follow a preliminary registration procedure to take part in voting. For former Soviet residents it was possible to vote with temporary residence permits till the 1999 local election.

Also, according to article 48 of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia and article 5(1) of Political Parties Act, only Estonian citizens have the right to be member of political parties, as well as citizens of the European Union residing in Estonia. However, there are no limits for aliens to found or run a non-profit organization according to the Law on Non-Profit Organizations.

Also only Estonian citizen or alien with a permanent residence permit may organize a public meeting (article 6(4) of the Law on Public Meetings).

Even though some other differences of rights granted to citizens of the Estonian Republic and non-citizens in terms of cultural rights, labour market and other fields of economic life exist⁵⁴, we may argue that Estonian citizenship mainly grants political rights. Besides, the MIPEX study underlined several times the very low political participation allowed to third-country citizens and stateless people in Estonia. Led by the British Council and Migration Policy Group, the MIPEX study is a regular assessment method which seeks to evaluate and compare current laws and policies of thirty-one countries in seven migrant oriented policy areas (anti-discrimination, access to citizenship, long-term residence, political participation, education, family reunion and at last market mobility). As Kristjan Kaldur, Ingi Sutrop and Kristina Kallas highlighted it⁵⁵, MIPEX III identified that *“political participation is a major area of weakness for integration in Estonia, as in many Central European and Baltic countries. Non-citizens who are participating in all other areas of Estonian society are still largely excluded from democratic life. Long-term residents can vote in local elections. They cannot stand as candidates, unlike in 13 countries including LT and recently GR. They are also banned from political parties, unlike in 22 countries. For non-citizens to form or receive funding for their associations, they have to let them be run by a majority of Estonians and EU citizens on their boards. Estonia has lacked consultative bodies on these issues since the President’s Round Table on Ethnic Minorities closed”*.

Consequently, one may argue that not holding the Estonian citizenship implies the denial of most of political rights.

2/ The negation of the “political animal” myth.

If 15.8% of the total population registered in Estonia remain stateless or decided to adopt another citizenship, to fix their political identity elsewhere, and, as far as any Estonian law nor policies prevent anymore the acquisition of the citizenship by non-Estonians, one may argue that this situation is the result of a deliberate choice made by these people. Nevertheless, it is now a widespread assumption in mainstream political discourses which tend to focus on more practical reasons to explain such self-withdrawal from the Estonian citizenship. In that sense, Olga Sotnik stated : *« They are several reasons why high number of individuals don’t take Estonian citizenship. One reason is pragmatical – if individual has Russian citizenship or is stateless, he or she can travel both to Russia and to European Union countries without visa. The other reason is that exams that individuals have to pass to become citizens are too difficult for some (especially older) people. The third reason is psychological. Some people feel that they have already done quite a lot for this*

⁵⁴ See: <http://www.lichr.ee/main/diferences/>

⁵⁵ KALDUR, K., SUTROP, I., and KALLAS, K.: « Political participation of third-country nationals on national and local level. Country report of Estonia », Institute of Baltic Studies, unpublished manuscript, 2011, page 7

country and citizenship should be simply granted without any exams ». Olga Burmakina also draws attention on a certain lack of interest towards Estonian citizenship : *«People from Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova etc... have citizenship of their native land and are interested in participation in governmental election of their homeland. At the same time they can visit their relatives and homes without receiving entrance visa. This kind of people custom as a rule treat Estonia as a second homeland ... This group of people has the grand advantage – they can visit EU-states and Russia without receiving entrance visa. It is one of causes because they are not interested in receiving Estonian citizenship* ».

However, at a first glance it still remains hard to understand why an individual would prefer to not acquire Estonian citizenship, while living there permanently and especially when he had the opportunity to get it. Is the so-called Aristotle's political animal myth *« Man is by nature a political animal »*⁵⁶ a completely wrong assumption which would give way to some mere practical reasons?

Here, we may highlight an interesting phenomenon. Table 3 shows a significant decrease of number of naturalizations in Estonia in the aftermath of the « Bronze Soldier » events. At the same time, Priit Jarve underlined that: *« In March 2008, the Russian Embassy in Tallinn reported a doubling in the number of applicants for Russian citizenship between August 2007 and March 2008 compared with the same periods in 2006 and 2007. According to embassy officials, many applicants noted that they had 'lost confidence in Estonian democracy'. The applicants were also motivated by the opportunities of visa-free travel and of finding jobs in both the Schengen area and Russia. This change in non-Estonians' attitudes had already been detected by a July 2007 Estonian survey, which showed that after the relocation of the war memorial, the trust that non-Estonians had in Estonian state institutions had fallen to 24 per cent (among non-Estonian youths to 11 per cent; while among Estonians it remained as high as 62 per cent). This is in sharp contrast with figures from 2005, when trust in Estonian institutions among non-Estonians was similar to that of Estonians »*⁵⁷.

This double phenomenon (a decrease of the number of Estonian naturalizations coupled with an increase of the acquisition of Russian citizenship) highlights that inter-ethnic relations in Estonia have an important impact on non-Estonians' willingness to get the Estonian citizenship, to participate in the democratic processes in Estonia.

⁵⁶ JOWETT, B., and TWINNING, T.: *Aristotle's Politics and Poetics*, The Viking Press, New York, 1957, Book 1, page 5

⁵⁷ JARVE, P.: « Estonian citizenship: between ethnic preferences and democratic obligations » in: *Citizenship policies in the New Europe*, Bauböck, R., Perchinig, B., Sievers, W., Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, 2007, page 57

TABLE 3:
**Number of persons who have acquired Estonian citizenship
through naturalization from 1992 to 2011**

1992 – 5 421	2002 – 4 091
1993 – 20 370	2003 – 3 706
1994 – 22 474	2004 – 6 523
1995 – 16 674	2005 – 7 072
1996 – 22 773	2006 – 4 753
1997 – 8 124	2007 – 4 228
1998 – 9 969	2008 – 2 124
1999 – 4 534	2009 – 1 670
2000 – 3 425	2010 – 1 184
2001 – 3 090	2011 – 366 <i>(as of 1st April 2011)</i>

Source: [Ministry of the Interior](#), *Population Register*

SECTION 2:

Political participation in elections

« The health and stability of a modern democracy depends, not only on the justice of its institutions, but also on the qualities and attitudes of its citizens: e.g. their sense of identity, and how they view potentially competing forms of national, regional, ethnic, or religious identities; their ability to tolerate and work together with others who are different from themselves; their desire to participate in the political process in order to promote the public good and hold political authorities accountable; their willingness to show self-restraint and exercise personal responsibility in their economic demands, and in personal choices that affect their health and the environment; and their sense of justice and commitment to a fair distribution of resources. Without citizens who possess these qualities, the ability of liberal societies to function successfully progressively diminishes » (Wayne Norman and Will Kymlicka)⁵⁸.

If political participation in elections appears fundamental for democratic governance, political philosophers often focus on these desirable civic virtues and practices of its citizens in order to maximize it. Our purpose here is not to discuss this philosophical issue of which level of participation is desirable but rather to question the use of participatory rights according to nationality.

The citizenship issue disclosed a pattern of self-withdrawal from democratic processes among non-Estonians. Therefore, the question here is if we find out again this phenomenon, i.e. if non-members of the core nation tend to participate less in elections than Estonians.

However, as far as any official statistics record political participation in elections (both local and national) broken down by nationality, we are going to use here the 2003, 2005, 2007 and 2011 post-elections surveys of Tartu University in order to assess these levels of participation.

⁵⁸ KYMLICKA, W. and NORMAN, W.: *Citizenship in Diverse societies*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, page 6

A] STUDY OF THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL ELECTIONS.

According to the Local Government Council Election Act, passed on the 27th March 2002 and which entered into force on the 6th May 2002, elections of members of local government councils take place every four years according to a proportional representation.

All residents who are at least eighteen years of age and reside permanently on the territory of the given local authority have the right to vote in municipal elections. In order to vote, a person must have been entered in a polling list, which means that they must have the address of their residence entered in the population register. Only permanent residents who have been divested of their active legal capacity with regard to the right to vote and those who have been convicted of a crime and are serving sentence in a penal institution cannot vote.

This means that both Estonian citizens and citizens of other European Union member states may vote at local government council elections, as well as citizens of other countries and stateless persons if he or she resides in Estonia on the basis of a long-term residence permit or the right of permanent residence (article 5 of the Local Government Council Election Act).

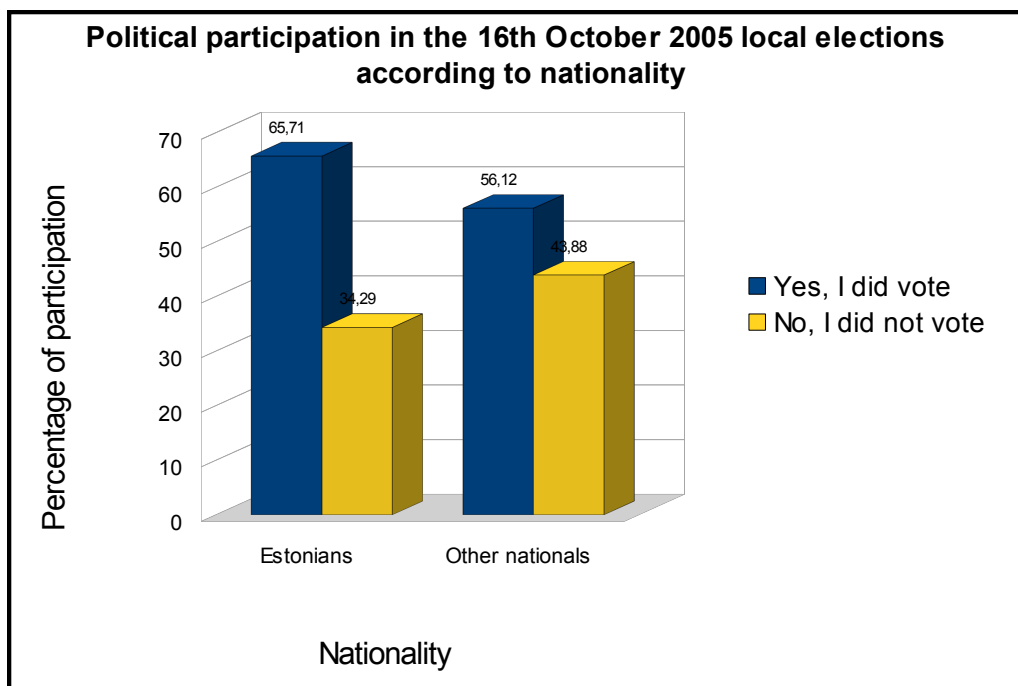
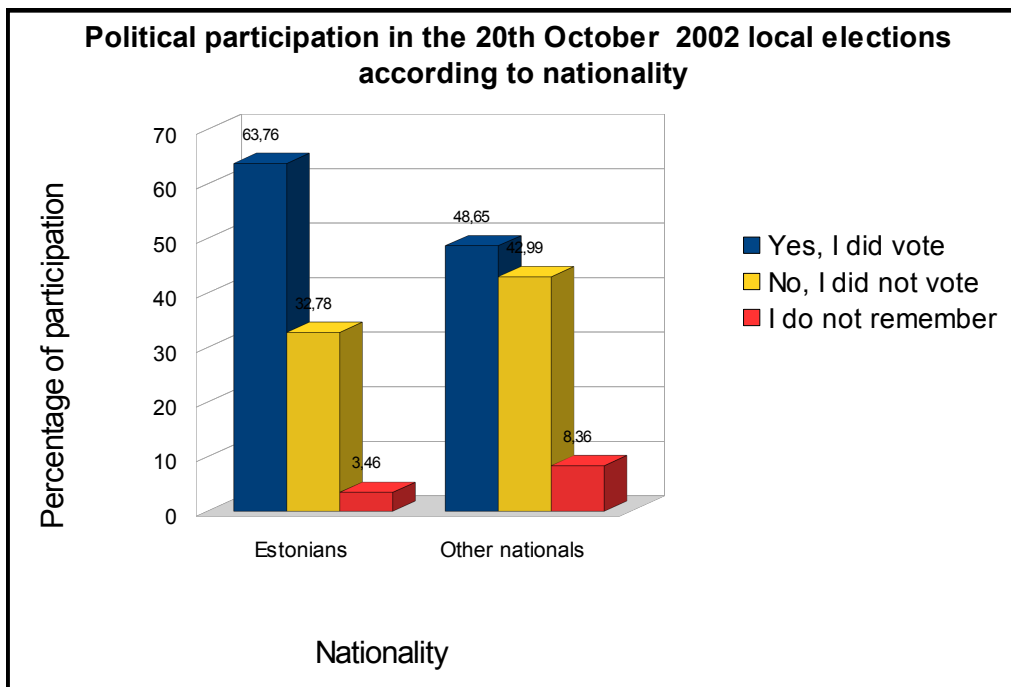
Consequently, while analyzing political participation in local elections, we study the participation of most of the Estonian population regardless the citizenship status, i.e. the permanent residents, meaning those who have been living in Estonia for at least five years. This issue is very interesting as far as it will provide us important knowledge of how much and to which extent both stateless, third-country citizens and Estonian citizens who are not part of the Estonian nation participate in the democratic processes taking place in the Estonian society.

The results of the 2005 survey draws attention on both nationality and citizenship status as important variables in defining level of political participation in local elections.

First of all, we may register a much lesser participation among non-Estonians comparing to Estonians (see table 4): -15,11% in the local elections which took place on the 20th October 2002, and -9,59% in those of the 16th October 2005.

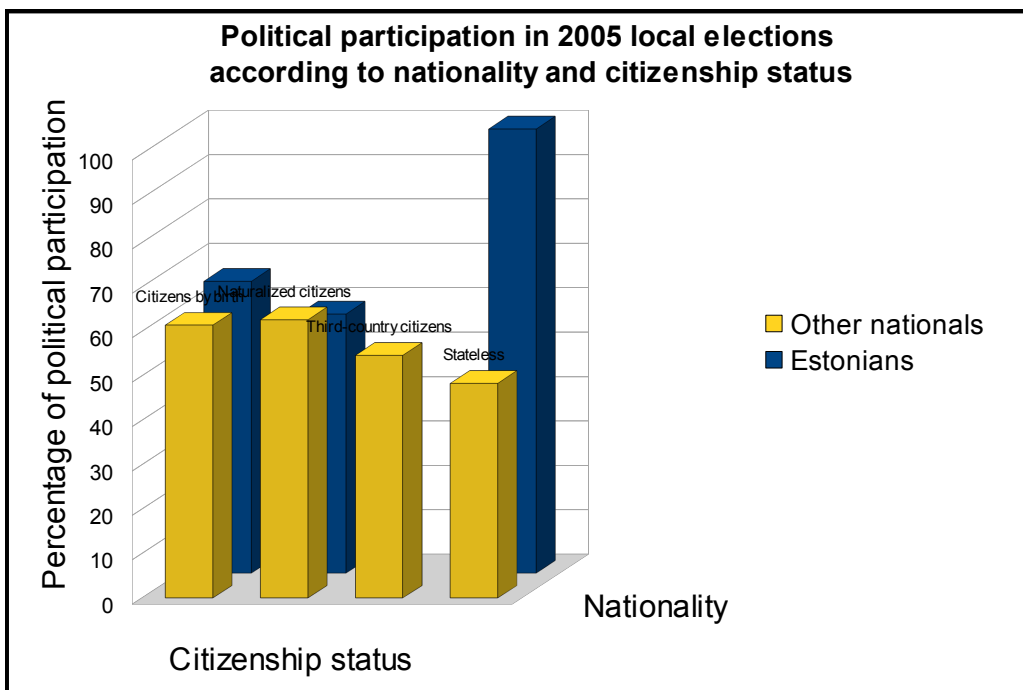
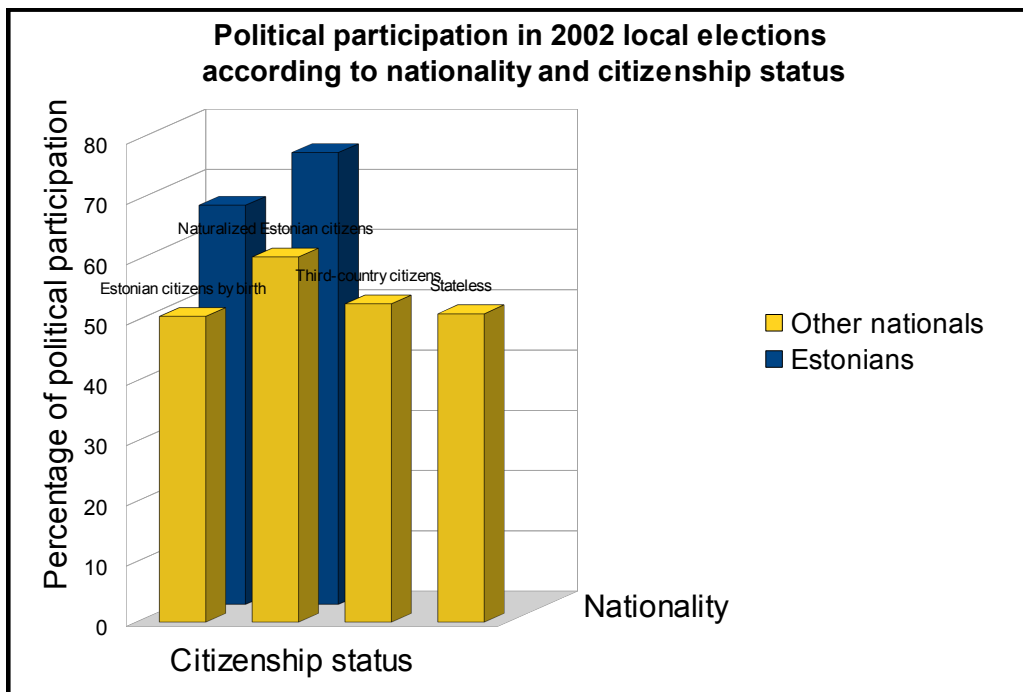
Secondly, our data shows that Estonian citizens tend to participate more than third-country citizens, and especially more than stateless (see table 5). This trend tend to confirm our hypothesis according which these two former categories of population self-withdraw from democratic processes. Indeed, whereas they are allowed to vote in these local elections, to participate for once in the political life of the country, they consciously do the choice of not participating here.

TABLE 4:
Political participation of the population in 2002 and 2005 local elections
according to nationality



Data Source: Post-election survey on political participation, University of Tartu 2005

TABLE 5:
Political participation of the population in 2002 and 2005 local elections
according to nationality and citizenship status



Data Source: Post-election survey on political participation, University of Tartu 2005

B] STUDY OF THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS.

The legal basis for the Riigikogu elections is established by the Riigikogu Election Act, passed on 12 June 2002 and entered into force on 18 July 2002. Regular elections are held every four years in order to elect the one hundred and one members of the Riigikogu according to a proportional system.

Article 4 (1) of the Riigikogu Election Act states that only Estonian citizens who have attained eighteen years of age by election day do have the right to vote.

However, some restrictions have been laid down towards citizens who have been divested of their active legal capacity with regard to the right to vote, as well as those who have been convicted of a criminal offence by a court and are imprisoned.

As a result, studying political participation in the Riigikogu elections means analyzing the one of Estonian citizens only.

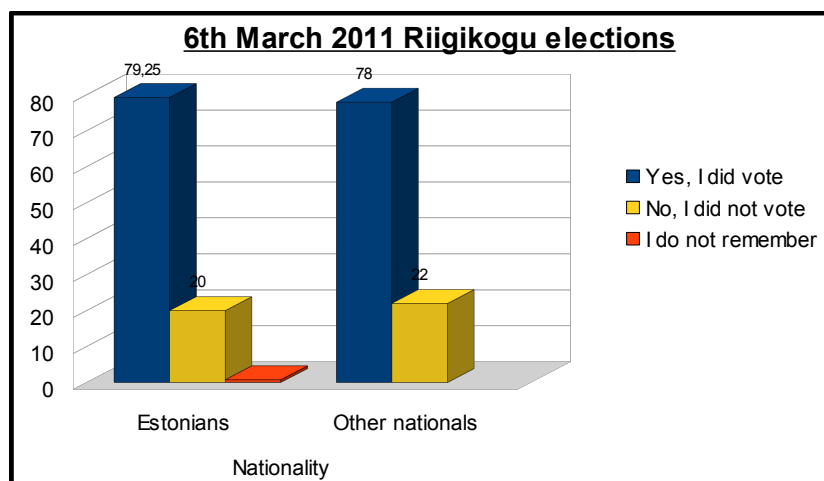
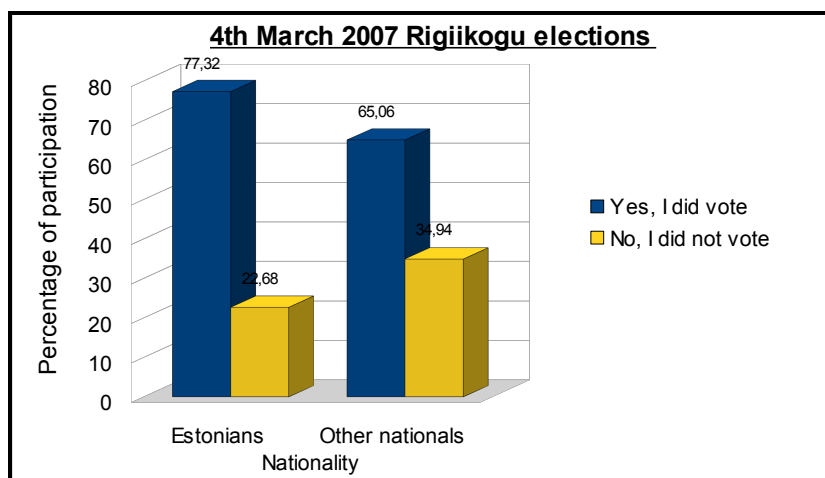
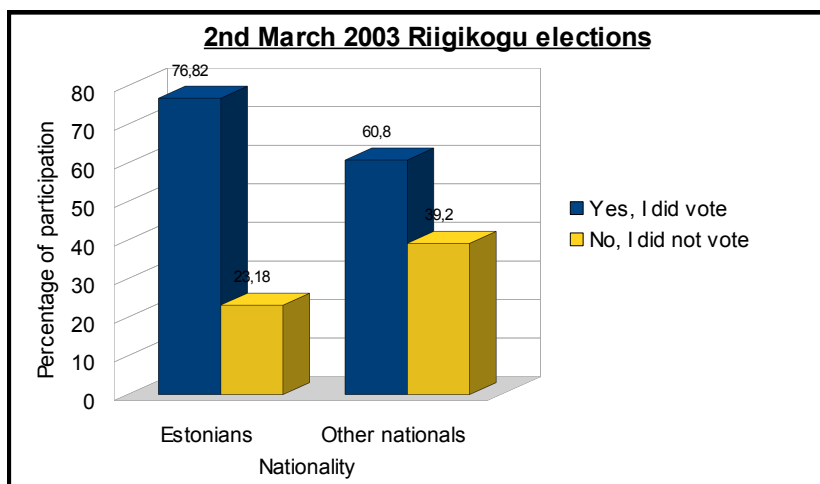
The 2003, 2007 and 2011 surveys highlight here two important patterns.

On one hand, we can observe lower rates of vote among non-Estonian citizens than among Estonian ones, at least in both 2003 and 2007 Riigikogu elections (see table 6) : -16,02% in 2003, and -12,26% in 2007. Nationality appears again here as a major variable in defining level of political participation.

On the other hand, in the 2011 elections, the percentages of abstention among both populations are very closed. In the light of the group conflict theory⁵⁹, we would argue here that the Bronze soldier event appears as the major explanation for this important rise of participation among both groups in the following national elections. In this framework, increased threat to either a dominant or subordinate group is usually associated with level of political engagement : any perceived threat, in structuring participation, tends to increase political involvement. However, what is interesting to underline here is that these inter-ethnic tensions had different consequences in terms of non-Estonians' political behaviour according to their citizenship status : self-withdrawal among non-citizens (*infra*), and political mobilization among citizens.

⁵⁹ LEIGHLEY, J.E. and VEDLITZ, A.: « Race, ethnicity and political participation: competing models and contrasting explanations » in: *The Journal of Politics*, volume 61, issue 4, 1999, pages 1096-1097

TABLE 6:
Political participation of Estonian citizens
in 2003, 2007 and 2011 Riigikogu elections according to nationality



Data Source: Post-election surveys on political participation, University of Tartu 2003 and 2007

C] STUDY OF THE REASONS ALLEGED FOR POLITICAL ABSTENTION.

However, the 2003, 2005 and 2007 surveys allow us to have a brief look on the main reasons invoked by the non-Estonian respondents for explaining their political abstention (see table 7) : vote uncertainty and lack of interest in politics, as well as distrust in politicians appear as the major alleged reasons. Some other practical reasons also encountered a certain success, like the medical or professional ones.

TABLE 7:
Main reasons alleged for political abstention among non-members of the core nation in 2003, 2005 and 2007 elections

<u>What was the main reason you did not vote ?</u>	<u>2003</u> <i>(national elections)</i>	<u>2005</u> <i>(local elections)</i>	<u>2007</u> <i>(national elections)</i>
I did not have the right to vote	11.11%	12.33%	6.90%
It was not possible to vote		18.49%	
Local councils do not decide anything		0.68%	
I was working	12.70%		17.24%
My vote was not decided yet	28.57%	21.92%	12.07%
I do not trust the Riigikogu	3.17%		1.72%
I do not trust political parties	0.00%		5.17%
I do not trust politicians		16.44%	
I do not care about politics	12.70%	13.70%	12.07%
I could not find a suitable candidate	3.17%	2.05%	10.34%
I am disappointed about politics	0,00%		6.90%
I did not vote for medical reasons	14.29%		15.52%
Some other reasons	14.29%	13.01%	12.07%
Hard to say		1.37%	

Data source: Post-election surveys on political participation, University of Tartu 2003, 2005 and 2007

SECTION 3:

Summary

Our empirical study reveals a significant trend of self-withdrawal from Estonian democratic processes among non-members of the core nation, especially if we compare with Estonians'. We assume the qualification « self-withdrawal » as far as at a first glance the State does not seem to play an important role in this pattern anymore. On the contrary, by now, legal provisions and state policies towards these issues have been liberalized and do not prevent anymore their political participation in Estonian democratic processes.

This phenomenon may be observed in both processes of acquisition of the Estonian citizenship and voting in elections. As far as several other means of participation exist, further studies should be undertaken to confirm this pattern.

However one may ask whether differences in participation reflect free choices or not. Failure to participate actively in democratic processes may be but is not necessarily evidence of voluntary abstention. If equal participation is barred either by law or by informal political obstacles, then activity does not appear as the result of free choice, and thus democracy seems compromise. When such legal barriers are lifted, like in Estonia since the opening up of naturalization procedures, the situation becomes less clear to assess.

Our study already highlighted that inter-ethnic relations in the country have an important impact on non-Estonians' level of participation. Consequently, one may ask if Estonian ethnic nationalism and the monopoly of the cultural domain could be regarded as the main driven forces of such phenomenon.

The next step of our study seeks to understand and provide reasonable explanations for this pattern of self-retirement.

THIRD PART:
TOWARDS AN EXPLANATION OF THIS SELF-WITHDRAWAL PHENOMENON:
THE ETHNOS NATION-STATE AS DECREASING NON-MEMBERS
OF THE CORE NATION'S POLITICAL RESOURCES

In this third part, we will seek to highlight how informal political obstacles, related to the perception of the Republic of Estonia as an ethnic nation-state, may have an impact on the non-members of the core nation's political participation in democratic processes. The purpose of this study is to determine which factors prevent both concepts of ethnos nation-state and democracy to reconcile in practice

In order to do so, we will divide this study in three sub-parts.

First of all, we will underline how the lack of social unity, as a result of the ethnic conception of the Estonian nation-state, undermines non-Estonians' psychological resources to participate in the democratic life of the country.

Secondly, we will analyze the main practical challenges the ethnic nation-state poses to the non-members of the core nation's material political resources.

Then, in a third part, we will sum up the overall study in order to point out the decrease of political resources, both psychological and material, the conception of the Estonian ethnic nation state entails, and so the necessary shift of conception of the Estonian nation-state in order to satisfy the democratic conditions of inclusiveness et effective participation.

Section 1: The lack of social unity and the decrease of psychological political resources

- A] Failure to achieve feeling of belonging
- B] Failure to achieve feeling of security

Section 2: The preeminence of the Estonian nation and the decrease of material resources

- A] Command of the Estonian language and the access to political information
- B] The nationality as an important factor in defining socio-economic status
- C] The lack of descriptive representation and the exclusive approach of politics

Section 3: Summary

SECTION 1:

The lack of social unity and the decrease of psychological political resources.

«A polity is said to possess social unity when at least most of the individuals and groups that comprise the polity possess these three types of attachment: to one another, to their shared political life, and to the political process that facilitates that shared life. But what facilitates these attachments, and how do various individuals and groups develop these three types of attachment? All three attachments are cultivated when most of the individuals and groups who comprise the polity experience two emotions: security and belonging » (Varun Uberoi⁶⁰).

According to Uberoi, social unity is achieved only when each individual and group feels part of the polity and secure about their place in this last. From that perspective, the need to be confident enough to develop an attachment to other individuals and groups of the polity, to their shared political life and the political process that facilitates that shared political is at the very core of political participation theory.

The motivation to act as a responsible citizen relies on individuals' psychological orientations to take part in democratic processes, such as political interest, political efficacy and trust in official authorities. These psychological political resources depend on to which extent social unity is achieved in a given state. Indeed, we would argue here that both feelings of belonging and security act as important psychological factors which activate, motivate and drive individuals to take part actively in political life, while providing these psychological political resources.

The thesis here is that social unity cannot be achieved in an ethnic nation-state as far as this perception of statehood prevents non-members of the core nation to experience both feelings of security and belonging. As a result, we may argue that the claim of an ethnic nation-state deprive the non-members of the core nation of numerous psychological resources necessary to fulfil the obligations of citizenship and desire this last.

⁶⁰ UBEROI, V.: « Social Unity in Britain » in: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Volume 23, Issue 1, 2007, page 143

A] FAILURE TO ACHIEVE FEELING OF BELONGING.

The idea here is that individuals who do not feel part of a common political project have harder time trusting each other and making occasional sacrifices and principled compromises that are part and parcel of democratic citizenship. Indeed, feeling of belonging seems to play a very important role in fostering interest in politics, one of the very first psychological political resource.

1/ Lack of identification as a member of the Estonian nation.

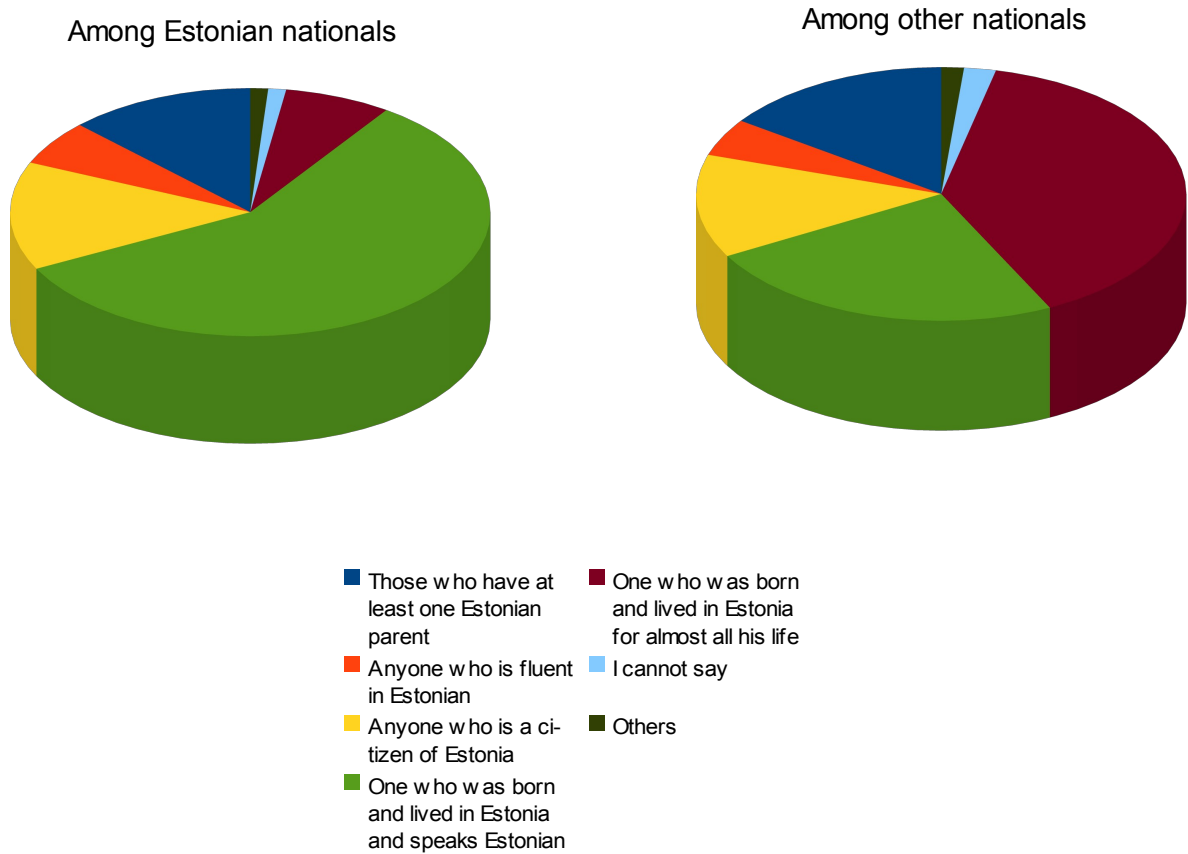
We have already mentioned earlier the construction of the Estonian nation as an ethno-cultural artefact and the official discourses which promote this idea. The remaining question which raises before us is therefore if the society endorses such an ethnic, cultural conception of Estonianhood, or if it moves towards a more civic one. This point seems very important as far as according to the perception of the Estonian nation in the society, civic or ethnic, it would be more or less difficult for non members of the core nation to identify with this last. While stating « *In Estonia the concept of Estonian nation is often described and understood in ethnic rather than civic terms. Minorities know that pretty well [...] (Ethnic) Estonians present themselves basically as a “cultural nation”, having marked borderlines with the surrounding world and opposing the outside groups, including the minorities* », Vadim Poleshchuk partly answers to this question and argues that the society at large would endorse such an ethnic conception of the Estonian nation.

The 2005 survey provides us reliable data on which to rely on to tackle this issue (see table 8): 76.31% of Estonian respondents and 44.8% of other nationals refer to an ethnic definition of Estonianhood (to the question “*Who is Estonian?*”, these last chose one of the following answers: “*those who at least have one parent Estonian*”, “*anyone who is fluent in Estonian*”, “*anyone who is born, lived and speaks in Estonian*”). In sum, the vast majority of the population living in Estonia seems to endorse an ethnic, cultural conception of the Estonian nation; it is not only a matter of official political discourses. But what is interesting to underline here is that non-Estonian nationals appear more willing to adopt a more civic approach of Estonianhood, based on territory or political loyalty. On the contrary, Estonian respondents seem quite reluctant to abandon the ethnic and cultural elements of the definition of the Estonian nation.

If the Estonian nation is usually defined in ethnic and cultural terms, one may ask to which extent non-members identify with this last. Again here, the 2005 survey indicates much lower rate of self-identification as a member of the Estonian nation among non-Estonians than among

TABLE 8:
Conception of Estonianhood according to nationality

Question: who do you think is Estonian?



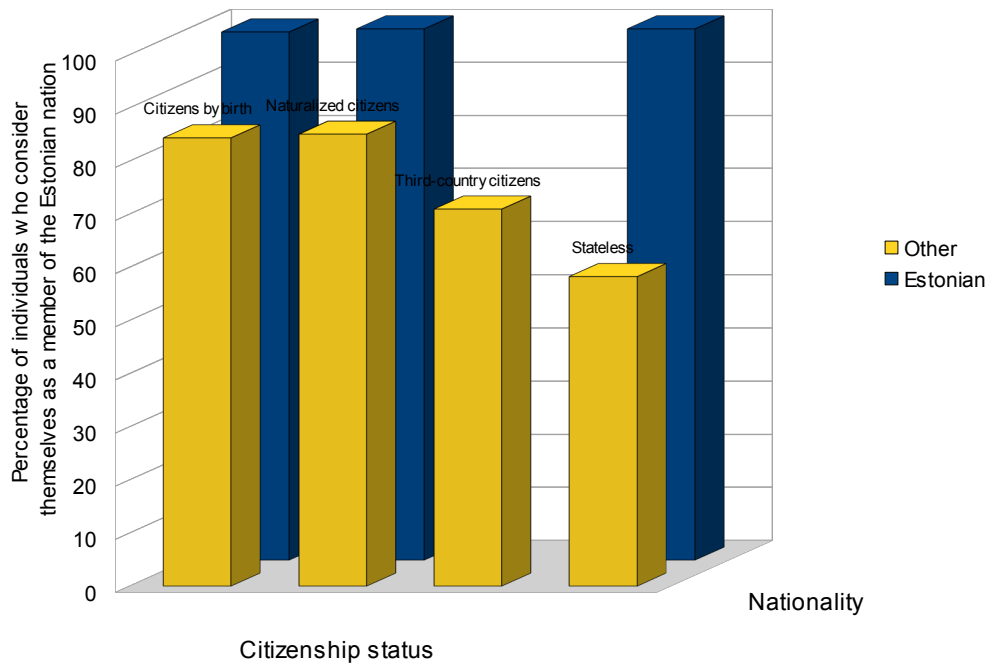
Data source: Post-election survey on political participation, University of Tartu 2005

Estonians (see table 9). Whereas 99.48% of the Estonian respondents identify themselves as such members, the rate among non-Estonians only amounts 74.03% (with higher numbers for those who possess the citizenship). Therefore, one may ask why a so high number of non-Estonians failed to identify as a member of the Estonian nation if most of them tend to endorse its civic conception.

In that sense, we may argue that the ethno-cultural conception of the Estonian nation is not only a matter of political theory but also a perception entrenched in the society at large, which has a direct impact on the feeling of belonging to the Estonian nation among the non-members of the core nation. Cultural identities appear as closed and quite hermetic categories which are not easy to overcome. Especially, they tend to crystallize in the society since the appearance of multiculturalist Estonian policies. Multiculturalism is usually defined as « *the acknowledgement and promotion of*

TABLE 9:
Self-identification as a member of the Estonian nation
according to nationality and citizenship status

Self-identification as a member of the Estonian nation according to nationality and citizenship status



Data source: Post-election survey on political participation, University of Tartu 2005

cultural pluralism as a feature of many societies [...] Multiculturalism celebrates and seeks to protect cultural variety, for example minority languages »⁶¹. The emphasis put on these cultural differences between the different communities strenghtens in practice the fragmentation of identities on the Estonian territory, mainly because of the absence of any shared supra-national identity. In this framework, we would argue here that this failure to identify as a member of the Estonian nation among a certain amount of non-members of the core nation has a direct impact on their interest in politics, and thus political participation.

2/ A lower political interest.

According to Tajfel, when cultural minority groups do not experience any sense of

⁶¹ cf. the Harper Collins dictionary of Sociology, 1991

belonging, they may attempt to withdraw « *from the wider community's system of norms, values, prescriptions and achievements* » and seek to create their own « *groups which have values, divergent from those that are generally approved* »⁶². This phenomenon is particularly true in Estonia where communitarianism is a quite widespread practice. We are not only speaking about geographical distinctiveness here but about a general lack of social connectedness between the different cultural groups living on the territory. In that sense, Olga Sotnik stated: « *There is lack a communication between these two groups, they don't touch with each other and don't discuss* ».

Moreover, if we consider that the national identity promoted by the state is Estonian-centred, it is not only a social withdrawal from the wider community but also from the Estonian statehood. Then, they often exhibit either indifference or hostility to the polity, which is seen merely as a place of residence and nothing more. But « *clearly a detachment from the polity is likely to result in a detachment from the political process* »⁶³. Indeed, paraphrasing Uberoi, in the absence of feeling that the polity is somewhere that you belong, it is unlikely that you can be positively attached, at anything more than a superficial level, to the political process that sustains it. The emotion of belonging fosters an attachment to the shared political life that all individuals and groups in the polity enjoy and an attachment to the political process that facilitates that life.

However, one could question how tight the connection really is between having a strong self-identification with the state and being motivated to act as a responsible citizen. If this question remains difficult to answer in general terms, our case-study provides us a strong basis to assert that individuals who do not feel part of a common political project have harder time trusting each other and making occasional sacrifices and principled compromises that are part and parcel of democratic citizenship. Then, they tend to show little interest in politics, lesser psychological involvement in politics.

Again, here the surveys provide reliable data in order to assess this difference in terms of interest in politics between Estonians and non-Estonians (see table 10) : much lower rates of interest are registered among non-Estonian nationals. The thesis here is that the lack of feeling of belonging as a result of the ethnic conception of nation-state generates lower interest in politics among these last. However, in classical political theory, interest in politics appears as a major psychological political resource, thus affecting level of participation.

⁶² TAJFEL, H. : *Human groups and Social categories*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981, page 326

⁶³ UBEROI, V.: « Social Unity in Britain » in: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Volume 23, Issue 1, 2007, page 144

TABLE 10:
Level of interest in politics according to nationality

	<i>Question: How much are you interested in politics?</i>							
	Estonian nationals				Non-Estonian nationals			
	<u>2003</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2011</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2011</u>
<i>Very interested</i>	11.67%	9.07%	13.06%	9.14%	9.5%	6.92%	7.78%	2.49%
<i>Rather interested</i>	54.46%	38.43%	49.05%	33.67%	37.43%	24.53%	41.92%	33.33%
<i>Rather not interested</i>	23.66%	32.68%	27.91%	36.67%	32.40%	43.4%	36.53%	42.79%
<i>Not interested at all</i>	9.56%	18.46%	9.50%	20.03%	18.44%	18.87%	13.77%	21.39%
<i>Hard to say</i>	0.65%	1.36%	0.48%	0.49%	2.23%	6.29%	0,00%	0,00%

Data source: Post-election surveys on political participation, University of Tartu 2003, 2005, 2007 and 2011

BJ FAILURE TO ACHIEVE FEELING OF SECURITY.

It is true that most of the non-Estonians fail to identify themselves as members of this last nation. Therefore, an important question raises before us: do they feel as a legitimate part of the demos despite this lack of self-identification with the core nation?

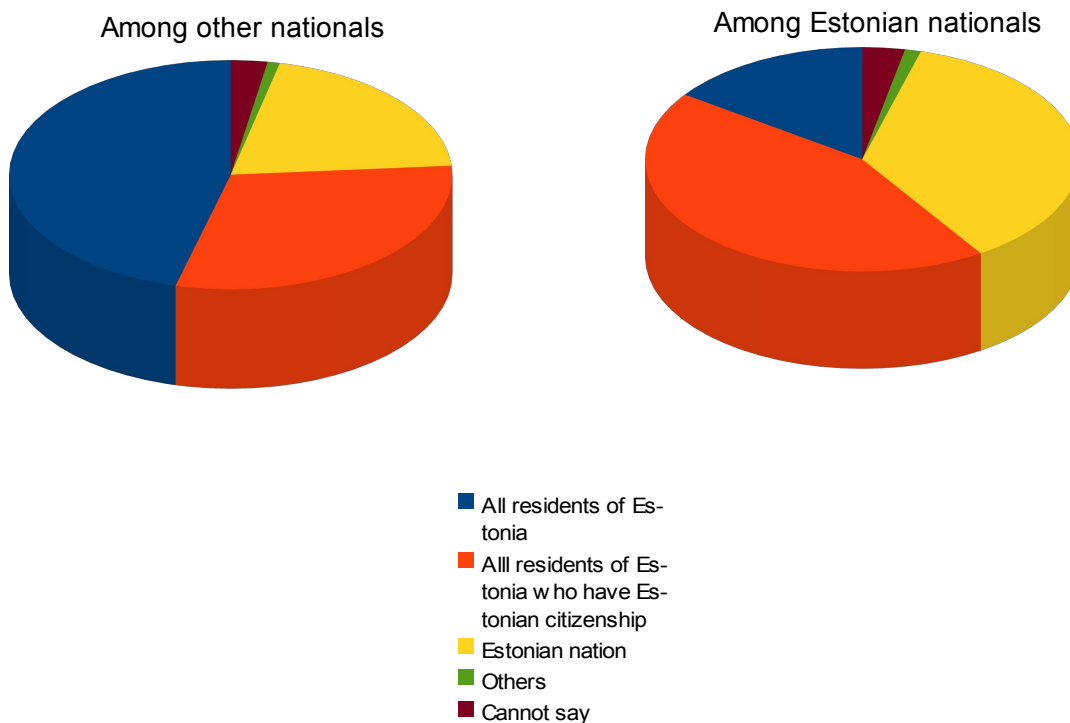
1/ Feeling of illegitimacy over the Estonian statehood.

We have already argued that the Estonian statehood has always been built in the framework of the conception of an ethnic nation-state but one may ask if this pattern echoes within the population. Does this last endorse the preeminence of the Estonian nation over the state, that this last has to preserve first of all the core nation's interests, culture and language to the detriment of the others? The 2005 survey helps us to bring about a reliable answer to this question (see table 11). Indeed, surprisingly, still 36.45% of Estonian respondents and 20.18% of other nationals endorsed an ethnic conception of the people of Estonia the Constitution refers to (to the question « Who do you think the people of Estonia the Estonian Constitution refers to? » these last answered: « Estonian nation »). It is worth-mentioning here that the Estonian Constitution refers to both distinct concepts of nation (*rahvus*) and people (*rahvas*). Despite the fact that the question above specifically refers to the term *rahvas* which is ethnically neutral, still high number of respondents endorsed a nationally oriented answer. From that data, we may argue that nationality seems to play still an important role in being considered as legitimate part of the demos, and especially among Estonians.

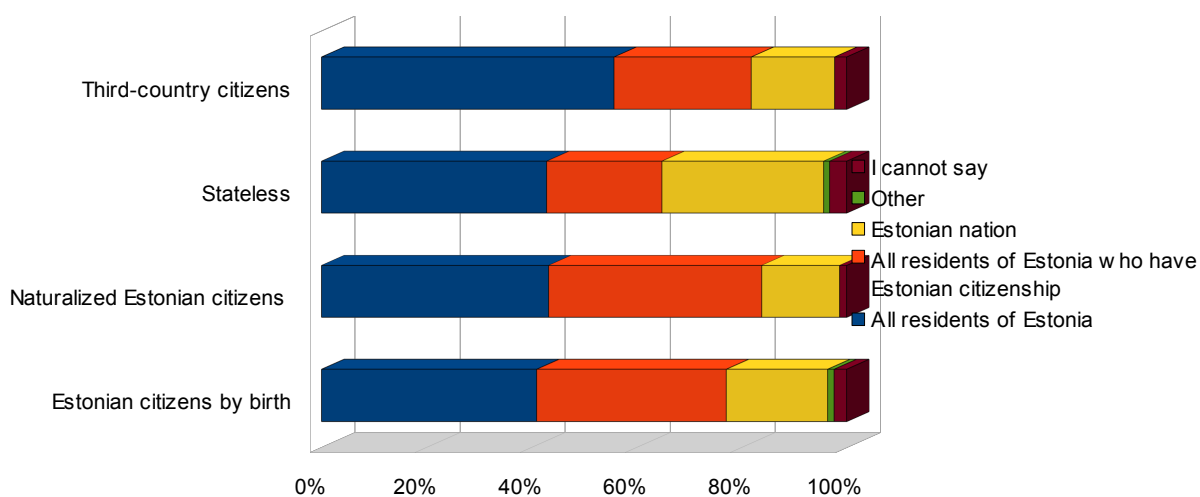
Estonian ethnic nationalism appears as a major obstacle widespread in the society in order to consider non-members of the core nation as legitimate part of the demos. Questionnaire respondents skillfully highlight this trend too. Vadim Poleshchuk argued that: *“However, I still observe non-willingness to recognize the Russian-speakers a legitimate part of the social and political system. Ethnic nationalism is a major obstacle. Furthermore, for most ethnic Estonians the Soviet period and Soviet power were associated with ethnic Russians and the Russian language, and was normally stigmatized as being alien and inorganic for the country. For emerging Estonian identity the statement “We are not Russians” is very important. This makes it difficult to find core elements for identity building to untie both Estonians and local Russians”*. Also, Olga Sotnik pointed out: *« I think that one of the reason is also the position of highest politicians (president, prime-minister, ministers, MPs, MEPs etc) when they speak about citizenship, Russian education, minority issues, relations with Russia. In theirs rhetoric's they often draw non-Estonians as enemies and this*

TABLE 11 :
Perception of the meaning of the « Estonian people » mentioned in the Constitution
according to nationality and citizenship status

Question: who do you think the people of Estonia the Estonian constitution refers to?



Among non members of the core nation, according to citizenship status:



Data source: Post-election survey on political participation, University of Tartu 2005

definitely plays its important role why non-Estonians self-retire from political processes”. We may argue here that misrecognition of the worth of the non-members of the core nation has an impact on their political participation in the Estonian democratic processes.

Charles Taylor's famous « politics of recognition » may be useful here to understand how this widespread ethnic nationalism may have such impact: « *the thesis is that our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others, and so a person or group or people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves. Non-recognition or mis-recognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted and reduced mode of being* »⁶⁴.

The idea here is that non members of the core nation would internalize a picture of their illegitimacy over the Estonian statehood promoted by ethnic nationalism, so that when objective obstacles to their advancement fall away, they may be incapable of taking advantage of the new opportunities. The endorsement of a certain feeling of illegitimacy over the Estonian state may rightfully explained in part self-retirement of the non-members of the core nation from democratic processes.

2/ Efficacy and distrust.

We have already mentioned the feeling of belonging as an important factor which enhances levels of political participation. In addition, and maybe even more fundamental, Uberoi highlights the need of a feeling of security which « *gives individuals confidence to interact and forge relationships with others in the polity* »⁶⁵. This phenomenon requires that all of them has to be welcomed and deemed important so as to enable them to feel secure about their place in the polity. Just like all individuals must have equal political rights irrespective of their nationality or cultural belonging, the same way all individuals need to feel that their culture is recognized and valued in order to experiment this feeling.

We have just highlighted the widespread ethnic nationalism present in the society which undervalues the legitimacy of other nationals over Estonian statehood. This phenomenon tends in practice to undermine that these last feel welcomed and respected as parts of the whole, and so their feeling of security. In that case, Uberoi argues that cultural minority groups may or assimilate or turn inwards. As far as assimilation seems to be a very difficult process in the Estonian case because

⁶⁴ TAYLOR, C.: « The politics of recognition » in : *Multiculturalism and the « Politics of Recognition »*, Taylor, C., and alii, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1992, page 25

⁶⁵ UBEROI, V.: « Social Unity in Britain » in: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Volume 23, Issue 1, 2007, page 143

of the closed ethnic categorization underlined above, exclusion and withdrawal seem very attractive here.

In practice, both these feelings of illegitimacy and insecurity have a direct impact on individual's psychological orientations to participate in democratic processes of the country such as political efficacy or trust in government.

Political efficacy refers to the feeling that individual political action does have, or can have an impact on the political process. We would argue here that non-Estonians certainly experience lower level of political efficacy but some further researches need to be undertaken to assess it.

On the other hand, feeling of distrust in the main political institutions appears much more widespread among non-Estonians (see table 12). Because they feel insecure about their place in the polity, their belief that governmental officials tend to take care of their welfare appears affected, and so their psychological political resource.

TABLE 12:**Level of trust in the three main Estonian political institutions according to nationality**

How much do you trust the President of the Republic of Estonia ?								
	<u>2003</u>		<u>2005</u>		<u>2007</u>		<u>2011</u>	
	Estonians	Other nationals	Estonians	Other nationals	Estonians	Other nationals	Estonians	Other nationals
Full confidence	39.38%	29.61%	34.79%	23.46%	34.32%	6.63%	27.66%	3.99%
Rather trust	53.16%	53.07%	52.50%	53.70%	53.8%	59.64%	52.81%	31.34%
Rather not trust	5.67%	6.15%	9.83%	12.04%	5.34%	16.87%	13.26%	26.38%
Any confidence	0.49%	2.23%	3.48%	10.80%	1.54%	2.41%	4.01%	35.83%
Hard to say	12.97%	8.94%			4.99%	14.46%	2.25%	2.49%

How much do you trust the government of the Republic of Estonia ?								
	<u>2003</u>		<u>2005</u>		<u>2007</u>		<u>2011</u>	
	Estonians	Other nationals	Estonians	Other nationals	Estonians	Other nationals	Estonians	Other nationals
Full confidence	4.54%	7.82%	6.29%	10.49%	6.65%	2.41%	12.01%	1.00%
Rather trust	54.29%	39.11%	58.95%	54.01%	60.69%	41.57%	61.08%	27.37%
Rather not trust	30.63%	28.49%	24.35%	21.30%	20.43%	40.36%	20.15%	42.78%
Any confidence	6.48%	10.06%	10.41%	14.19%	4.63%	6.02%	4.38%	25.87%
Hard to say	4.05%	14.53%			7.60%	0.1%	2.38%	3.00%

How much do you trust the Riigikogu, the Estonian Parliament ?								
	<u>2003</u>		<u>2005</u>		<u>2007</u>		<u>2011</u>	
	Estonians	Other nationals	Estonians	Other nationals	Estonians	Other nationals	Estonians	Other nationals
Full confidence	3.73%	9.50%	6.21%	8.39%	5.58%	1.21%	6.76%	2.50%
Rather trust	52.03%	37.43%	55.00%	53.41%	56.41%	41.82%	53.94%	28.87%
Rather not trust	31.12%	32.96%	26.22%	21.74%	24.94%	44.85%	30.29%	34.83%
Any confidence	8.27%	6.70%	12.58%	16.46%	5.58%	2.42%	5.88%	31.84%
Hard to say	4.86%	13.41%			7.48%	9.7%	3.13%	3.00%

Data source: Post-election surveys on political participation, University of Tartu 2003, 2005, 2007 and 2011

SECTION 2:

Lesser Material political resources

« Unequal use of participatory rights rests on unequal capacity and opportunity. More active citizens are better endowed with participatory resources (such as time, money, and civic skills); they are more likely to be motivated (that is, to be interested in politics, to feel efficacious), to discern the connection between their own needs/preferences and public policy, and to be in social positions where they may be recruited to engage in politics. Resources, motivation, and recruitment opportunities often accompany positions of advantage in other spheres—a fact that accounts for the political advantage held by the socio-economically advantaged » (Sydney Verba)⁶⁶.

Studies of mass participation repeatedly demonstrate the critical importance of socio-economic resources in groups' level of political participation, such as education, time, money, command of the dominant language, and those derived from involvement in non-political institutions⁶⁷. The idea here is that those endowed with these material resources are more likely to adopt psychological orientations that motivate their participation in the political system.

One may argue that non-members of the Estonian nation's self-withdrawal from democratic processes could be explained in these terms, and this is partly true.

Indeed, we identified three lower main material resources linked to the claim of an ethnos nation-state, which may have an impact on their level of participation : access to political information, socio-economic status and descriptive representation. The argument here is that as a result of such conception of the state, non-Estonians are worse endowed with material political resources, thus entailing their political participation.

⁶⁶ VERBA, S. : « Would the dream of political inequality turn out to be a nightmare ? » in : *Perspectives on Politics*, Volume 1, Issue 4, 2003, page 666

⁶⁷ VERBA, S., LEHMAN SCHLOZMAN, K., BRADY, H., and NIE, N.H. : « Race, ethnicity and political resources » in: *British Journal of Political Science*, Volume 23, Issue 4, 1993, page 456

A] COMMAND OF ESTONIAN LANGUAGE AND THE ACCESS TO POLITICAL INFORMATION.

According to all respondents, the language issue appears as the major explanation for lower level of political participation among non-members of the core nation. In this regard, Jevgeni Ossinovski stated « *The language issue is at the very core of this self-withdrawal phenomenon* », and Mart Nutt: « *Low participation of non-Estonians is a problem and Government should take more measures to balance situation. But there are also objective reasons: understanding of official language is not enough general among non-Estonians [...]* ».

Paraphrasing Verba⁶⁸, we may argue that proficiency in Estonian appears, quite obviously, useful for political action. Foreign-language newspapers and radio to the contrary, Estonian speakers have ready access to many more sources of political information than do those with limited capabilities in Estonian. While certain political activities - in particular, attending protests - do not depend upon knowledge of Estonian, for others - for example, contacting public officials - mastery of Estonian is almost essential. Despite the impact on direct personal involvement in politics, the lack of command of the official language raises numerous difficulties in accessing local medias, and so getting accurate and pluralist information about the political life of the country. Generally, media studies in Estonia have indicated that the media spaces of Estonians and the Russian language population differ very strongly on the basis of the language. In this framework, Olga Sõtnik argued: « *Non-Estonians and Estonians get information from different sources. Russian-speaking population consumes mostly Russian TV channels and thus have different information on what is going on in the country. Often they don't feel interest towards Estonian news or precept them from Russian Federation point of view* ».

The well-known agenda-setting theory of media refers to the idea that public awareness and concern of salient issues are created by the news media. It is usually based on two main assumptions. First of all, media is not regarded as reflecting reality but rather as filtering and shaping it. Secondly, media concentration on certain subjects leads the public to perceive those issues as more important than the others.

The main point here is that Estonian and Russian-language medias have very different content and form due to the marginality of local Russian-language publications, and secondly, the low quality journalism from Russia. In that sense, the Integration monitoring of 2005 underlined that: « *It is clear that Russia's television network compensates for the lack of an entirely Russian-language*

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, page 470

television channel in Estonia, satisfying the need for highbrow culture, entertainment and broader information. The information environment of Russian origin will inevitably remain a factor in shaping the mentality and identity of local Russians in the future as well. The expansion of the Estonian language niche will help to prevent its one-sided domination. Several factors influence entry into the Estonian-centred media space, and the most effective of them is mastery of the Estonian language »⁶⁹. In this framework, we may understand which impact a high consumption of foreign media in Estonia, with less and lower quality information about the political life of the country, does not help to foster interest towards Estonian politics and enlightened understanding among these populations.

Netherveless, this division of media consumption slowly decreases over the years: « Results of studies examining media use of Estonian Russians appear to refer to the fact that at least in the sphere of media use, there is no longer reason to speak of an undivided Russian language sub-society. On the level of the entire society, this situation should weaken the rigid division into ‘two societies’ of a decade ago. At the same time, the poor capability of Estonia’s Russian-language media to function as the information channel and integrator for the Russian community fosters the continuing marginalisation of this part of society »⁷⁰.

Howether, it is worth-mentioning that the media space of Russian-speakers living in Estonia is quite differentiated on the basis of age groups, level of education, regional and social status. As a result, if by now more and more young, educated and high social status people are consuming more media in Estonian, a still large part of the Russian-speaking population faces difficulties in getting reliable, accurate and pluralist political information, which may further undermines their interest in politics, and thus participation.

⁶⁹ HALLIK, K. : « Citizenship and political inclusion » in : Integration of Estonian society : Monitoring 2005, Tallinn, page 8

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, page 7

B] THE NATIONALITY AS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN DEFINING SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS.

We may also point out that the pattern, according which non-Estonians tend to have lesser socio-economic status than Estonians, has an impact on their material political resources. This point had not been raised by any respondents of our questionnaire but nevertheless seems important in order to understand this self-withdrawal.

The idea here relies on the long-standing socio-economic status model first developed by Sydney Verba and Norman Nie as an explanation of mass-political behaviour⁷¹ : citizens with higher levels of education, income and occupational status tend to vote more, contact more, organize more and campaign more than do those with lower status.

Indeed, education and high-position jobs have been identified as fostering organizational and communication skills that are germane to political activities, but also psychological resources that are associated with political involvement. As a result, socio-economic status usually appears as a major material political resource, which thus has a direct impact on levels of participation.

However, socio-economic resources are allocated quite unevenly between the different ethnic groups on the Estonian territory : Estonians tend to have higher education as well as incomes, and they seem less affected by unemployment and poverty. This led Amnesty International to speak about « *de facto exclusion from labour market and educational system among Russian-speaking linguistic minority* »⁷². However, the 2005 Integration Monitoring stated : « *The incomes of Estonian Russians continue to lag behind those of Estonians, differing more than the corresponding indicators for making ends meet. At the same time, the differences were not as drastic as they had previously been in comparison to data from previous surveys* »⁷³. Even though the situation improved over the years, some factors may explain this continuous trend, and especially the language and citizenship requirements for employment, as well as the limited possibilities of studying in minority languages in higher education. All of these may help us to understand why, as a matter of fact, non-members of the core nation are more willing to have lesser socio-economic status than Estonians.

If by now Estonian language and citizenship do not appear as unsurpassable obstacles for

⁷¹ VERBA, S., and NIE, N.H. : *Participation in America : Political democracy and social equality*, Harper and Row, New York, 1972

⁷² Amnesty International report « *Linguistic minorities in Estonia : discrimination must end* », 8 december 2006, AI Index: EUR 51/002/2006, page 1

⁷³ PAVELSON, M. : « *The social-economic condition of Estonians and Estonian Russians : expectations and changes* » in : *Integration of Estonian society : Monitoring 2005*, Tallinn, page 9

ethnic minorities in Estonia, we may argue here that the establishment of an ethnos nation-state in 1991 firstly drawn these socio-economic disparities along ethnic lines, thus helping to bring about the current situation. Indeed, Erik André Andersen highlighted that Estonia's property reform during the early nineties constituted a major reallocation of economic resources in favor of Estonian citizens⁷⁴. In particular, he drawn attention to the disproportional benefit gathered by Estonians as a result of the 1991 decision to undertake large-scale property restitution, or the return or compensation of real estate or assets nationalized by the Soviet regime in 1940. Consequently, Estonians could start operating in the market economy much faster than the others, which may partly explains slightly differences in terms of socio-economic status between the members and non-members of the core nation nowadays.

Also, even though Soviet legacies and market transition rendered the economic situation difficult for everyone, we may argue that non-Estonians had harder time to cope with it because of the legal restorationist ideology. In that sense, Klara Hallik and Vello Pettai skillfully underlined that : « *even before the collapse of Soviet economy, Estonia had already an ethnically divided labour market, in which, for example, non-Estonians predominated in the industrial, transport and maritime sectors, while Estonians were concentrated in agriculture, education, and also bureaucratic spheres* »⁷⁵. With the shift in the share of the labour force in the nineties, secondary and especially primary sectors were particularly affected, while by contrast the tertiary sector was growing. As a result, unemployment due to the market transition touched quite unevenly the different ethnic groups present on the territory, and especially third-country nationals. Moreover, as far as Estonian citizenship and language appeared, and still appear, very important « *social capital* » in the job market, non-Estonians found themselves again disadvantaged comparing to Estonians in tackling this market transition, and especially during the first following years of independence when they were deprived of the Estonian citizenship and when little official effort in Estonian language learning was done.

To sum up, lower socio-economic status observed among non-Estonians found their origin in the initial establishment of an Estonian ethnos nation-state. Even though these socio-economic discrepancies tend to be drawn along more objective lines nowadays (such as level of education, command of Estonian language and possession of citizenship), non-members of the core nation are still less willing to have high education, income and job position in the Estonian society. This

⁷⁴ ANDERSEN, E.A. : « The legal status of Russians in Estonian privatization legislation 1989-1995 » in : *Europe-Asia Studies*, Volume 49, Issue 2, 1997, pages 303-316

⁷⁵ PETTAI, V. and HALLIK, K.: « Understanding processes of ethnic control: segmentation, dependency and co-optation in post-communist Estonia » in *Nations and nationalism*, Volume 8, n°4, 2002, page 515

phenomenon undermines their material political resources, and thus may partly explain why they are less willing to participate in Estonian democratic processes.

C] THE LACK OF DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION AND THE EXCLUSIVE APPROACH OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP.

Also, the claim of an Estonian ethnos nation-state brought about an exclusive approach of the political leadership : very few non-Estonians are part of the higher politicians of the country. In that sense, Vadim Poleshchuk argued : « *People of minority origin are modestly represented in a political leadership of the country. Thus, after 1992 only once a person of minority origin was a member of the Government of the Republic (as a minister without portfolio). There are very few people of minority origin in the boards of five political parties represented in the Parliament. In recent years ethnic minorities make up no more than 10% of all Members Parliament [...] There were no representatives of minorities in the first Parliament of newly independent Estonia (1992-1995). There have always been minority members in other parliaments. In reality Russians – members of Parliament always had extremely insignificant influence on the process of decision taking, which brought about frustration of Russian-speaking population. Deputies from minorities were forced to act in the conditions of political vacuum, having no significant support within the country. The recent Parliamentary elections showed that in the Estonian conditions, the large political parties (with the exception of the Centre Party) have it more profitable to sacrifice the local “Russian” electorate for the sake of widening the support among the ethnic majority, including those nationalistically minded. However the cause is the undoubtedly small share of non-Estonians among the citizens of the country. Supporting the Centre Party, the minorities placed all their eggs in one basket. When the Centre Party was not invited to form the new Government (in 2007 and in 2011), the majority of the minorities did not see in the higher leadership of the country of the people, whom were to voice their concerns. It may further undermine their interest in the politics”.*

This lack of descriptive representation, i.e. when representatives are in their own lives and persons in some sense typical of the larger class of persons whom they represent⁷⁶, may be regarded as having a direct impact on non-Estonian political resources.

First of all, it affects again non-members of the core nation's psychological resources while strengthening the lack of both feelings of belonging and security mentioned above. Descriptive representation is usually perceived as having a positive impact in constructing social meaning and enhancing de facto legitimacy of certain social groups. In this framework, Jane Mansbridge underlined : « *Operationally, this is often the case when the group has at some point in the polity's*

⁷⁶ MANSBRIDGE, J. : « What does a representative do ? Descriptive representation in communicative settings of distrust, uncrystallized interests, and historically denigrated status » in : *Citizenship in diverse societies*, Kymlicka, W., Norman, W., Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, page 100

history been legally excluded from the vote. In these conditions, the ascriptive character of one's membership in that group often carries the historically embedded meaning « persons with these characteristics do not rule » [...]. Whenever this is the case, the presence or absence in the ruling assembly (and other ruling bodies, such as the executive and judiciary) of a proportional number of individuals carrying the group's ascriptive characteristics shapes the social meaning of those characteristics in a way that affects most bearers of those characteristics in the polity »⁷⁷.

On the other hand, this lack of descriptive representation also undermines non-Estonians' material political resources. Indeed, Jane Mansbridge skillfully highlighted that in the contexts of historical mistrust and uncrystallized interests, descriptive representation can contribute to substantive representation, which rather seeks to represent through deliberation and aggregation the substantive interests of the represented. Usually, it may be perceived as easier to communicate with members of his own group, by whom individual can reasonably expect to be better understood, especially in such context. Descriptive representation is therefore seen as enhancing better communication between representatives and represented, but also as helping to set a pluralist agenda-setting.

The origin of this phenomenon may be found in the legal restorationist ideology which initially led to non-members of the core nation's political isolation. The lack of Estonian citizenship and command of Estonian language led to a first government and Parliament entirely « *ethnically* » Estonian. A first step was crossed in 1995 when both the Russian Party and the United People's Party organized a coalition, « *Our home is Estonia* », and broke into the Riigikogu with a total of six seats. The following parliaments always included a small number of non-Estonians : six seats in 1999 (two for the Centre Party and four for the United People's Party), five in 2003 (four for the Center Party and one for the Reform Party), and six in 2007 (five for the Centre Party and one for the Reform Party). However, we may argue that : « *The tilt that legal restorationism had brought into Estonian politics had caused most Estonian politicians to view the Russians as a largely peripheral force, to be used when a few extra-votes are needed, but not to be relied upon for the longer term* »⁷⁸.

Indeed, despite small improvements, this lack of descriptive representation has been repeated over the years, certainly due to a vast array of factors. Vadim Poleshchuk argued : « *At the beginning 1990's, when Estonians were actively involved in state-building, Russians found*

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, page 119

⁷⁸ PETTAI, V. and HALLIK, K.: « Understanding processes of ethnic control: segmentation, dependency and co-optation in post-communist Estonia » in *Nations and nationalism*, Volume 8, n°4, 2002, page 514

themselves edged out of that process, in the first place because of lack of citizenship and weak mastery of Estonian. Some of the researches attempted to explain the established routine of interrelations between Estonians and non-Estonians in the political sphere, among others by reference to a simplified Socialist concept of democracy as a power of the majority. In principle, that should not cause surprise, in view of the Soviet/Communist Party-past of many key political figures of the state (including current Prime Minister Ansip ». If this pattern was initially explained in terms of language and citizenship issues, an established routine, the widespread Estonian ethnic nationalism, as well as the low political mobilization of the non-Estonians appear as reasonable explanations in order to understand this continuous lack of descriptive representation nowadays.

In sum, we would like to draw attention here how the lack of non-Estonians' descriptive representation, originated in the establishment of an ethnic nation-state, impacts on their willingness to take part in democratic processes. Because this phenomenon does not help to foster psychological resources, substantive representation and communication, we may identify it as a reasonable factor in explaining the observed self-withdrawal of these populations from democratic processes.

SECTION 3:

Summary

This part identified the impact of the claim on the Estonian ethnic nation-state on the non-members of the core nation's political resources: a decrease of both psychological (interest, trust and efficacy of politics) and material resources (command of Estonian, socio-economic status, descriptive representation). All of these factors help us to understand why non-members of the core nation are less willing to participate in the Estonian democratic processes.

Even though the state authorities have tried to increase those material political resources over the years, especially through the attempts to increase knowledge of Estonian and eliminate ethnic discrimination, we may consider that they failed to solve this pattern of non-Estonian's self-withdrawal as far as increasing their psychological resources cannot be achieved without promoting a shared national identity, with in turn needs the removal of the conception of the Estonian Republic as an ethnic nation-state.

CONCLUSION:

Is every nation-state entitled to endorse the cultural tyranny of the majority ?

« Une politique ayant pour but de réaliser une coexistence à égalité de droits entre les formes de vie de différentes communautés ethniques, différents groupes linguistiques, différentes confessions, etc..., déclenche toutefois dans les Etats nations historiques un processus qui se révèle à la fois précaire et douloureux. Car érigée en culture nationale, la culture majoritaire doit se dissocier de la fusion dans laquelle elle est entrée, pour des raisons historiques, avec la culture politique générale, sans quoi tous les citoyens ne pourront pas s'identifier au même titre à la culture politique de leur pays » (Jürgen Habermas)⁷⁹.

Our Estonian case-study allows us to argue that both concepts of ethnos nation-state and democracy are not only contradictory in theory (the negation of Dahl's Strong Principle of Equality) but also in practice. Indeed, it reveals that the claim of an ethnic nation-state threatens both inclusiveness and effective participation democratic conditions as far as it engenders a decrease in non-members of the core nation's political resources. Ethnic nationalism promoting the preeminence of the core nation over the statehood, as well as the fact that the cultural domain remains Estonian centered appear as the two driven forces, inherent in the claim of an ethnic nation-state, which imply non-Estonians' self-withdrawal from political democratic processes in Estonia, by lessening their both psychological and material resources. As a result, the national identity may be regarded at the very core of the democratic theory as far as it is exactly what an ethnos nation-state try to promote through ethnic nationalism and the monopoly of the cultural domain.

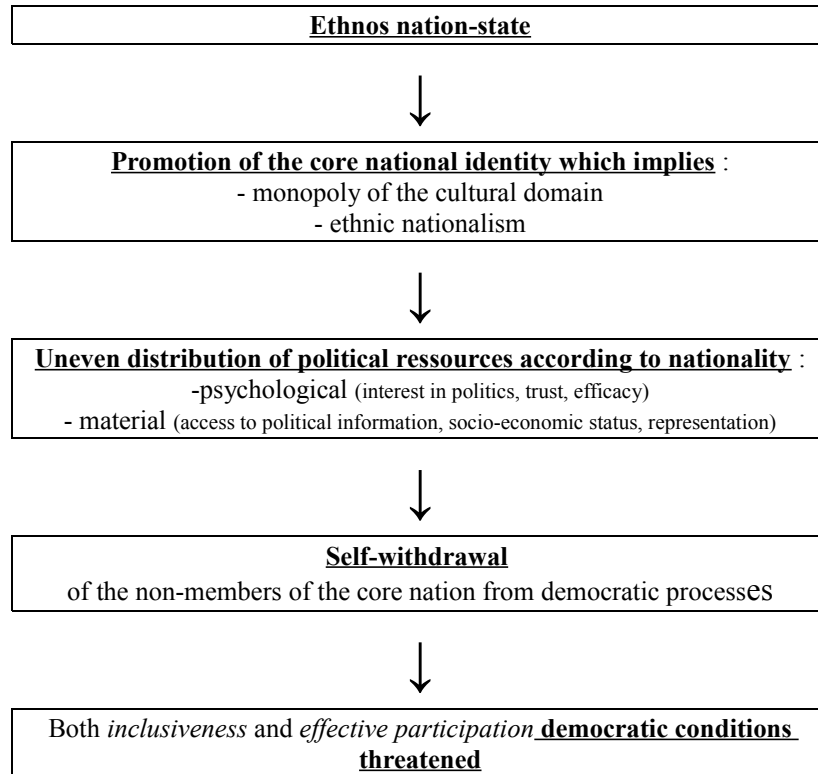
1/ The national identity promoted by the state at the very core of the democratic theory.

If we identify the national identity promoted by the state at the core of the problematic practical reconciliation of both concepts of democracy and ethnos nation-state (see table 13), one may ask what kind of shared political identity, according to Norman's terminology⁸⁰, may be promoted by the state in order to avoid ethnic nationalism and the monopoly of the cultural domain ? And if its implementation in an ethnic nation-state is conceivable ?

⁷⁹ HABERMAS, J.: *Après l'Etat-nation, une nouvelle constellation politique*, Fayard, Paris, 2000, pages 67-68

⁸⁰ NORMAN, W.: « The ideology of shared values: a myopic vision of unity in multination state » in: *Is Quebec nationalism just? Perspectives from anglophone Canada*, Carens, J.H., McGill-Queen's University Press, Montréal, 1995, pages 137-159

TABLE 13:
**Scheme of the practical impact the claim of an ethnos
 nation-state has on democratic conditions**



Numerous authors have already proposed several different models, such as civic identity, which tends to regard citizenship as a source of social unity as far it is shared by all members of the polity regardless to their cultural particularities. Or also, the concept of « *constitutional patriotism* », developed by Jürgen Habermas, referred to a kind of « *post-nationalism* » whose normative reference point would be the democratic constitution. Therefore, the shared political identity would be anchored in the political culture, the common beliefs in certain values and processes, namely, popular sovereignty and human rights. But as far as a certain sense of solidarity is required by any democracy, and that none of these theories succeeds to foster attachment to the other groups that comprise the polity, we would prefer here the concept of multicultural national identity, defined as « *the definition and redefinition of the nation as multicultural, such that one of the nation's values, symbols, memories, myths and tradition is multiculturalism and all the rest are consistent with valuing the cultural diversity of the nation positively* »⁸¹.

⁸¹ UBEROI, V.: « Social Unity in Britain » in: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Volume 33, Number 1, 2007, page 152

Defining national identity as multicultural itself therefore appears as the only mean to ensure both inclusiveness and effective participation democratic conditions, and so compatible with the democratic ideal. Indeed, it would allow to avoid any monopoly of the cultural domain, as well as ethnic nationalism promoted by the state, thus implying the equalization of the distribution of political resources among the polity whatever their cultural belonging.

Psychological resources (interest in politics, trust, efficacy) would be ensured equally in the society by the widespread and shared feelings of security and belonging. According to Uberoi, multicultural national identity cultivates social unity in creating first of all security among all nationals who then create a multiculturally constituted common culture, which in turn generates a feeling of belonging (instead of first of all creating a common culture which generate both feelings). On the other hand, any state which promotes such identity would be more willing to foster equal material resources between the different cultural groups which comprise the polity (access to political information, socio-economic status, representation).

From that perspective, it seems obvious that an ethnos nation-state cannot promote such national identity as far as it would contradict its inner definition. Even though the multicultural character of the society may be recognized, it cannot become part of the definition of the national identity itself without giving up the claim of an ethnic nation-state. That is why we would consider here that the practical reconciliation of any ethnos nation-state with democracy is not possible because the national identity promoted in such context cannot ensure equal distribution of political resources between members and non-members of the core-nation.

2/ Polyarchy and necessary state positive obligations for the highest attainment of the democratic process.

However, one may argue that complete effective participation and inclusiveness is impossible to achieve, and so democracy. And this is true. However, we do not consider that this point questions the relevance of our study. Indeed, Robert A. Dahl himself recognizes that maximum realization of his democratic conditions is an utopian goal, unattained and probably unattainable in the real world⁸². Instead, he operates a shift from the maximizing to the descriptive mode, reinterpreting these conditions as ends of continua against which real-world achievement can be measured. As a result, he coined the term « polyarchy » to describe polities and social organizations at or above some minimum threshold of meaningful democratic achievement

⁸² DAHL, R.A.: « Democracy and its critics », Yale University Press, New Haven, 1989, page 108

(characterized by seven institutions : elected officials, free and fair elections, inclusive suffrage, right to run for office, freedom of expression, alternative information, associational autonomy).

In doing so he is not suggesting democracy is not something to strive for, but that polyarchy is the reality and democracy should be the goal, even if it is a goal we are forever striving to achieve. In that sense, we would suggest here that polyarchies carry positive state obligations towards the democratic ideal, and not only the negative duty to fulfill the former seven institutions. Of course it does not imply any obligation of result but we would argue that there should be an obligation of means to seek their effectiveness in the reality. In that sense, a polyarchy should try to ensure effective participation, voting equality, enlightened understanding, control of the agenda and inclusion.

This interpretation could be regarded as too idealistic but this point of view has already been validated worldwide to a certain extent. For example, the existence of civic education classes in many polyarchies today tends to achieve a basic common knowledge of the political system among the individuals living on its territory. This positive and active initiative has been taken to ensure first of all a minimum enlightened understanding, which is one of the ideal democratic conditions and not those of polyarchy. Another example can be the mandatory vote, seeking to ensure effective participation. These two simple examples illustrate the necessity of positive state duties towards democracy in any polyarchy, in order to improve the quality of the political system and keep it working. It nurtures both its legitimacy and viability.

Consequently, we would say that any political system which label themselves as a democracy, i.e. polyarchies, should especially seek in practice the five democratic conditions. From that perspective, it appears that the definition of the national identity in a way to seek inclusion and effective participation is part of the responsibilities of polyarchies. As a result, it is not only ethnos nation-state and the democratic ideal which appear contradictory, but also ethnos nation-state and the realistic model of polyarchy.

3/ Is every nation-state entitled to endorse the « cultural tyranny of the majority »

Our Estonian case-study provides us a framework to identify the realistic contradiction between both democracy and ethnic nation-state. In its very definition, any ethnic nation-state endorse a closed and exclusive identity. As a result, one may ask if the reconciliation of both concepts may not occur while endorsing a more inclusive view of nation-state, namely a civic

conception of the nation-state. As we stated above, this last has to be understood as an artificially constructed entity resulting from the voluntarist desire to live together. In that sense, if the nation is opened to all members of the society who desire it and so if equal consideration of interests is ensured in theory, cannot we consider that effective participation and inclusion would be able to flourish in practice ?

Ernest Renan, who may be regarded as the genuine architect of the civic conception of the nation, recognized somehow that all of them are composed of both civic and ethno-cultural features, while arguing « *a nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle. One lies in the past, one in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present-day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form* »⁸³. If any nation, whatever ethnic or civic, are based on ethno-cultural cores, how pure civic nation-states may exist, and how they can hopefully attempt to be culturally neutral ?

Numerous authors, like Habermas or Held to give only two examples, argued that membership may only be based on civic commitments to democracy, human rights and constitutional processes, then relegating any ethnic conception to the sphere of civil society and private life. But so far, we have to admit that all nation-states share cultural horizons, values, identities and historical myths in a common identity that forges the nation. In a brilliant article, Kuzio pointed out that never civic states may be indifferent to ethno-cultural questions: « *no civic state can possibly hope to be neutral when deciding which ethnic groups' language, culture, symbols and anniversaries to promote at the state level* »⁸⁴. Neither shared values can avoid to be imbued with cultural relativism. Therefore, the borders between ethnic and civic conceptions of nation-state become blurred : while ethnic nation-state embodies a particular ethnic and cultural community, defined as the core nation, every civic nation-state in turn embodies the cultural majority community. This phenomenon refers somehow to the famous “tyranny of the majority”, dear to Alexis de Tocqueville.

Roger Brubaker argued that every single nation-state is characterized by « *nation-shaping nationalisms* » which tend to nationalize an existing polity through the development of a common loyalty and identity within the state borders: the purpose of such nationalizing state policies are to « *progressively weld the population of a state into a nation in the crucible of a bounded and*

⁸³ RENAN, E. : « What is a nation ? », conférence at La Sorbonne, Paris, 1882

⁸⁴ KUZIO, T.: « The myth of the civic state: A critical survey of Hans Kohn's framework for understanding nationalism » in: *Ethnic and racial studies*, Volume 25, n°1, 2002, page 31

relatively homogeneous transactional and communicative space, a space defined and delimited by the state and by state-wide social, political, economic and cultural institutions and processes. In place of a welter of more parochial loyalties and identities, the citizenry is progressively united, through the gradually assimilative workings of these statewide institutions, processes and transactions, by a common national loyalty and identity »⁸⁵. From that perspective, monopoly of the cultural domain and ethnic nationalism appear difficult to eliminate in a civic nation-state as well, as far as any ethnic references, i.e. those of the majority community, are difficult to avoid in this nationalism: «In the constitutions the leaders write, and in the politics they practice, the dominant nation's language becomes the only official language and occasionally the only acceptable language for state business and for public (and possibly private) schooling, the religion of the nation is privileged (even if it is not necessarily made the official language), and the cultural symbols of the dominant nation are also privileged in all state symbols (such as the flag, the national anthem, and even eligibility for some types of military service) and in all of the state-controlled means of socialization such as radio, television and textbooks »⁸⁶.

As a result, even though in theory the contradiction between democracy and civic nation-state is far less obvious than the one with an ethnic nation-state as far as officially equal consideration of interests is ensured to everyone, their practical reconciliation is as uncertain as in an ethnic nation-state. Indeed, some researches have to be done in order to assess it but we would argue here that a similar phenomenon of non-members of the majority cultural community's self-withdrawal could certainly be observed: monopoly of the cultural domain and ethnic nationalism would similarly imply the uneven distribution of both psychological and material political resources among the demos, thus affecting inclusiveness and effective participation.

Consequently, even though some studies have to be conducted in order to prove it, or not, we are quite skeptical here about the reconciliation of both concepts of democracy and nation-state, even in the case of a civic nation-state. In our opinion, the better prospects to achieve democracy rely on the promotion of a multicultural national identity besides any nation-state. The recognition of cultural diversity and the worth of each community, without any attempt to homogenize the population would be the best way to proceed to the equalization of political resources, and thus to enhance inclusiveness and effective participation democratic conditions.

⁸⁵ BRUBAKER, R.: "The old « New Europe » and the New" in: *Ethnic and racial studies*, vol 19, n°2, April 1996, page 412

⁸⁶ BRUBAKER R.: « National minorities, nationalizing states, and external homelands in the New Europe: Notes toward a relational analysis » (May 1994, unpublished manuscript)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Monographs.

ARENDR, H.: *The origins of totalitarianism*, Andre Deutsch, London, 1986.

BRUBAKER, R.: *Citizenship and nationhood in France and Germany*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1992.

DAHL, R.A.: *Democracy and its critics*, Yale University Press, New Heaven, 1989.

GELLNER, E.: *Nations and Nationalism*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1983.

HABERMAS, J.: *Après l'Etat-nation, une nouvelle constellation politique*, Fayard, Paris, 2000.

HOBSBAWN, E. and RANGER T.: *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983.

JARVE, P.: « Estonian citizenship: between ethnic preferences and democratic obligations » in: *Citizenship policies in the New Europe*, Bauböck, R., Perchinig, B., Sievers, W., Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, 2007, pages 45-65.

JOWETT, B., and TWINING, T.: *Aristotle's Politics and Poetics*, The Viking Press, New York, 1957, Book 1.

KEMP, W.A.: *Nationalism and communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. A basic contradiction?*, Macmillan Press, London, 1992.

KYMLICKA, W. and NORMAN, W.: *Citizenship in Diverse societies*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000.

LENIN : « Critical remarks on the national question » in: *Collected works*, 4th English Edition, Volume 20, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, pages 17-51.

LIEVEN, A. : *The Baltic revolution : Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and the path to independence*, Yale University Press, New Haven 1994.

LINZ, J.J. and STEPAN, A.: *Problems of democratic transition and consolidation: Southern Europe, South America and Post-Communist societies*, The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1996.

LUSTICK, I.: *Arabs in the Jewish State: Israel's control of a national minority*, University of Texas Press, Austin and London, 1980.

MILL, J.S: *Considerations on Representative Government*, Liberal Arts Press, New York, 1958.

MINAUDIER, J.P: *Histoire de l'Estonie et de la nation estonienne*, ADÉFO / L'Harmattan, collection Bibliothèque finno-ougrienne, 17, Paris, 2007.

NORMAN, W.: « The ideology of shared values: a myopic vision of unity in the multinational state » in: *Is Quebec nationalism just ? Perspectives from anglophone Canada*, Carens, J.H., McGill-Queen's University Press, Montréal, 1995, pages 137-159.

NORMAN, W.: Forging identities : the politics and ethics of nation-building » in : *Negotiating nationalism, nation-building, federalism and secession in the multinational state*, Norman, W., Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006, pages 23-72.

PETTAI, V., and KALLAS, K. : « Estonia : conditionality amidst a legal straightjacket » in : *Minority rights in Central and Western Europe*, RECHEL, B., Routledge, London, 2009, pages 104-118.

PREUSS U.K.: « Constitutional powermaking of the new polity: some deliberations on the relations between constituent power and constitution », in: *Constitutionalism, Identity, Difference and legitimacy: Theoretical perspectives*, Rosenfeld, M., Duke University Press, Durham, 1994, pp.143-164.

TAAGEPERA, R. : *Estonia : return to independence*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1993.

TAJFEL, H. : *Human groups and Social categories*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981.

TAYLOR, C.: « The politics of recognition » in : *Multiculturalism and the « Politics of Recognition »*, Taylor, C., and alii, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1992, pages 25-73.

TILLY, C.: *Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2007.

VERBA, S., and NIE, N.H. : *Participation in America : Political democracy and social equality*, Harper and Row, New York, 1972.

WEBER, M.: *Economy and society: an outline of interpretive sociology*, Bedminster Press, New York, 1968.

Articles.

ANDERSEN, E.A. : « The legal status of Russians in Estonian privatization legislation 1989-1995 » in : *Europe-Asia Studies*, Volume 49, Issue 2, 1997, pages 303-316.

BRUBAKER, R.: “The old « New Europe » and the New” in: *Ethnic and racial studies*, vol 19, n°2, 1996, pages 411-437.

BRUBAKER R.: « National minorities, nationalizing states, and external homelands in the New Europe: Notes toward a relational analysis » (May 1994, unpublished manuscript).

KUZIO, T.: « The myth of the civic state: A critical survey of Hans Kohn's framework for understanding nationalism » in: *Ethnic and racial studies*, Volume 25, n°1, 2002, pages 20-39.

KUZIO, T.: « Nationalising states or nation-building ? A critical review of the theoretical litterature and empirical evidence » in : *Nations and nationalism*, Volume 7, Issue 2, 2001, pages 135-154.

LEIGHLEY, J.E. and VEDLITZ, A.: « Race, ethnicity and political participation: competing models and contrasting explanations » in: *The Journal of Politics*, volume 61, issue 4, 1999, pages 1092-1114.

MOORE, M. « Normative justifications for liberal nationalism: justice, democracy and national identity » in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 7, Number 1, 2001, pages 1-20.

NODIA, G.: « Nationalism and Democracy » in *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 3, Number 4, 1992, pages 3-22.

PETTAI, V. and HALLIK, K.: « Understanding processes of ethnic control: segmentation, dependency and co-optation in post-communist Estonia » in *Nations and nationalism*, Volume 8, n°4, 2002, pages 505-529.

SMITH, A.D: “When is a Nation?” in: *Geopolitics*, Volume 7, n° 2, 2002, pp 5-32.

SMOOHA, S.: « Types of democracy and conflict management in ethnically divided society » in: *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 8, n° 4, 2002, pages 423-431.

SMOOHA, S.: « The model of ethnic democracy: Israel as a Jewish and democratic state », in: *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 8, n° 4, 2002, pages 475-503.

UBEROI, V.: « Social Unity in Britain » in: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Volume 23, Issue 1, 2007, pages 141-157.

VALK, A. , KARU-KLETTER, K., and DROZDOVA, M. : « Estonian open identity : reality and ideals » in : *TRAMES*, Volume 15 (65/60), Issue 1, 2011, pages 33-59.

VERBA, S. : « Would the dream of political inequality turn out to be a nightmare ? » in : *Perspectives on Politics*, Volume 1, Issue 4, 2003, pages 663-679.

VERBA, S., LEHMAN SCHLOZMAN, K., BRADY, H., and NIE, N.H. : « Race, ethnicity and political resources » in: *British Journal of Political Science*, Volume 23, Issue 4, 1993, pages 453-497.

Official documents.

- Laws: - The Constitution of the Republic of Estonia, passed by a referendum held on the 28th June 1992 and entered into force on the 3rd July 1992.
 - Aliens Act, passed on the 8th July 1993 and entered into force on the 12th July 1993.
 - Citizenship Act, passed on the 19th January 1995 and entered into force on the 1st April 1995.
- Programme policies : - Official State programme « Integration in Estonian society 2000-2007 ».
 - Official State programme « Integration in Estonian society 2008-2013 ».
 - Integration strategy 2008-2013 : needs and faisability research.
 - Integration of Estonian society : Monitoring 2000, Tallinn.
 - Integration of Estonian society : Monitoring 2005, Tallinn.
 - Final appraisal integration strategy 2009
- Court decision of justice : - Supreme Court of the Republic of Estonia, decision *en banc* of the 3rd January 2008 in case no. 3-3-101-06, Riigi Teataja, III 2008, 3, 23
- Advisory opinion : - United Nations Human Rights Committee, Vjatšeslav Borzov v. Estonia, Communication No. 1136/2002, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/81/D/1136/2002 (2004)

Reports of non-governmental organizations.

Amnesty International report « *Linguistic minorities in Estonia : discrimination must end* », 8 december 2006, *AI Index:EUR 51/002/2006*.

JARVE, P.: *Ethnic democracy and Estonia: application of Smootha's model*, ECMI Working paper 7, Farimah Daftary and William McKinney, 2000.

POLESHCHUK, V.: *Non-citizens in Estonia. Report 2004*, LICHR publication, Tallinn, 2004.

POLESHCHUK, V : *Estonian minority population and non-discrimination*, LICHR publication, Tallinn, 2006.

Others

GELLNER, E.: "Do nations have navels?", opening statement during the Warwick debates on nationalism, 24th October 1995, Warwick University.

RENAN, E.: « What is a nation? », conference at La Sorbonne, Paris, 1882.

SMITH, A.D: « Nations and their past », opening statement during the Warwick debates on nationalism, 24th October 1995, Warwick University.

ANNEX 1 :
Extracts from the Citizenship Act passed on the 19th January 1995
(RT I I 1995, 12, 122),

entered into force 1 April 1995, amended by the following Acts:
15.06.2006 entered into force 08.07.2006 - RT I 2006, 29, 224;
19.10.2005 entered into force 01.01.2006 - RT I 2005, 61, 472;
23.11.2004 entered into force 01.04.2005 - RT I 2004, 84, 570;
11.02.2004 entered into force 20.03.2004 - RT I 2004, 12, 80;
10.12.2003 entered into force 01.01.2004 - RT I 2003, 82, 550;
29.01.2003 entered into force 01.03.2003 - RT I 2003, 18, 101;
15.10.2002 entered into force 10.11.2002 - RT I 2002, 90, 518;
19.06.2002 entered into force 01.08.2002 - RT I 2002, 62, 376;
05.06.2002 entered into force 01.07.2002 - RT I 2002, 53, 336;
14.11.2001 entered into force 01.02.2002 - RT I 2001, 93, 565;
14.06.2000 entered into force 10.07.2000 - RT I 2000, 51, 323;
08.12.98 entered into force 12.07.99 - RT I 1998, 111, 1827;
18.10.95 entered into force 20.11.95 - RT I 1995, 83, 1442.

[...]

§ 5. Acquisition of Estonian citizenship by birth.

(1) Estonian citizenship is acquired by birth if:

- 1) at least one of the parents of the child holds Estonian citizenship at the time of the birth of the child;
 - 2) the child is born after the death of his or her father and if the father held Estonian citizenship at the time of his death.
- (2) A child found in Estonia whose parents are unknown is declared, on the application of the guardian of the child or a guardianship authority, by a court proceeding to have acquired Estonian citizenship by birth unless the child is proved to be a citizen of another state.

(2)* On the written application of an adoptive parent who is an Estonian citizen, the governmental authority authorised by the Government of the Republic shall, by its decision, deem a minor alien child to have acquired Estonian citizenship by birth if the adoptive parent was an Estonian citizen at the time of the birth of the child and if the child is not a citizen of another state or it is proven that the child will be released from the citizenship of another state in connection with his or her acquisition of Estonian citizenship.

(29.01.2003 entered into force 01.03.2003 - RT I 2003, 18, 101)

(2)** On the written application of an adoptive parent who was not an Estonian citizen at the time of the birth of the child, the governmental authority authorised by the Government of the Republic shall, by its decision, deem a minor alien child to have acquired Estonian citizenship as of the date on which Estonian citizenship was granted to the adoptive parent if the child is not a citizen of another state or it is proven that the child will be released from the citizenship of another state in connection with his or her acquisition of Estonian citizenship.

(29.01.2003 entered into force 01.03.2003 - RT I 2003, 18, 101)

(3) No one shall be deprived of Estonian citizenship acquired by birth.

(4) The decision specified in subsections (2)* and (2)** of this section shall be made within two months as of the submission of an application. The decision shall be communicated to the adoptive parent in writing without delay.

(29.01.2003 entered into force 01.03.2003 - RT I 2003, 18, 101)

§ 6. Conditions for acquisition of Estonian citizenship by naturalisation.

An alien who wishes to acquire Estonian citizenship by naturalisation shall:

- 1) be at least 15 years of age;
- 2) have a residence permit of a long-term resident or the right of permanent residence;
(15.06.2006 entered into force 08.07.2006 - RT I 2006, 29, 224)
- 2)* have lived in Estonia on the basis of a residence permit or the right of residence for at least eight years prior to the date on which he or she submits an application for Estonian citizenship and permanently at least the last five years;
(15.06.2006 entered into force 08.07.2006 - RT I 2006, 29, 224)
- 2)** have legally and permanently resided in Estonia on the basis of a residence permit of a long-term resident or the right of permanent residence for six months from the day following the date of registration of the application for Estonian citizenship; *(15.06.2006 entered into force 08.07.2006 - RT I 2006, 29, 224)*
- 2)*** have a registered residence in Estonia; *(15.06.2006 entered into force 08.07.2006 - RT I 2006, 29, 224)*
- 3) have knowledge of the Estonian language in accordance with the requirements provided for in § 8 of this Act;
- 4) have knowledge of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia and the Citizenship Act in accordance with the requirements provided for in § 9 of this Act;
- 5) have a permanent legal income which ensures his or her own subsistence and that of his or her dependants;
- 6) be loyal to the Estonian state;
- 7) take an oath: "Taotledes Eesti kodakondsust, tõotan olla ustav Eesti põhiseaduslikule korrale." [In applying for

Estonian citizenship, I swear to be loyal to the constitutional order of Estonia.]

§ 7. Permanent legal income.

The following are deemed to be permanent legal income:

- 1) legally earned remuneration on the basis of a contract of employment, contract of service, civil law contract or membership;
- 2) income received from legal business activity or property;
- 3) pensions;
- 4) grants;
- 5) support;
- 6) benefits paid on the basis of Acts; *(19.10.2005 entered into force 01.01.2006 - RT I 2005, 61, 472)*
- 7) maintenance by a family member with a permanent legal income in Estonia.

§ 8. Requirements for and assessment of knowledge of Estonian language.

(1) For the purposes of this Act, knowledge of the Estonian language means general knowledge of basic Estonian needed in everyday life.

(2) The requirements for knowledge of the Estonian language are as follows:

- 1) listening comprehension (official statements and announcements; danger and warning announcements, news, descriptions of events and explanations of phenomena);
- 2) speech (conversation and narration, use of questions, explanations, assumptions and commands; expressing one's opinion; expressing one's wishes);
- 3) reading comprehension (official statements and announcements; public notices, news, sample forms, journalistic articles, messages, catalogues, user manuals, traffic information, questionnaires, reports, minutes, rules);
- 4) writing (writing applications, authorisation documents, letters of explanation, curriculum vitae; completion of forms, standard forms and tests).

(3) Knowledge of the Estonian language is assessed by way of examination. The procedure for the holding of the examinations shall be established by the Government of the Republic.

(4) A person who passes the examination shall be issued a corresponding certificate.

(5) Persons who have acquired basic, secondary or higher education in the Estonian language are not required to pass the examination.

(6) A person specified in subsection 35 (3) of this Act shall take the examination to the extent and in the manner prescribed in the decision of the expert committee specified in subsection 35 (7) of this Act.

(23.11.2004 entered into force 01.04.2005 - RT I 2004, 84, 570)

§ 8. Compensation for language training expenses.

(1) Up to one hundred per cent of the fee for Estonian language training paid to a private school holding an education licence by a person who has passed the Estonian language examination provided for in subsection 8 (3) of this Act and the examination on the knowledge of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia and the Citizenship Act provided for in subsection 9 (2) of this Act shall be reimbursed to the person within the limit established by the Government of the Republic.

(2) The Minister of Education and Research shall appoint an approved body to carry out the reimbursement of language training expenses.

(3) In order to have his or her language training expenses reimbursed, a person who has passed the Estonian language examination and the examination on the knowledge of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia and the Citizenship Act shall, not later than within three months after passing both of the examinations, submit an application together with a copy of an identity document and a document certifying the payment of the language training expenses or an officially certified transcript thereof to the body approved by the Minister of Education and Research.

(4) The body approved by the Minister of Education and Research shall transfer the compensation for language training expenses to the bank account indicated in the application of a person who has passed the Estonian language examination and the examination on the knowledge of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia and the Citizenship Act not later than within two months as of the date of the submission of the application.

(10.12.2003 entered into force 01.01.2004 - RT I 2003, 82, 550)

§ 9. Requirements for and assessment of knowledge of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia and Citizenship Act.

(1) A person who wishes to acquire Estonian citizenship by naturalisation shall have knowledge of:

- 1) the general principles of the Estonian public order which is provided for in Chapters I and III of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia;

2) the fundamental rights, freedoms and duties of every person which are provided for in Chapter II of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia; 3) the competence of the Riigikogu, the President of the Republic, the Government of the Republic and the courts in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia;

4) the conditions and procedure for acquisition, resumption and loss of Estonian citizenship in accordance with the Citizenship Act.

(2) Knowledge of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia and the Citizenship Act is assessed by way of examination which shall be held in Estonian. The procedure for the holding of the examinations shall be established by the Government of the Republic.

(3) A person who passes the examination shall be issued a corresponding certificate.

(4) A person specified in subsection 35 (3) of this Act shall take the examination to the extent and in the manner prescribed in the decision of the expert committee specified in subsection 35 (7) of this Act.

(23.11.2004 entered into force 01.04.2005 - RT I 2004, 84, 570)

[...]

§ 21. Refusal to grant or refusal for resumption of Estonian citizenship.

(1) Estonian citizenship shall not be granted to or resumed by a person who:

1) submits false information upon application for Estonian citizenship or a document certifying Estonian citizenship, and thereby conceals facts which preclude the grant of Estonian citizenship to him or her, which preclude him or her from resuming Estonian citizenship or which would have precluded the issue of a document certifying to Estonian citizenship to him or her;

(08.12.98 entered into force 12.07.99 - RT I 1998, 111, 1827)

2) does not observe the constitutional order and Acts of Estonia;

3) has acted against the Estonian state and its security;

4) has committed a criminal offence for which a punishment of imprisonment of more than one year was imposed and whose criminal record has not expired or who has been repeatedly punished under criminal procedure for intentionally committed criminal offences;

5) has been employed or is currently employed by foreign intelligence or security services;

6) has served as a professional member of the armed forces of a foreign state or who has been assigned to the reserve forces thereof or has retired therefrom, and nor shall Estonian citizenship be granted to or resumed by his or her spouse who entered Estonia due to a member of the armed forces being sent into service, the reserve or into retirement.

(1)* As an exception, Estonian citizenship may be granted to or resumed by a person who has been repeatedly punished under criminal procedure for intentionally committed criminal offences and whose criminal record has expired, taking into consideration the circumstances relating to the commission of a criminal offence and the personality of the offender.

(15.06.2006 entered into force 08.07.2006 - RT I 2006, 29, 224)

(2) Estonian citizenship may be resumed by or granted to a person who has retired from the armed forces of a foreign state if the person has been married for at least five years to a person who acquired Estonian citizenship by birth and if the marriage has not been divorced.

(3) Estonian citizenship shall not be granted to a person whose parents, adoptive parent, guardian or guardianship authority submitted, upon application for Estonian citizenship for the person, false information concerning facts which are relevant in the taking of a decision on the grant of Estonian citizenship.

(08.12.98 entered into force 12.07.99 - RT I 1998, 111, 1827)

[...]

§ 28. Deprivation of Estonian citizenship.

(1) A person shall be deprived of Estonian citizenship by an order of the Government of the Republic if he or she:

1) as an Estonian citizen, enters state public service or military service for a foreign state without permission from the Government of the Republic;

2) joins the intelligence or security service of a foreign state or foreign organisation which is armed or militarily organised or which engages in military exercises;

3) forcibly attempts to change the constitutional order of Estonia;

4) upon acquisition of Estonian citizenship by naturalisation or upon resumption of Estonian citizenship, submits false information and thereby conceals facts which would have precluded the grant of Estonian citizenship to him or her or which would have precluded him or her from resuming Estonian citizenship;

(08.12.98 entered into force 12.07.99 - RT I 1998, 111, 1827)

5) is a citizen of another state but has not been released from Estonian citizenship.

(2) No one shall be deprived of Estonian citizenship because of his or her beliefs.

(3) Subsection (1) of this section does not apply to persons who acquire Estonian citizenship by birth.

ANNEX 2:
Questionnaire
Democracy versus Nation-state? The Estonian case-study

This questionnaire aims identify reasonable explanations for an observed phenomenon currently taking place in Estonia: the self-retirement of non-members of the core nation from democratic processes. The surveys mentionned above refer to different inquiries undertaken successively in 2003, 2005 and 2007 by political scientists at the Institute of Baltic Studies in Tartu in the framework of the « Social Cohesion » project research. We will use here the term Estonian to refer to Estonian nationals, and not citizens. Non-Estonians and non-members of the core nation are thus synonymous here.

The Republic of Estonia has been highly criticized over the last decade concerning the integration of non-Estonians in the political life of the country. Taking into consideration the numerous state efforts undertaken through integration policies, would you consider by now self-retirement from Estonian democratic processes, among the non-members of the core nation, as attributable only to these last, or do you think that the Estonian state still has a part of responsibility in this pattern?

In your opinion, how may we explain the remaining high number of individuals living in Estonia without Estonian citizenship (whatever they are stateless or possess an another citizenship)?

The citizenship issue discloses a pattern of self-retirement from the Estonian democratic processes among certain non-members of the non-core nation. On the other hand, some surveys of Tartu University pointed out a general lesser participation in both local and national elections among non-Estonians comparing to Estonians (from -15,11% to -9,59% in respectively 2002 and 2005 local elections, as well as from -16,02% to 12,26% in respectively 2003 and 2007 Riigikogu elections). These data demonstrate that practical reasons often argued in order to explain the self-retirement from citizenship among non-Estonians cannot explain entirely this pattern as far as this issue comes within the framework of a general tendance of self-retirement from Estonian democratic processes among the non-members of the core-nation. At a first glance, how would you explain this phenomenon?

The same surveys also highlight a much lower interest in politics among non-Estonians comparing to Estonians. As a result, would you argue that this self-retirement from Estonian democratic processes (both the lack of willingness to get citizenship and the lesser participation in elections) may be explained in terms of political culture?

The surveys also disclose that Estonians have a much more differentialist and ethno-cultural conception of Estonianhood than non-Estonians. However, still a high number of these last fail to identify themselves as a member of the Estonian nation. How would you explain this phenomenon?

Do you think that the State's perception of Estonian nation as an ethno-cultural artefact prevents somehow the non-members of the core nation to identify with the state and feel legitimate over this last as far as « the Estonian state « *shall guarantee the preservation of the Estonian nation and its culture throughout the ages*» (preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia)?

According to one survey, 45.99% of the non-Estonian respondents think that the Estonian Constitution refers to all residents of Estonia when mentioning « *Eesti rahvas* », and 30.27% to those who have the Estonian citizenship . This pattern does not really match with the theory according which the claim of an ethnic nation-state would have a negative impact on their feeling of legitimacy to participate in the Estonian political life. Indeed, these data underline that 76.26% think that the Estonian state endorse a more civic conception of its demos. How would you interpret this data in the light of the current rates of political participation of non-Estonians?

As far as the Republic of Estonia is a nation-state, do you think that the « reconstruction » of Estonian national identity in order to be more civic than ethnic would have a positive impact on political participation of non-Estonians while enhancing their self-identification with the state and feeling of legitimacy over it?

Do you think that the « Bronze soldier » events of 2007 had an impact on the willingness of the non-Estonians to enter in the political life of the country?

We have already mentioned political culture and national identity promoted by the state as possible explanations for the observed self-retirement of the non-Estonians from the democratic processes taking place in Estonia. Would you like to mention other factors which according to you could explain this phenomenon?

ANNEX 3:

Post-election survey on political participation, University of Tartu 2003

Исследование политического участия 6/2003 - ES Turu-uuringute AS Номер анкеты

Исследование политического участия / 6-2003

Имя и фамилия анкетирующего _____

Ном. рабочего удостоверения _____

<p>1. Место проведения интервью:</p> <p>1 Таллинн 2 Харьюский у. 3 Хийумааский у. 4 Восточная Вирумаа 5 Йыгеваский у. 6 Ярваский у. 7 Ляэнеский у. 8 Западная Вирумаа 9 Пылваский у. 10 Пярнуский у. 11 Раплаский у. 12 Саареский у. 13 Тартуский у. 14 Валгаский у. 15 Вильяндиский у. 16 Вырусский у.</p>	<p>3. РЕГИОН В ВЫБОРКЕ _____</p> <p>4. НОМ. ПУНКТА ВЫБОРКИ _____</p> <p>5. НОМ. ОТВЕЧАЮЩЕГО _____</p> <p>6. Если интервью проводится в Таллинне, то район города:</p> <p>1 Пыхья-Таллинн 2 Хааберсти 3 Центр города 4 Кристийне 5 Ласнамяэ 6 Пирита 7 Мустамяэ 8 Нымме</p> <p>7. Язык проведения интервью:</p> <p>1 эстонский 2 русский</p>
<p>2. Тип населенного пункта:</p> <p>1 столица 2 большой город (Тарту, Пярну, Нарва, Кохтла-Ярве) 3 уездный центр 4 другой город, поселок 5 alevik 6 село</p>	<p>8. Число проведения интервью _____</p> <p>9. Время начала интервью _____ час _____ минуты</p>

Настоящий опрос является частью исследования политического участия, проводимого обществоведами Тартуского Университета. С его помощью мы надеемся лучше понять процессы, происходящие в обществе Эстонии и отношение рядового гражданина к политике.

Полученные в опросе данные будут использоваться только для статистической обработки и никак не будут связаны с Вашей личностью. Опрашиваемые выбираются по принципу случайного выбора и Вы также попали в число опрашиваемых случайно.

Более подробную информацию можно получить в отделе политологии Тартуского Университета по телефону 07-375-154, (Эйки БЕРГ, Велло Петтай).

НАЧНЕМ С ОБЩИХ ВОПРОСОВ

К1 Как Вы считаете, жизнь в Эстонии в целом развивается к лучшему или к худшему?

- 1 Несомненно к лучшему
- 2 Скорее к лучшему
- 3 Скорее к худшему
- 4 Несомненно к худшему
- 5 Трудно сказать

К 2 Насколько Вы удовлетворены результатами последних выборов в Рийгикогу?

- 1 Совершенно удовлетворен
- 2 Скорее удовлетворен, чем неудовлетворен
- 3 Скорее неудовлетворен, чем удовлетворен
- 4 Совершенно неудовлетворен
- 5 Трудно сказать

К 3 Насколько Вы удовлетворены действенностью демократии в Эстонии?

1. Скорее удовлетворен, чем неудовлетворен
2. Совершенно удовлетворен
3. Скорее неудовлетворен, чем удовлетворен
4. Совершенно неудовлетворен
5. Трудно сказать

ЦЕННОСТИ

В обществе существует много различных ценностей, к которым стремятся люди. Какие из следующих ценностей являются для Вас наиболее важными? - КАРТА 1
ВЫБЕРИТЕ, ПОЖАЛУЙСТА, ТРИ!

	Самое важное	Второе по важности	Третье по важности
К 4 Материальная обеспеченность для себя и своих близких	1	2	3
К 5 Сильная государственная оборона и охрана правопорядка	1	2	3
К 6 Качественное образование и возможности для переобучения и повышения квалификации	1	2	3
К 7 Сохранение эстонской нации и культуры	1	2	3
К 8 Ограничение имущественного расслоения общества	1	2	3
К 9 Создание эффективной и качественной системы здравоохранения	1	2	3
К 10 Обеспечение государственной независимости Эстонии	1	2	3
К 11 Обеспечение демократических прав и свобод граждан, в т.ч. их привлечение к принятию решений	1	2	3
К 12 Обеспеченность работой и возможность получать достойную оплату за выполненную работу	1	2	3
К 13 Широкие возможности для самоутверждения и построения карьеры	1	2	3
К 14 Усиление в обществе чувства общности и солидарности	1	2	3
К 15 Интеграция Эстонии в международную жизнь	1	2	3
К 16 Что-то другое, уточните:	1	2	3

<p>Насколько Вы согласны со следующими утверждениями? - КАРТА 2</p>	
<p>К 17 УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ А Политические решения принимаются в основном исходя из интересов народа УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ В Политические решения принимаются в основном исходя из групповых интересов крупных групп</p>	<p>1 Полностью согласен с утверждением А 2 Согласен скорее с А, чем с В 3 Согласен скорее с В, чем с А 4 Полностью согласен с утверждением В 5 <i>Трудно сказать</i></p>
<p>К 18 УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ А Более активное участие народа в управлении страной поправило бы положение в Эстонии УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ В Более активное участие народа в управлении страной ухудшило бы положение в Эстонии</p>	<p>1 Полностью согласен с утверждением А 2 Согласен скорее с А, чем с В 3 Согласен скорее с В, чем с А 4 Полностью согласен с утверждением В 5 <i>Трудно сказать</i></p>
<p>К 19 УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ А Народ недостаточно понимает влияющие на Эстонию внутригосударственные и международные процессы УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ В Народ достаточно понимает влияющие на Эстонию внутригосударственные и международные процессы</p>	<p>1 Полностью согласен с утверждением А 2 Согласен скорее с А, чем с В 3 Согласен скорее с В, чем с А 4 Полностью согласен с утверждением В 5 <i>Трудно сказать</i></p>
<p>К 20 УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ А Большие различия в богатстве людей недопустимы УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ В Имущественное расслоение, существование богатых и бедных – вполне естественное явление</p>	<p>1 Полностью согласен с утверждением А 2 Согласен скорее с А, чем с В 3 Согласен скорее с В, чем с А 4 Полностью согласен с утверждением В 5 <i>Трудно сказать</i></p>
<p>К 21 УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ А Внутренний рынок Эстонии нужно бы защищать таможенными пошлинами и /или другими методами УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ В Внутренний рынок Эстонии нельзя защищать ни таможенными пошлинами, ни другими методами</p>	<p>1 Полностью согласен с утверждением А 2 Согласен скорее с А, чем с В 3 Согласен скорее с В, чем с А 4 Полностью согласен с утверждением В 5 <i>Трудно сказать</i></p>
<p>К 22 УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ А Главная задача правительства – предоставить людям возможности для преуспевания в жизни и самоутверждения УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ В Главная задача правительства – обеспечить для людей удовлетворение их основных потребностей</p>	<p>1 Полностью согласен с утверждением А 2 Согласен скорее с А, чем с В 3 Согласен скорее с В, чем с А 4 Полностью согласен с утверждением В 5 <i>Трудно сказать</i></p>
<p>К 23 УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ А Следует разрешить участие иностранного капитала в экономике Эстонии и всячески этому способствовать УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ В Следует ограничить участие иностранного капитала в экономике Эстонии и отдать предпочтение местному капиталу</p>	<p>1 Полностью согласен с утверждением А 2 Согласен скорее с А, чем с В 3 Согласен скорее с В, чем с А 4 Полностью согласен с утверждением В 5 <i>Трудно сказать</i></p>
<p>К 24 УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ А Нахождение всех предприятий в частных руках недопустимо, государству должны принадлежать хотя бы стратегические предприятия УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ В Приватизацию следует довести до конца, государству не должно принадлежать ни одного предприятия</p>	<p>1 Полностью согласен с утверждением А 2 Согласен скорее с А, чем с В 3 Согласен скорее с В, чем с А 4 Полностью согласен с утверждением В 5 <i>Трудно сказать</i></p>
<p>К 25 УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ А Правительство должно оказывать поддержку группам населения, попавшим в трудное положение УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ В Правительство не должно оказывать поддержки группам населения,</p>	<p>1 Полностью согласен с утверждением А 2 Согласен скорее с А, чем с В 3 Согласен скорее с В, чем с А 4 Полностью согласен с утверждением В 5 <i>Трудно сказать</i></p>

попавшим в трудное положение	
К 26 УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ А Конкуренция – отрицательное явление, так как выявляет худшие стороны человека УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ В Конкуренция – положительное явление, т.к. заставляет людей напрячься	1 Полностью согласен с утверждением А 2 Согласен скорее с А, чем с В 3 Согласен скорее с В, чем с А 4 Полностью согласен с утверждением В 5 <i>Трудно сказать</i>
К 27 УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ А В длительной перспективе упорный труд обязательно принесет успех УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ В Упорным трудом не добьёшься успеха, успех зависит в основном от везения и знакомств	1 Полностью согласен с утверждением А 2 Согласен скорее с А, чем с В 3 Согласен скорее с В, чем с А 4 Полностью согласен с утверждением В 5 <i>Трудно сказать</i>
К 28 УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ А Большие изменения должны проводиться очень осторожно и взвешенно УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ В Большие изменения должны проводиться быстро и решительно	1 Полностью согласен с утверждением А 2 Согласен скорее с А, чем с В 3 Согласен скорее с В, чем с А 4 Полностью согласен с утверждением В 5 <i>Трудно сказать</i>
К 29 УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ А Старые испытанные идеи в целом лучше, чем новые и свежие идеи УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ В Новые и свежие идеи в целом лучше, чем старые и испытанные идеи	1 Полностью согласен с утверждением А 2 Согласен скорее с А, чем с В 3 Согласен скорее с В, чем с А 4 Полностью согласен с утверждением В 5 <i>Трудно сказать</i>

К 30 Насколько Вы интересуетесь политикой?

- 1 Очень интересуюсь
- 2 Скорее интересуюсь
- 3 Скорее не интересуюсь
- 4 Совсем не интересуюсь
- 5 Трудно сказать

Насколько часто Вы получаете информацию об общественной жизни из следующих источников? - КАРТА 3

	Часто (5-7 раз в неделю)	Время от времени (1-3 раза в неделю)	Редко (1-3 раза в месяц)	Реже, практически совсем не получаю
К 31 из телепередач	1	2	3	4
К 32 из газет/ журналов	1	2	3	4
К 33 из радиопередач	1	2	3	4
К 34 из Интернета	1	2	3	4
К 35 от друзей-знакомых	1	2	3	4
К 36 от знакомых в местном или государственном органе власти	1	2	3	4
К 37 из специальной литературы по общественным наукам	1	2	3	4
К 38 из встреч с представителями органов власти	1	2	3	4
К 39 от политиков или человека, связанного с какой-то партией	1	2	3	4
К 40 на работе, от сотрудников	1	2	3	4
К 41 из какого-то иного источника	1	2	3	4

ПОЛИТИЧЕСКАЯ АКТИВНОСТЬ

Хотя голосование является для рядового гражданина одним из самых обычных способов участия в политике, кроме него существует еще много возможностей повлиять на жизнь общества и политические решения. Отметьте, пожалуйста, в каждом ряду, что из перечисленного Вы делали за последний год и/или делаете сейчас и что могли бы делать в течение следующего года.

	КАРТА 4 – ДО СИХ ПОР/СЕЙЧАС	КАРТА 5 - В БУДУЩЕМ
	1 Делал неоднократно /регулярно 2 Делал один раз или пару раз 3 Ни разу не делал	1 Наверняка не буду делать 2 Вероятно, не буду делать 3 Мог бы сделать 4 Собираюсь обязательно сделать 5 <i>Трудно сказать</i>
Читаю в газетах статьи и новости на общественные темы	К 42	К 43
Слежу за передачами и новостями на общественные темы по радио и/или телевидению	К 44	К 45
Обсуждаю проблемы и события общественной жизни с друзьями-знакомыми	К 46	К 47
Пишу в прессу (письмо читателя или статью)	К 48	К 49
Подписываю какое-либо обращение или открытое письмо	К 50	К 51
Участвую в народном собрании, где обсуждается какой-то вопрос	К 52	К 53
Выступаю с заранее подготовленным выступлением, речью на народном собрании, митинге	К 54	К 55

	КАРТА 4 – ДО СИХ ПОР/СЕЙЧАС	КАРТА 5 - В БУДУЩЕМ
	1 Делал неоднократно /регулярно 2 Делал один раз или пару раз 3 Ни разу не делал	1 Наверняка не буду делать 2 Вероятно, не буду делать 3 Мог бы сделать 4 Собираюсь обязательно сделать 5 <i>Трудно сказать</i>
Принимаю участие в марше протеста, пикете, забастовке	К 56	К 57
Принимаю участие в каком-то незаконном мероприятии (например, в незарегистрированной демонстрации,	К 58	К 59

блокировании улицы или здания)		
Участвую в организуемой партией кампании, подготовке и/или распространении материалов	К 60	К 61
Покупаю какое-либо изделие, вещь и /или услугу с целью поддержать какое-то мероприятие, добиться какой-то цели	К 62	К 63
Оказываю материальную, финансовую поддержку какой-либо партии	К 64	К 65
Баллотируюсь в члены совета местного самоуправления	К 66	К 67
Баллотируюсь в члены Рийгикогу	К 68	К 69
Работаю вместе с другими над решением какой-либо местной проблемы (по месту жительства)	К 70	К 71
Баллотируюсь/вхожу в правление какого-то объединения, в число предводителей	К 72	К 73
Подаю исковое заявление в суд	К 74	К 75
Пишу, звоню представителям центральных властей, встречаюсь с ними	К 76	К 77
Пишу, звоню работникам местного самоуправления, встречаюсь с ними	К 78	К 79
Для выражения протеста, неудовлетворенности не голосую на местных выборах или выборах в Рийгикогу	К 80	К 81
Из чувства протеста, неудовлетворенности не покупаю каких-то изделий или услуг	К 82	К 83
Пользуюсь интернетом в связи с каким-то из перечисленных видов деятельности	К 84	К 85

В последние годы много говорится о том, каким образом следовало бы больше вовлекать людей в процесс принятия политических решений. Вы что-то слышали или в курсе следующих предложений или действий?

	В курсе	Слышал, но не особенно в курсе	Не слышал
К 86 Интернет-портал ТОМ (Täna Otsustan Mina – Сегодня Решаю Я)	1	2	3
К 87 Предложение Президента заключить общенациональное соглашение	1	2	3
К 88 Публичное обсуждение коалиционных переговоров в интернете	1	2	3
К 89 Т.н. тройственные переговоры (между работодателями, профсоюзами и правительством)	1	2	3
К 90 Публичная дискуссия вокруг понятия “вторая Эстония”	1	2	3

Самый обычный способ участия в политике для рядового гражданина – это голосование на выборах. В каких из прошлых выборов Вы принимали участие?

	участвовал	не участвовал	не помню
К 91 выборы в советы местных самоуправлений 2002 г.	1	2	3
К 92 выборы в Рийгикогу 1999 г.	1	2	3
К 93 выборы в советы местных самоуправлений 1999 г.	1	2	3
К 94 выборы в советы местных самоуправлений 1996 г.	1	2	3
К 95 выборы в Рийгикогу 1995 г.	1	2	3

К 96 Вы голосовали на выборах в Рийгикогу 2 марта 2003 года?

- 1 Нет → ПРОДОЛЖАЙТЕ СЛЕДУЮЩИМ ВОПРОСОМ В 97
 2 Jah → ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К ВОПРОСУ В 99

К 97-98 Люди не участвуют в выборах по различным причинам. По каким причинам Вы на этот раз не голосовали на выборах в Рийгикогу? Выберите из следующей таблицы две основные причины. Прочтите, пожалуйста, все причины прежде, чем начнете отвечать! - КАРТА 6 ТОЛЬКО ДВА ОТВЕТА!

- 1 У меня не было права голоса
- 2 Я не участвовал из-за работы (был в командировке, на дежурстве, ...)
- 3 Мой голос все равно ничего бы не решил
- 4 Я не понял, как делили голоса избирателей между политиками
- 5 Я не доверял Рийгикогу
- 6 Я не доверял партиям
- 7 Меня не интересует политика
- 8 Я не нашел подходящего кандидата
- 9 Я разочаровался в политике
- 10 Я не пошел голосовать из-за плохой погоды
- 11 Я не пошел голосовать по состоянию здоровья
- 12 Какая-то другая причина → ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К В 102

К 99-100 Люди принимают участие в выборах по различным причинам. По каким причинам Вы на этот раз голосовали на выборах в Рийгикогу? Выберите из следующей таблицы 2 основные причины. Прочтите, пожалуйста, все причины прежде, чем начнете отвечать! - КАРТА 7 ТОЛЬКО ДВА ОТВЕТА!

- 1 Участвуя в выборах, я ощущаю себя частицей своей страны
- 2 Повлияла предвыборная кампания
- 3 Желание участвовать в выборе тех, кто будет руководить государственной и местной жизнью
- 4 Голосуя на выборах, я могу повлиять на общественные процессы
- 5 Желание отдать голос за конкретного кандидата
- 6 Желание отдать голос за конкретную партию
- 7 Проголосовав, я имею больше оснований требовать от политиков исполнения данных обещаний
- 8 Из чувства долга, так как участие в голосовании – это обязанность каждого гражданина
- 9 Для меня это одна из возможностей выразить свои убеждения
- 10 По мнению членов семьи и/или друзей, не годится не участвовать в выборах
- 11 Я всегда ходил на выборы и собираюсь ходить и впредь
- 12 Какая-то иная причина

К 101 За кандидата какой партии вы отдали свой голос на выборах Рийгикогу в марте 2003 г.? -

КАРТА 8

ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ!

- 1 Партия независимости Эстонии
- 2 Центристская партия Эстонии
- 3 Христианская Народная партия Эстонии
- 4 Эстонская партия реформ
- 5 Эстонская Социал-демократическая партия труда
- 6 Народный Союз Эстонии
- 7 Объединенная народная партия Эстонии
- 8 Союз Отечества (Isamaaliit)
- 9 Народная партия Умеренные
- 10 Объединение за республику - Res Publica
- 11 Русская партия в Эстонии
- 12 Одиночный кандидат
- 13 Не хочу отвечать

К 102 У Вас есть ощущение, что какая-то из действующих в Эстонии партий вам близка?

- 1 Да, очень близка
- 2 Да, довольно близка
- 3 Нет, скорее нет такой партии
- 4 Нет, такой партии нет
- 5 Трудно сказать

К 103 Вы являетесь сейчас членом какой-либо партии?

- | | | |
|-------|---|----------------------------|
| 1 Нет | → | ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К ВОПРОСУ В 105 |
| 2 Да | → | ПРОДОЛЖИТЬ ВОПРОСОМ В 104 |

К 104 Отметьте, пожалуйста, членом какой партии Вы являетесь:

К 105 Были ли Вы раньше членом какой-либо другой партии?

- 1 Нет
- 2 Да

К 106 В том случае, если Вы сейчас не являетесь членом ни одной из партий, считаете ли Вы возможным, что в будущем вступите в какую-то партию?

- 1 Да, вполне вероятно

- 2 Да, может быть
- 3 Нет, скорее нет
- 4 Нет, определенно не вступлю
- Трудно сказать

К 107 Вы собираетесь голосовать на референдуме за или против присоединения к Европейскому Союзу в сентябре 2003 года? - КАРТА 9

- 1 Не собираюсь идти голосовать
- 2 Не решил, пойду голосовать, или нет
- 3 Собираюсь пойти, но еще не решил, буду ли голосовать за присоединение или против
- 4 Собираюсь голосовать против присоединения
- 5 Собираюсь голосовать за присоединение
- 6 Я не знаю, что такое событие состоится

ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЕ ДОВЕРИЕ

Насколько Вы доверяете следующим государственным учреждениям и другим публичным учреждениям Эстонии? - КАРТА 10

	полностью доверяю	скорее доверяю	скорее не доверяю	совсем не доверяю	трудно сказать
К 108 Президент	1	2	3	4	5
К 109 Банк Эстонии	1	2	3	4	5
К 110 Премьер-министр	1	2	3	4	5
К 111 Правительство ЭР	1	2	3	4	5
К 112 Пограничная охрана	1	2	3	4	5
К 113 Силы обороны	1	2	3	4	5
К 114 Городская или волостная управа; городской или волостной совет	1	2	3	4	5
К 115 Полиция безопасности	1	2	3	4	5
К 116 Государственный контроль	1	2	3	4	5
К 117 Таможня	1	2	3	4	5
К 118 Полиция	1	2	3	4	5
К 119 Суд	1	2	3	4	5
К 120 Религиозные объединения и церкви	1	2	3	4	5
К 121 Рийгикогу (Парламент Эстонии)	1	2	3	4	5
К 122 Пресса	1	2	3	4	5
К 123 Профсоюзы	1	2	3	4	5
К 124 Партии	1	2	3	4	5
К 125 Другие неформальные объединения	1	2	3	4	5

Что, по Вашему мнению, является причиной недоверия людей к государственным структурам? Оцените, пожалуйста, каждый фактор по отдельности. - КАРТА 11

	Это главное, что вызывает недоверие	Это существенная причина	Это не является причиной недоверия

К126 Некомпетентность политиков и чиновников	1	2	3
К 127 Неэффективность, разбазаривание народных денег	1	2	3
К 128 Политики и чиновники действуют в личных интересах	1	2	3
К 129 Коррупция	1	2	3
К 130 Политические скандалы	1	2	3
К 131 Избирательная система, недостаточно учитывающая волю народа	1	2	3
К 132 Связанность политической власти и мира бизнеса	1	2	3
К 133 Нет сотрудничества между политическими силами	1	2	3
К 134 Законы и постановления плохо сформулированы, есть возможность их обойти	1	2	3
К 135 Связанность политической власти и преступного мира	1	2	3
К 136 То, что они занимаются ненужными проектами	1	2	3
К 137 Политики манипулируют информацией	1	2	3
К 138 Неинформированность и неосведомленность самих людей	1	2	3
К 139 Влияние прессы, усиление негативной информации	1	2	3
К 140 Что-то другое, уточните:	1	2	3

Что, по Вашему мнению, может повысить доверие людей к государственным учреждениям и политикам? Оцените, пожалуйста, следующие возможности. - КАРТА 12

	Это наверняка повысило бы доверие	Это могло бы частично повысить	Скорее не повысило бы	Вряд ли помогло бы повысить	Трудно сказать
К 141 Закон о выборах Рийгигогу следовало бы изменить так, чтобы мандаты получали только кандидаты, набравшие больше всех голосов	1	2	3	4	5
К 142 Члены Рийгигогу и правительства должны были бы чаще встречаться с народом	1	2	3	4	5
К 143 Президент и премьер-министр должны больше выступать в прессе и разъяснять свою деятельность	1	2	3	4	5
К 144 Следовало бы отменить особые льготы для членов Рийгигогу и правительства	1	2	3	4	5
К 145 Политиков, замешанных в серьезных скандалах, следовало бы принуждать уйти в отставку	1	2	3	4	5
К 146 Следовало бы более широко предавать гласности влияние групповых интересов на политику	1	2	3	4	5
К 147 Пресса должна была бы больше отслеживать и изучать деятельность политиков	1	2	3	4	5
К 148 Что-то другое, уточните:	1	2	3	4	5

Каков, по Вашему мнению, престиж следующих институтов в эстонском обществе? - КАРТА 13

	Очень высокий	Относитель но высокий	Относительн о низкий	Очень низкий	<i>Трудно сказать</i>
К 149 Президент	1	2	3	4	5
К 150 Банк Эстонии	1	2	3	4	5
К 151 Премьер-министр	1	2	3	4	5
К 152 Правительство	1	2	3	4	5
К 153 Силы обороны	1	2	3	4	5
К 154 Полиция	1	2	3	4	5
К 155 Суд	1	2	3	4	5
К 156 Рийгикогу	1	2	3	4	5
К 157 Пресса	1	2	3	4	5
К 158 Профсоюзы	1	2	3	4	5
К 159 Партии	1	2	3	4	5

ДЕЙСТВЕННОСТЬ ПОЛИТИКИ

Ниже приведены пять мнений, которые порой выражают люди. Скажите, пожалуйста, в какой мере Вы согласны с каждой из этих точек зрения. - КАРТА 14

	Совершенно согласен	Скорее согласен	Скорее несогласен	Совсем не согласен	<i>Трудно сказать</i>
К 160 Политика зачастую так сложна, что простые люди не понимают, что происходит.	1	2	3	4	5
К 161 У таких людей, как я, нет никакого влияния на то, что делает государственная власть.	1	2	3	4	5
К 162 Участие в выборах – это единственная возможность для таких людей, как я, повлиять на жизнь общества.	1	2	3	4	5
К 163 Я не верю, что политики обращают внимание на то, что считают такие люди, как я.	1	2	3	4	5
К 164 Дела в государстве пошли бы лучше, если бы был один сильный руководитель, который не должен был бы считаться с парламентом и партиями, а мог быстро и решительно принимать решения.	1	2	3	4	5

ДОВЕРИЕ И СОЦИАЛЬНЫЙ КАПИТАЛ

Как Вы относитесь к следующим утверждениям? КАРТА 14

	Совершенно согласен	Скорее согласен	Скорее не согласен	Совершенно не согласен	<i>Трудно сказать</i>

К 165 Стремление к сотрудничеству свойственно людям от природы.	1	2	3	4	5
К 166 Большинству людей можно доверять.	1	2	3	4	5
К 167 Если кто-то всерьез оказался в тяжелом положении, других это не заботит.	1	2	3	4	5
К 168 Если Ты сам за себя не постоишь, другие используют Тебя для достижения своих целей.	1	2	3	4	5
К 169 Люди сотрудничают только тогда, когда получают от этого личную выгоду.	1	2	3	4	5

К какой из следующих организаций Вы принадлежите, в деятельности каких организаций принимаете участие? - КАРТА 15

	Не связан	Участвую от случая к случаю в мероприятиях, собраниях	Участвую регулярно в мероприятиях, собраниях	Состою в руководстве, в числе предводителей
К 170 Профессиональные организации (профсоюзы, союзы специалистов)	1	2	3	4
К 171 Объединения по интересам, клубы увлечений (в т.ч. культура, спорт)	1	2	3	4
К 172 Объединения верующих, церковные приходы	1	2	3	4
К 173 Товарищества недвижимости, объединения нанимателей/ собственников	1	2	3	4
К 174 Общественные группы по интересам (организации семей, пенсионеров, детей, национальных меньшинств, инвалидов)	1	2	3	4
К 175 Общественные организации защиты (потребителей, охраны природы, памятников старины)	1	2	3	4
К 176 Организации государственной обороны, граждановедения (Кайтселийт, скауты, гайды)	1	2	3	4
К 177 Молодежные организации (в т.ч. ученические и студенческие союзы, корпорации)	1	2	3	4
К 178 Другие организации	1	2	3	4

ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЕ ЗНАНИЯ

Для граждан Эстонии установлены различные политические права. Есть ли у Вас, как у гражданина Эстонской Республики, право ...- КАРТА 16

	Да	Нет	Не знаю
К 179 организовав сбор подписей, инициировать проекты законов	1	2	3

К 180 организовав сбор подписей, инициировать народное голосование (референдум)	1	2	3
К 181 наблюдать за заседаниями Рийгикогу с балкона зала заседаний	1	2	3
К 182 обращаться к членам Рийгикогу по вопросам, касающимся законодательства	1	2	3
К 183 инициировать отзыв члена Рийгикогу	1	2	3
К 184 основать политическую партию	1	2	3
К 185 обращаться с докладными записками и заявлениями к государственным учреждениям, местным самоуправлениям и их должностным лицам	1	2	3

К 188 Сколько членов входит в состав Рийгикогу?

К 189 Как зовут нынешнего премьер-министра Эстонии? _____

К 190 Является ли результат народного голосования по присоединению к Европейскому Союзу связующим (обязательным) для правительства и Рийгикогу?

- 1 Да
- 2 Нет

ДЕТСТВО И РОДИТЕЛЬСКИЙ ДОМ

Теперь зададим Вам несколько вопросов о Вашем детстве и родительском доме. Отвечая, исходите, пожалуйста, из того положения, которое было в доме Ваших родителей до достижения Вами 18 лет.

К 191 До достижения 18-летнего возраста Вы жили в Эстонии? (за исключением кратких поездок за границу)

- 1 Да
- 2 Нет

В дальнейшем сосредоточимся на Ваших родителях и их социальной и политической активности до того, как Вам исполнилось 18 лет.

Участвовали ли один или оба Ваших родителя в деятельности каких-либо из приведенных в перечне организаций? Речь идет о действительно происходившей деятельности, а не о формальной принадлежности к этой организации.

	из родителей участвовал	Ни один не участвовал	Не знаю, участвовали родители, или нет
К 192 Профессиональная организация, союз по специальности	1	2	3
К 193 Организация по увлечениям	1	2	3
К 194 КПСС/КПЭ	1	2	3
К 195 Политическое движение (напр. Народный Фронт, Комитеты граждан, Общество охраны памятников старины)	1	2	3
К 196 Профсоюз	1	2	3
К 197 Спортивное общество, клуб	1	2	3
К 198 Студенческая организация	1	2	3
К 199 Другая организация, назовите:	1	2	3

К 200 Избирались ли Ваши родители когда-нибудь в парламент, совет местного самоуправления или руководящий орган какого-то объединения, организации? (Напр., местный совет, представительное собрание группы по интересам, ...)

- 1 Да, хотя бы один из родителей избирался
- 2 Нет, ни один не избирался
- 3 Не знаю, избирался или нет

Насколько важное место занимала в Вашем родительском доме следующая деятельность и/или беседы на темы: - КАРТА 17

	Очень важное, происходили часто (несколько раз в неделю)	Важное, (регулярно, раз в неделю)	Не очень важное, (случайно, раз в месяц)	Неважное, не было	<i>Трудно сказать</i>
К 201 Культура (искусство, литература, музыка)	1	2	3	4	5
К 202 Наука	1	2	3	4	5
К 203 Природа	1	2	3	4	5
К 204 Политика и общество	1	2	3	4	5
К 205 Бизнес и предпринимательство	1	2	3	4	5
К 206 Спорт	1	2	3	4	5
К 207 Путешествия	1	2	3	4	5

К 208 Сколько Вам лет?

К 209 Ваше семейное положение:

- 1 Холосты, не состояли в браке
- 2 Состоите в браке, в свободном браке
- 3 Разведены, живете врозь, вдовец/вдова

К 210 Сколько членов в Вашей семье? Учтите людей, которые пользуются одними и теми же жилыми и подсобными помещениями, используют общую бытовую технику и связаны общим бюджетом: _____

К 211 Ваша национальность:

- 1 Эстонец
- 2 Русский, белорус, украинец
- 3 Другая

К 212 Какое у Вас образование? - КАРТА 18
ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ!

- 1 Меньше, чем основное образование (меньше, чем 7, 8, 9 классов)
- 2 Основная школа, незаконченное среднее образование
- 3 Профессиональное училище, не дающее среднего образования(профтехучилище,ремесленное училище)
- 4 Профессиональное училище, дающее среднее образование (среднее профтехучилище, техникум)
- 5 Обычная средняя школа, гимназия
- 6 Незаконченное высшее образование (окончено 3 курса)
- 7 Высшее образование

8 Ученая степень, несколько высших образований

К какой из следующих групп населения Вы относитесь? - КАРТА 19
ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ!

- 1 Работаете регулярно /полное время на одном или нескольких рабочих местах
- 2 Работаете часть времени, на случайных и сезонных работах
- 3 Предприниматель, дающий работу наемным работникам, или частный предприниматель, FIE
- 4 Зарегистрированный/незарегистрированный безработный (мог и хотел бы работать, но работы нет)
- 5 Пенсионер, инвалид
- 6 Учащийся, студент
- 7 Домохозяйка, в отпуске по уходу за ребенком
- 8 Другое

К 213 В учреждении какого типа Вы работаете? Назовите тип того учреждения, где получаете наибольший доход - КАРТА 20
ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ!

- 1 В госбюджетном, муниципальном учреждении
- 2 В основном или полностью принадлежащем государству /местному самоуправлению АО, ТОО, целевом учреждении
- 3 В основном или полностью принадлежащем частному лицу (лицам) АО, ТОО, НКО
- 4 Вы сам себе работодатель, FIE
- 5 Другой тип учреждения
- 6 Не работаете (пенсионер, инвалид, домохозяйка, учащийся/студент, безработный)

К 214 Какую позицию Вы занимаете на рабочем месте, где получаете наибольший доход? - КАРТА 21
ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ!

- 1 Разнорабочий или квалифицированный рабочий (механик, продавец)
- 2 Служащий, конторский служащий (секретарь, кассир)
- 3 Специалист, но не руководитель (врач, юрист)
- 4 Руководитель среднего звена: руководитель какого-то подразделения учреждения, предприятия (заведующий отделом, главный инженер)
- 5 Высший руководитель: руководитель учреждения, предприятия (директор, заместитель)
- 6 Руководитель собственного бизнеса, частный предприниматель (хуторянин, лицо свободной профессии)
- 7 Другое
- 8 Не работаете (пенсионер, инвалид, домохозяйка, учащийся/студент, безработный)

К 215 Личный средний месячный доход: - КАРТА 22

- 1 до 1000 кр.
- 2 1001 - 2000 кр.
- 3 2001 - 3000 кр.
- 4 3001 - 4000 кр.
- 5 4001 - 6000 кр.
- 6 6001 - 8000 кр.
- 7 8001 - 10 000 кр.
- 8 10 001 – 15 000 кр.
- 9 более 15 000 кр.
- 10 нет дохода
- 11 не желает ответить

К 216 Средний месячный доход всей семьи. Liitke kokku kõigi pereliikmete sissetulekud makse

maha arvamata. - КАРТА 23

- 1 до 2000 кр.
- 2 2001 – 4000 кр.
- 3 4001-6000 кр.
- 4 6001-8000 кр.
- 5 8001-10 000 кр.
- 6 10 001 –20 000 кр.
- 7 20 001 – 40 000 кр.
- 8 более 40 000 кр.
- 9 не желает ответить

К 217 Ваш пол:

- 1 мужской
- 2 женский

ANNEX 4:

Post-election survey on political participation, University of Tartu 2005

EB1 Omavalitsuse nimi / Tallinna linnaosa

EB2 Valimipiirkond _____

EB3 VALIMIPUNKTI NR _____

EB4 VASTAJA NR _____

EB5 Intervjuu läbiviimise keel:

1 eesti keel

2 vene keel

EB6 Intervjuu toimumise kuupäev: _____

EB7 Intervjuu alguse kellaaeg: _____

EB8 Intervjuu kestus: _____ minutit

ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОГО УЧАСТИЯ - 2005

Настоящая анкета представляет из себя составную часть исследования политического участия, проводимого политологами Тартуского университета в связи с недавними выборами в органы местного самоуправления. При помощи этого исследования мы рассчитываем получить более точное представление о происходящих в обществе процессах и об отношении жителей страны к политике. Полученные данные будут использованы исключительно для научного анализа статистическими методами и на их основе будет невозможно установить Вашу личность. Отбор для интервью проводился на основе случайной выборки и Вы попали в число опрашиваемых случайно.

Дополнительную информацию об анкете можно получить на кафедре политологии Тартуского университета по тел.: 7 375 154 (ВЕЛЛО ПЕТТАИ, АЛЛАН СИКК).

M1 Сколько дней в неделю Вы обычно смотрите новости по телевизору?

_____ (вписать число 1-7)

8 затрудняюсь ответить

M1a Какие программы новостей Вы смотрите по телевизору регулярно? НЕСКОЛЬКО ОТВЕТОВ!

1 ETV "Aktuaalne Kaamera"

2 Kanal 2 "Reporter"

3 TV3 "Seitsmesed Uudised"

4 ETV Terevisiooni uudised

5 ETV "Aktuaalne Kaamera" на русском языке

6 Новости Первого Балтийского канала

7 Иные новости

8 затрудняюсь ответить

M2 Сколько дней в неделю Вы читаете газеты?

_____ (вписать номер 1-7)

8 затрудняюсь ответить

M2a Какую газету или газеты Вы читаете регулярно? НЕСКОЛЬКО ОТВЕТОВ!

1 Postimees

2 Eesti Päevaleht

3 SL Õhtuleht

4 Äripäev

5 Молодежь Эстонии

6 Эстония

- 7 День за днем
- 8 Eesti Ekspress
- 9 Maaleht
- 11 Местная газета
- 12 Иная газета
- 88 затрудняюсь ответить

M3 Как Вы сами оцениваете свой интерес к политике: очень сильный, определенный, небольшой или полностью отсутствующий?

- 1 очень интересуюсь
- 2 интересуюсь в определенной степени
- 3 немножко интересуюсь
- 4 вообще не интересуюсь
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

Как часто Вы занимались нижеперечисленным до выборов в органы местного самоуправления в этом году?
 Как часто Вы ... ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ В КАЖДОЙ СТРОЧКЕ!

	часто	иногда	никогда	затрудняюсь ответить
M4a смотрели по телевизору посвященные выборам передачи?	1	2	3	8
M4b просматривали газеты или предвыборные материалы партий/ избирательных блоков	1	2	3	8
M4c читали о выборах в других газетах?	1	2	3	8
M4d слушали по радио посвященные выборам передачи?	1	2	3	8
M4e беседовали о выборах с друзьями или в семье?	1	2	3	8
M4f принимали участие в предвыборных общественных собраниях или мероприятиях?	1	2	3	8
M4g посещали связанные с выборами страницы в интернете?	1	2	3	8

M5 По Вашему мнению, какая проблема в Вашем городе/волости наиболее важная? ОТКРЫТЫЙ ВОПРОС

M6 Была ли данная проблема в достаточной мере затронута во время предвыборной кампании на прошедших выборах в местные самоуправления?

- 1 достаточно
- 2 недостаточно
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

M7 Просим Вас подумать о ситуации накануне местных выборов. Насколько Вы интересовались избирательной кампанией: очень интересовались, в некоторой степени, немножко или вообще не интересовались?

- 1 очень интересовался(-ась)
- 2 в некоторой степени
- 3 немножко
- 4 вообще не интересовался(-ась)
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

M8 По вашему мнению, предвыборной рекламы в Вашем городе (волости) было слишком много, в оптимальном количестве или слишком мало?

- 1 слишком много
- 2 в оптимальном количестве
- 3 слишком мало
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

OS1 Многие избиратели не стали участвовать в местных выборах, в то время как другие ходили голосовать. А Вы сами проголосовали?

- 1 да, проголосовал(а)
- 2 не голосовал(а) » JÄTKA OS4

OS2a Каким способом Вы проголосовали?

- 1 на избирательном участке в день выборов » JÄTKA OS3
 - 2 на предварительном голосовании в избирательном участке » JÄTKA OS3
 - 3 воспользовались электронным голосованием, более не меняя свое избирательное решение
 - 4 воспользовались электронным голосованием, впоследствии изменив свое избирательное решение
- NB! KÜSIDA AINULT NENDELT, KES HÄÄLETASID ELEKTROONILISELT*

OS2b В каком месте Вы воспользовались электронным голосованием?

- 1 дома
- 2 на работе
- 3 в пункте доступа к сети интернет (интернет-кафе и т.п.)
- 4 в ином месте, уточните ...

OS2c Во время голосования Вы находились перед экраном компьютера в одиночестве?

- 1 да
- 2 нет

OS2d Голосование по интернету было простым? (выберите наиболее подходящий вариант ответа) » JÄTKA OS3

- 1 было просто, справился(-ась) сам(а)
- 2 в целом просто, но была нужна небольшая помощь (члена семьи, коллеги и и т.п.)
- 3 было сложно, нуждался(-ась) в существенной помощи

OS3 За какую партию, избирательный блок или независимого кандидата Вы проголосовали?

- 1 Keskerakond
- 2 Res Publica
- 3 Reformierakond
- 4 Rahvaliid
- 5 Isamaaliit
- 6 Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond
- 7 иная партия
- 8 какой-либо избирательный блок » OS3a
- 9 независимый кандидат
- 10 не заполнил(а) бюллетень / испортил(а) бюллетень
- 11 не голосовал(а)
- 88 не помню / не знаю

KÜSIDA AINULT NENDELT, KES HÄÄLETASID VALIMISLIIDU POOLT

OS3a Просим указать, за какой избирательный блок Вы проголосовали. [открытый вопрос]

OS4 Вы участвовали в предыдущих выборах в местные самоуправления в 2002 году?

- 1 Нет
- 2 Да

3 Не помню

OS5 За какую партию Вы голосовали на выборах в Рийгикогу в 2003 году?

- 1 Keskerakond
- 2 Res Publica
- 3 Reformierakond
- 4 Rahvaliid
- 5 Isamaaliit
- 6 Mõõdukad (в настоящее время Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond)
- 7 иная партия
- 8 независимый кандидат
- 10 не заполнил(а) бюллетень / испортил(а) бюллетень
- 11 не голосовал(а)
- 88 не помню / не знаю

OS6 Если вы выборы в Рийгикогу состоялись завтра, то за какую партию Вы бы проголосовали? ОДИН ОТВЕТ!

- 1 Keskerakond
- 2 Res Publica
- 3 Reformierakond
- 4 Rahvaliid
- 5 Isamaaliit
- 6 Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond
- 7 иная партия
- 8 независимый кандидат
- 10 не заполнил(а) бы бюллетень / испортил(а) бы бюллетень
- 11 не голосовал(а) бы
- 88 не помню / не знаю

NB! KÜSIDA AINULT NEILT, KES KOHALIKEL VALIMISTEL EI OSALENUD! (VT OSI); TEISED EDASI »

OS7a Люди могут не участвовать в выборах по различным причинам. Какова основная причина, по которой Вы не стали голосовать на местных выборах? Просим Вас внимательно прочесть все возможные причины перед тем, как Вы дадите ответ! ОДИН ОТВЕТ!

OS7b Была ли еще какая-то причина достаточно весомой? ОДИН ОТВЕТ!

	OS7a	OS7b
1 Мой голос все равно бы ничего не решил	1	1
2 Политика меня не интересует	2	2
3 Местное законодательное собрание ничего не решает	3	3
4 Я не доверяю политикам	4	4
5 Не нашел(-ла) подходящего для себя кандидата	5	5
6 Не было возможности проголосовать	6	6
7 У меня отсутствует избирательное право	7	7
8 Иная причина	8	8
88 затрудняюсь ответить	88	88

» EDASI VA1a

NB! KÜSIDA AINULT NEILT, KES KOHALIKEL VALIMISTEL OSALESID

OS8a Люди участвуют в выборах по различным причинам. Какова основная причина, по которой Вы проголосовали на местных выборах? Просим Вас внимательно прочесть все возможные причины перед тем, как Вы дадите ответ! ОДИН ОТВЕТ!

OS8b Была ли еще какая-то причина достаточно весомой? ОДИН ОТВЕТ!

	OS8a	OS8b
1 Голосование создает у меня чувство, что я являюсь гражданином своего города/волости	1	1
2 Возникшая в ходе избирательной кампании тема побудила меня голосовать	2	2
3 Голосуя на выборах, я могу влиять на местную политику	3	3

4 Желание отдать свой голос конкретному кандидату	4	4
5 Желание отдать свой голос конкретной партии/избирательному блоку	5	5
6 Участие в выборах – обязанность каждого гражданина	6	6
7 Иная причина	7	7
8 затрудняюсь ответить	8	8

OS9 На Ваш выбор в большей степени повлияла личность кандидата или же партия/избирательный блок?

- 1 Главным образом личность кандидата
- 2 В равной степени личность кандидата и партия/избирательный блок
- 3 Главным образом партия/избирательный блок

OS10a Что сыграло решающую роль в Вашем выборе? ...ОДИН ОТВЕТ!

OS10b Было ли еще какое-то соображение достаточно весомым? ОДИН ОТВЕТ!

	OS9a	OS9b
1 Общие политические воззрения партии/избирательного блока/кандидата	1	1
2 Позиции партии/избирательного блока/кандидата по вопросам местной политики	2	2
3 Предыдущая деятельность кандидата в местной политике	3	3
4 Предыдущая деятельность кандидата в государственной политике	4	4
5 Предвыборная кампания	5	5
6 Общая симпатия, которую Вы испытываете по отношению к кандидату	6	6
7 Национальность кандидата	7	7
8 Пол кандидата	8	8
9 Влияние друзей или знакомых	9	9
88 Затрудняюсь ответить	88	88

В обществе существует немало различных ценностей, которые люди стремятся реализовать в своей жизни. Какие из нижеперечисленных ценностей наиболее важны для Вас лично? Просим Вас выбрать три ценности! - ERI ANKEEDID ERI JÄRJESTUSES

VA1a (вписать номер)

VA1b (вписать номер)

VA1c (вписать номер)

- 1 Экономическая обеспеченность Вас и Ваших близких
 - 2 Государственная безопасность и охрана правопорядка
 - 3 Качественное образование и возможности для повышения квалификации и получения образования по другой специальности
 - 4 Защита эстонской нации и культуры
 - 5 Ограничение расслоения общества по материальному признаку
 - 6 Равенство прав между полами
 - 7 Создание эффективной и качественной системы здравоохранения
 - 8 Обеспечение независимости и суверенитета Эстонии
 - 9 Демократические права и свободы, в том числе возможность влиять на принятие решений
 - 10 Уверенность в своей работе и возможность получать за выполненную работу достойную плату
 - 11 Открытые возможности для самореализации и карьеры
 - 12 Укрепление чувства принадлежности и солидарности в обществе
 - 13 Интеграция Эстонии в международную жизнь
 - 14 Иное
- 88 затрудняюсь ответить

VA2a Как Вы относитесь к традиционным ценностям и новым идеям? Просим Вас определить свою точку зрения на 10-балльной шкале, где "1" означает открытость новым идеям, а "10" подразумевает, что в обществе должны доминировать традиционные ценности и устойчивая мораль:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Открытость новым идеям					Доминирование традиционных ценностей и				

88 затрудняюсь ответить

VA2b Как Вы относитесь к расслоению по материальному признаку? Просим Вас определить свою точку зрения на 10-балльной шкале, где "1" означает непрременную необходимость ограничения правительственным мерами материального расслоения, а "10" означает, что материальное расслоение представляет из себя естественное явление, которое не нужно ограничивать со стороны государства:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Государство должно ограничивать материальное расслоение						Материальное расслоение естественно и его не следует ограничивать			

88 затрудняюсь ответить

VA2c Как вы представляете себе порядок? Просим Вас определить свою точку зрения по 10-балльной шкале, где "1" означает, что государство должно защищать свободу действий и всячески ей способствовать, а "10" означает, что государство должно обеспечить надежный порядок и при необходимости ограничить с этой целью личные свободы:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Защита свободы действий и содействие ей						Надежный порядок и ограничение личных свобод			

88 затрудняюсь ответить

VA2d Каковы Ваши взгляды на равноправие мужчин и женщин?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Неравенство полов естественно и нет смысла стремиться к равноправию						Закон должен обеспечить равные возможности для мужчин и женщин			

88 затрудняюсь ответить

VA2e Каковы Ваши взгляды на планирование и контроль экономики со стороны государства? Просим Вас определить свою точку зрения на 10-балльной шкале, где "1" означает необходимость полного планирования и контроля экономики со стороны государства, а "10" означает, что государство вообще не должно вмешиваться в свободную рыночную экономику:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Государство должно планировать и контролировать экономику						Государство вообще не должно вмешиваться в свободную рыночную экономику			

88 затрудняюсь ответить

VA2f Как равенство, так и свобода считаются важными ценностями. Которую из них вы поставили бы на первое место, если бы было нужно сделать выбор? Просим Вас определить свою точку зрения на 10-балльной шкале, где "1" означает, что равенство является более важной ценностью, а "10" означает, что свобода является более важной ценностью:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Равенство более важная ценность						Свобода более важная ценность			

88 затрудняюсь ответить

Ниже приводятся семь утверждений, которые временами высказываются различными людьми. Просим Вас указать, в какой мере Вы согласны с этими точками зрения.

Полностью согласен(-на)	Скорее согласен(-на)	Скорее не согласен(-на)	Полностью не согласен(-на)	затрудняюсь ответить
-------------------------	----------------------	-------------------------	----------------------------	----------------------

VA3a Политика зачастую такое сложное дело, что простые люди не понимают, что происходит 1 2 3 4 8

VA3b Я не думаю, что политиков интересует мнение таких людей, как я 1 2 3 4 8

VA3c Дела в государстве шли бы лучше, если бы был один сильный руководитель, который не должен был бы считаться ни с парламентом, ни с партиями, и который смог бы принимать решения быстро и без колебаний 1 2 3 4 8

VA3d Большинству людей можно доверять 1 2 3 4 8

VA3e Если ты не отстаиваешь свои интересы, то другие используют тебя для достижения своих целей 1 2 3 4 8

VA3f Люди сотрудничают друг с другом только при условии получения от этого личной выгоды 1 2 3 4 8

VA3g Дела в государстве шли бы лучше, если бы в политике мужчины и женщины были бы представлены в равной степени 1 2 3 4 8

Далее приводятся четыре утверждения о связи политики и церкви. С какими из них Вы согласны?
 Полностью согласен(-на) Скорее согласен(-на) Скорее не согласен(-на) Полностью не согласен затрудняюсь ответить

VA4a Не верящие в бога политики не должны занимать государственные должности 1 2 3 4 8

VA4b Было бы лучше, если бы на государственных должностях было больше людей с прочными религиозными убеждениями 1 2 3 4 8

VA4c Руководству церкви не следует воздействовать на избирательные решения людей 1 2 3 4 8

VA4d Руководству церкви не следует влиять на решения правительства 1 2 3 4 8

VA5 Что в первую очередь означает для Вас демократия? (выберите самое важное)

- 1 Свободу
- 2 Равенство
- 3 Выборы и голосование
- 4 Благополучие и прогресс
- 5 Уважение к закону, главенство закона
- 6 Независимость
- 7 Рыночную экономику
- 8 Иное
- 88 затрудняюсь ответить

Просим Вас обозначить на 10-балльной шкале, в какой мере Вы лично доверяете нижеупомянутым институтам? "1" при этом означает, что Вы вообще не доверяете данному институту, а "10" означает по отношению к нему полное доверие. Если Вы не знакомы в достаточной мере с данным институтом, то просто укажите это и мы продолжим с последующими институтами. В КАЖДОЙ СТРОКЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ!

	Вообще не доверяю			Полностью доверяю				затрудняюсь ответить		
US1a Президент Эстонии	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1088
US1b Рийгикогу *Парламент)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1088
US1c Европейский Союз	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1088
US1d Правительство Эстонии	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1088
US1e Религиозные организации и церкви	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1088
US1f Мэр города/глава волостной управы	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1088
US1g Законодательное собрание города/волости	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1088
US1h Уездная администрация	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1088

US2a По Вашему мнению, что служит причиной низкого доверия людей к государственным институтам? ОДИН ОТВЕТ!

US2b Есть ли еще какая-либо достаточно весомая причина? ОДИН ОТВЕТ! - ERI ANKEEDID ERI JÄRJESTUSES

	US2a	US2b
Разбазаривание народных денег	1	1
Политическая коррупция	2	2
Незнание своей работы, некомпетентность политиков и чиновников	3	3
Действия политиков и чиновников, направленные на обслуживание своих личных интересов	4	4
Политики не считаются с желаниями народа	5	5
Слабое сотрудничество между политическими силами	6	6
Манипулирование информацией со стороны политиков	7	7
Недостаточная информированность народа	8	8
Распространение негативной информации журналистами	9	9
Иное, просим уточнить ...	10	10
затрудняюсь ответить	88	88

PV1 При обсуждении политических тем используются понятия "левые" и "правые". Какова Ваша позиция в этом контексте? Какое число соответствует ей в наилучшей степени на 10-балльной шкале, где "1" означает "левый", а "10" правый?

Левый	Правый	Отказ от ответа					Затрудняюсь ответить					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	0	77	88

Куда бы Вы поместили перечисляемые ниже партии на данной шкале? В КАЖДОЙ СТРОКЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ!
Левый Правый затрудняюсь
ответить

PV2a Keskerakond	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	88
PV2b Res Publica	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	88
PV2c Reformierakond	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	88
PV2d Rahvaliid	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	88
PV2e Isamaaliit	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	88
PV2f Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	88

MAJ1 Экономическое положение Эстонии по сравнению с ситуацией 12 месяцев назад в целом стало...

MAJ2 Экономическое положение в Вашем городе/волости по сравнению с ситуацией 12 месяцев назад в целом стало...

- 1 намного лучше
- 2 немного лучше
- 3 осталось прежним
- 4 немного хуже
- 5 намного хуже
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

DEM1a Насколько Вы удовлетворены функционированием демократии в Эстонии? Вы ...

DEM1b Насколько Вы удовлетворены функционированием демократии в Вашем городе/волости? Вы ...

- 1 очень удовлетворены
- 2 вполне удовлетворены
- 3 весьма не удовлетворены
- 4 вообще не удовлетворены
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

DEM2a Одобряете ли Вы деятельность нынешнего правительства Эстонии до настоящего момента?

DEM2b Одобряете ли Вы деятельность городской/волостной управы до настоящего момента?

- 1 одобряю
- 2 не одобряю
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

DEM3 Насколько Вы удовлетворены современным направлением развития Вашего города/волости?

- 1 очень удовлетворены
- 2 вполне удовлетворены
- 3 весьма не удовлетворены
- 4 вообще не удовлетворены
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

Задавая нижеприведенные вопросы, мы хотим узнать Ваше мнение о голосовании через интернет, впервые примененное в этом году.

ЕН1 Было ли Вам известно о возможности голосования через интернет на последних выборах в местные самоуправления?

- 1 Не знал(а)
- 2 Знал(а), но не было возможности проголосовать через интернет
- 3 Знал(а) и у меня была возможность проголосовать через интернет

ЕН2 По Вашему мнению, насколько велика вероятность, что на будущих выборах Вы станете голосовать через интернет?

- 1 несомненно стану
- 2 вероятно, стану
- 3 вероятно, не стану
- 4 точно не стану
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

ЕН3а Как Вы считаете, возможность голосования через интернет представляет из себя позитивный или негативный шаг в развитии демократии в Эстонии?

- 1 очень позитивный
- 2 скорее позитивный
- 3 ни позитивный, ни негативный
- 4 скорее негативный
- 5 очень негативный
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

Насколько большим Вы считаете риск, что ...

ЕН3б кому-то станет известно о том, за кого именно Вы или кто-то другой проголосовали по интернету?

ЕН3с кто-то сможет манипулировать с голосами, поданными через интернет (прибавлять или стирать голоса)?

ЕН3д система голосования через интернет станет жертвой нападения хакеров или технических проблем?

ЕН3е возможность голосования через интернет облегчит покупку голосов или иной способ воздействия на решения избирателей? (Здесь имеется в виду не Вы, а другие избиратели)

- 1 очень большой
- 2 скорее большой
- 3 скорее маленький
- 4 очень маленький
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

ЕН4 Как часто Вы обычно пользуетесь интернетом?

- 1 практически каждый день
- 2 один-два раза в неделю
- 3 один-два раза в месяц
- 4 реже
- 5 никогда

Задавая нижеприведенные вопросы, мы хотим узнать Ваше мнение о местной жизни.

КОН1 Насколько изменилось за последние три года качество услуг, оказываемых городом/волостью?

- 1 значительно ухудшилось
- 2 скорее ухудшилось
- 3 существенно не изменилось
- 4 скорее улучшилось
- 5 значительно улучшилось
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

КОН2 Как Вы сами думаете, в какой мере Вы как гражданин(-ка) можете повлиять на обустройство местной жизни со стороны городской/волостной управы?

- 1 никак не могу повлиять
- 2 скорее не могу повлиять
- 3 скорее могу повлиять
- 4 несомненно могу повлиять
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

КОН3 Какое из нижеприведенных утверждений в наибольшей мере соответствует Вашему отношению к местному бюджету?

- 1 мне совершенно неизвестна ситуация с бюджетом
- 2 мне мало известно об этом по причине недостаточности предоставленной информации
- 3 мне мало известно об этом, потому что я этим не интересуюсь
- 4 я знаком(а) с ситуацией и нахожу, что она больше соответствует интересам находящихся у власти, чем интересам народа
- 5 я знаком(а) с ситуацией и нахожу, что она соответствует нуждам города/волости
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

КОН4 Как Вы относитесь к параллельной работе депутата городского/волостного собрания в правительстве Эстонии или Рийгикогу?

- 1 отношусь положительно
- 2 отношусь нейтрально
- 3 членам местного законодательного собрания не следует параллельно входить в правительство или быть депутатами Рийгикогу
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

КОН5 Какое из нижеприведенных утверждений в наибольшей мере соответствует Вашей позиции в отношении избирательных блоков? Выберите наиболее точное соответствие.

- 1 Избирательные блоки зачастую более компетентны и мотивированы в вопросах города/волости, чем партии
- 2 Избирательные блоки создают лучшие возможности для выдвижения кандидатуры
- 3 В отличие от политических партий, избирательные блоки не несут политической ответственности за свои действия
- 4 Избирательные блоки носят временный характер и, в силу этого, ставят под угрозу стабильность развития города/волости
- 5 Наличие избирательных блоков не создает больших изменений в местной политической жизни
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

КОН6 Как Вы считаете, по сравнению с центральными органами власти у города/волости слишком много, достаточно или слишком мало власти?

- 1 Несомненно слишком много
- 2 Скорее слишком много
- 3 Достаточно
- 4 Скорее слишком мало
- 5 Несомненно слишком мало
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

КОН7 Какова Ваша позиция по вопросу об объединении местных самоуправлений?

- 1 Образование более крупных местных самоуправлений необходимо, государству следует активнее вмешиваться в этот процесс
- 2 Государству следует содействовать объединениям, но не проводить их принудительно
- 3 Объединения не нужны, более мелкие самоуправления эффективнее или же ближе к гражданам (лучше приспосабливаются, их деятельность более прозрачна)

ERA1a Как Вам кажется, Вам близка какая-либо политическая партия? Если да, то какая? ОДИН ОТВЕТ!

- 1 Keskerakond
- 2 Res Publica
- 3 Reformierakond
- 4 Rahvaliid
- 5 Isamaaliit
- 6 Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond
- 10 иная партия
- 11 не ощущаю такой близости » JÄTKA ERA2
- 88 затрудняюсь ответить » JÄTKA ERA2

ERA1b Вам представляется, что эта партия Вам очень близка, довольно близка или же Вы просто ее поддерживаете?

- 1 очень близка
- 2 довольно близка
- 3 просто поддерживаю
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

ERA2 Являетесь ли Вы в настоящее время или являлись в последние 15 лет членом какой-либо политической партии?

- 1 Нет
- 2 Был(а) раньше
- 3 Да, являюсь в настоящее время

ETN1 Кто, по-Вашему, является эстонцем? Выберите наиболее подходящий Вашему представлению ответ.

- 1 Тот, у кого по крайней мере один из родителей эстонец
- 2 Свободно говорящий по-эстонски
- 3 Имеющий эстонское гражданство
- 4 Родившийся в Эстонии и для кого эстонский язык является родным
- 5 Родившийся в Эстонии и живущий здесь всю жизнь, независимо от родного языка
- 6 Кто-то другой
- 8 Затрудняюсь ответить

ETN2 Конституция гласит, что Эстонское государство "создано на основе неустранимого права эстонского народа на самоопределение" и что оно "должно обеспечить сохранение эстонского народа и культуры на все времена". Кто, по Вашему мнению, составляет эстонский народ, на который ссылается Конституция?

- 1 Все жители Эстонии
- 2 Все жители Эстонии, имеющие эстонское гражданство
- 3 Эстонцы по национальности
- 4 Иное
- 8 Затрудняюсь ответить

ETN3 Вы считаете себя частью эстонского народа?

- 1 Да
- 2 Нет
- 8 Затрудняюсь ответить

Кем Вы ощущаете себя в первую очередь? Укажите свое первое (ETN4a) и второе (ETN4b) предпочтение:

- 1 жителем {küsitleja nimetatu valla/linna}
- 2 жителем {küsitleja nimetatu maakonna}
- 3 жителем Эстонии
- 4 эстонцем
- 5 русским
- 6 членом русской общины в Эстонии
- 7 жителем стран Балтии
- 8 балтийским русским
- 9 скандинавом
- 10 европейцем
- 11 гражданином мира
- 12 иное

ETN5 Укажите Ваше гражданство:

- 1 Эстонское, с момента рождения
- 2 Эстонское, получил(а) гражданство через процедуру натурализации
- 3 Российское
- 4 Без гражданства
- 5 Иное

В какой мере Вы владеете русским/эстонским языком? (küside vastavalt eesti- ja venekeelsele ankeedile vastajalt)

		Хорошо	Средне	Немного	Вообще не владею
ETN6a	Понимаю устную речь	1	2	3	4
ETN6b	Умею читать	1	2	3	4
ETN6c	Умею общаться	1	2	3	4
ETN6d	Умею писать	1	2	3	4

Как часто вы пользуетесь эстонским/русским языком? (küside vastavalt eesti- ja venekeelsele ankeedile vastajalt)

		Ежедневно	Еженедельно	Ежемесячно	Реже	Никогда
ETN7a	На работе	1	2	3	4	5
ETN7b	Дома или в общении со знакомыми	1	2	3	4	5
ETN7c	В магазине, на улице и т.п.	1	2	3	4	5
ETN7d	В общении с чиновниками государственных и местных органов власти	1	2	3	4	5
ETN7e	Иное	1	2	3	4	5

ETN8 Ваша национальность:

- 1 Эстонец(-ка) » edasi PF1
- 2 Русский(-ая), белорус(ка) или украинец(-ка)
- 3 Иное

ETN8a Вашего уровня владения эстонским языком Вам достаточно для жизни в Эстонии?

- 1 совершенно достаточно
- 2 в целом достаточно
- 3 в целом недостаточно

- 4 совершенно недостаточно
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

ETN8b Какое свидетельство о сдаче экзамена по знанию эстонского языка Вы имеете и каков наивысший уровень знания Вами эстонского языка? **ОДИН ВАРИАНТ ОТВЕТА.**

- 1 не было необходимости сдавать экзамен
- 2 начальный уровень или категории А или В
- 3 средний уровень или категории С или D
- 4 высший уровень или категории Е или F

PF1 По Вашему мнению, у политических партий в Эстонии в настоящее время слишком мало, достаточно или слишком много денег для своей деятельности?

- 1 слишком мало
- 2 как раз достаточно
- 3 слишком много
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

PF2 Как Вы считаете, что должно быть основным источником финансирования партий:

- 1 только частные взносы, не следует финансировать партии из государственного бюджета
- 2 в основном частные взносы
- 3 в равной мере частные взносы и государственный бюджет
- 4 в основном государственный бюджет
- 5 только государственный бюджет, партиям не следует принимать частные взносы
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

D1 Состоите ли Вы или кто-либо из Вашей семьи в профсоюзе?

- 1 да, я состою
- 2 да, кто-то в моей семье состоит
- 3 ни я, ни кто-либо из моей семьи не состоит
- 4 не состою
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

D2 Укажите уровень Вашего образования? **ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ!**

- 1 Ниже общего образования (меньше, чем 7, 8 или 9 классов)
- 2 Общее образование, незаконченная средняя школа
- 3 Профессиональное училище, не дающее среднего образования (профессиональная школа, училище)
- 4 Профессиональное училище, дающее среднее образование (учреждение среднего профессионального образования, техникум)
- 5 Обычная средняя школа, гимназия
- 6 Незаконченное высшее образование (закончено 3 курса)
- 7 Высшее образование
- 8 Научная степень, несколько высших образований

D3 Ваш пол ...

- 1 мужской
- 2 женский

D4 В каком году Вы родились?

- _____ (вписать год)
- 8888 затрудняюсь ответить

D4a В какой стране Вы родились?

- 1 в Эстонии » jätka D5
- 2 в другой стране, просим уточнить » JÄTKA D4b
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

D4b KUI MUJAL, SIIS: В каком году Вы впервые приехали в Эстонию?

_____ (вписать год)
8888 затрудняюсь ответить

D5 Сколько в Вашей семье людей (считая Вас самих)?

_____ (количество)
88 затрудняюсь ответить

D6 Каков Ваш текущий статус с точки зрения работы? Вы:

- 1 работаете самостоятельно или являетесь предпринимателем без образования юридического лица (FIE)
- 2 работаю
- 3 учусь » JÄTKA D7
- 4 выполняю домашние работы или сижу дома » JÄTKA D7
- 5 на пенсии
- 6 безработный(-ая)
- 7 иное » JÄTKA D7

NB! KUI OLETE ISEENDALE TÖÖANDJA, TÖÖTAV, TÖÖTU VÕI PENSIONIL (D6=1, 2, 5 v 6)

D6a Вы работаете или работали -

- 1 в сельском хозяйстве
- 2 на государственном промышленном предприятии
- 3 на частном промышленном предприятии
- 4 чиновником в государственном секторе
- 5 на конторской работе в частном секторе
- 6 вопрос неприменим к моей ситуации
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

D6b Какое Вы занимаете положение на рабочем месте, с которого получаете/получали наибольший доход? ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ!

- 1 Простой или квалифицированный рабочий (механик, продавец)
- 2 Служащий (секретарь, кассир)
- 3 Специалист, но не руководитель (врач, юрист)
- 4 Руководитель среднего звена: руководитель отдела в учреждении, фирме (заведующий отделом, главный инженер)
- 5 Руководитель высшего звена: руководитель учреждения, фирмы (директор, заместитель)
- 6 Владелец личного бизнеса, предприниматель (фермер, свободный профессионал)
- 7 Иное
- 8 Не работаю (пенсионер, инвалид, сижу дома, студент/учащийся, безработный)
- 88 затрудняюсь ответить

D7 Если бы Вам пришлось определить свою принадлежность к одному из пяти социальных классов, то к какому из них Вы бы отнесли себя?

- 1 рабочий класс
- 2 низший средний класс
- 3 средний класс
- 4 высший средний класс

- 5 высший слой общества
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

D8 Как Вы считаете, вы живете в сельской местности или в деревне, в маленьком или средней величины городе или в большом городе?

- 1 в сельской местности или деревне
- 2 в маленьком или средней величины городе
- 3 в большом городе
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

D9 Вы считаете себя исповедующим какую-либо религию? Если да, то какую? ОДИН ОТВЕТ!

- 1 лютеранство / протестантизм
- 2 православие
- 3 католичество
- 4 иная ветвь христианства
- 5 иудаизм
- 6 ислам
- 7 иная нехристианская религия
- 8 не исповедую
- 88 затрудняюсь ответить

D10 Как часто Вы посещаете религиозные службы?

- 1 несколько раз в неделю
- 2 раз в неделю
- 3 раз в месяц
- 4 несколько раз в год
- 5 раз в год или реже
- 6 никогда
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

D11 Независимо от того, посещаете ли Вы церковные службы, Вы считаете себя ...

- 1 верующим
- 2 неверующим
- 3 убежденным атеистом
- 8 затрудняюсь ответить

D12 Нам также необходима определенная информация о доходах в Вашей семье, чтобы проанализировать результаты опроса с точки зрения различных категорий дохода. Просим Вас сложить вместе чистые доходы всех членов Вашей семьи в месяц (т.е. после вычета налогов), включая все пенсии, социальные пособия, пособия на детей и все прочие доходы, такие как получение арендной платы от съемщиков и т.д. Разумеется, мы будем рассматривать Ваш ответ на данный вопрос, как и на все остальные вопросы, с полной конфиденциальностью. Установить какую-либо связь между Вашей семьей и данной анкетой будет невозможно. Скажите, пожалуйста, каков примерный совокупный доход Вашей семьи в месяц?

_____ эстонских крон
7777777 отказ
8888888 затрудняюсь ответить

ANNEX 5 :
Post-election survey on political participation, University of Tartu 2007

Номер анкеты

Исследование политического участия / 3-2007

Имя интервьюера _____, № удостоверения _____

<p>1. Место проведения интервью:</p> <p>1 Таллинн 2 Харьюмаа 3 Хийумаа 4 Ида-Вирумаа 5 Йыгевамаа 6 Ярвамаа 7 Ляэнемаа 8 Ляэне-Вирумаа 9 Пылвамаа 10 Пярнумаа 11 Рапламаа 12 Сааремаа 13 Тартумаа 14 Валгамаа 15 Вильяндидаа 16 Вырумаа</p>	<p>3. Район выборки _____ 4. № ПУНКТА ВЫБОРКИ _____ 5. № РЕСПОНДЕНТА _____ 6. Если интервью проводится в Таллинне, то название части города:</p> <p>1 Пыхья-Таллинн 2 Хааберсти 3 Кесклинн 4 Кристийне 5 Ласнамяэ 6 Пирита 7 Мустамяэ 8 Нымме</p> <p>8. Язык проведения интервью:</p> <p>1 эстонский 2 русский</p>
<p>2. Тип населенного пункта:</p> <p>1 столица 2 большой город (Тарту, Пярну, Нарва, Кохтла-Ярве) 3 уездный центр 4 другой город, поселок 5 сельский поселок 6 село</p>	<p>8. Дата проведения интервью _____</p> <p>9. Время начала интервью _____ час _____ мин</p>

Настоящий опрос является частью проводимого учеными по вопросам государственного управления Тартуского университета исследования политического участия, которое осуществляется по всей Эстонии в связи с недавними выборами Рийгикогу. С его помощью надеемся лучше понять происходящие в обществе процессы и отношение людей к политике. Собранные данные будут использованы только в научной статистической обработке, и они никак не будут связаны с Вашей личностью. Респонденты выбраны по принципу случайной выборки и Вы также попали в число опрошиваемых случайно.

Дополнительную информацию об опросе можно получить в отделе политологии Тартуского Университета: тел. 7 375 154 (ВЕЛЛО ПЕТТАЙ).

К 1. Насколько, по Вашему мнению, Вы интересуетесь политикой, Вы...?

- 1 очень интересуетесь
- 2 скорее интересуетесь
- 3 скорее не интересуетесь
- 4 совсем не интересуетесь
- 5 *Трудно сказать*

К 2. Сколько дней в неделю Вы обычно смотрите новости по телевизору?

_____ (запишите число от 1 до 7)
 8 *трудно сказать*

**К 3. За какими теле- и радиопередачами Вы регулярно следите?
 НЕСКОЛЬКО ОТВЕТОВ! КАРТА 1**

- 1 ЭТВ Актуальная Камера на эстонском языке
- 2 Канал 2 Репортер
- 3 ТВ3 Новости в 19 часов
- 4 ЭТВ Новости Утреннего ТВ
- 5 Актуальная Камера ЭТВ на русском языке
- 6 Новости Первого Балтийского Канала
- 7 Полуденный час (Куку Радио)
- 8 О положении в стране (Радио 2)
- 9 Слуги народа (Виккеррадио)
- 10 Какая-либо другая теле- или радиопередача (уточните)

-
- 11 Ни одной
 - 12 *Трудно сказать*
 - 13 *В поле зрения (Радио 4)?*

К 4. Сколько дней в неделю Вы читаете газеты?

_____ (запишите число от 1 до 7)
 8 *трудно сказать*

К 5. Какую газету или газеты Вы регулярно читаете? НЕСКОЛЬКО ОТВЕТОВ! КАРТА 1В

- 1 Postimees
- 2 Eesti Päevaleht
- 3 SL Õhtuleht
- 4 Äripäev
- 5 Молодежь Эстонии
- 6 Вести Дня
- 7 День за Днем
- 8 Eesti Ekspress
- 9 Maaleht
- 10 Kesknädal
- 11 Местная газета (уездная, городская или волостная газета)
- 12 Другая газета (уточните, какая) _____
- 13 Не читает ни одной
- 14 *трудно сказать*

Как часто Вы перед нынешними выборами Рийгигогу занимались следующим? Как часто Вы ...
 В КАЖДОМ РЯДУ ОДИН ОТВЕТ!

часто	иногда	никогда	3.0.
-------	--------	---------	------

К 6	смотрели предвыборные телепередачи?	1	2	3	8
К 7	знакомились с газетами или предвыборными материалами партий?	1	2	3	8
К 8	читали о выборах в других газетах?	1	2	3	8
К 9	слушали предвыборные передачи по радио?	1	2	3	8
К 10	говорили с друзьями или семьей о выборах?	1	2	3	8
К 11	принимали участие в предвыборных обществен-ных собраниях или мероприятиях кампании?	1	2	3	8
К 12	посещали страницы интернета, касающиеся выборов?	1	2	3	8

К 13. С 2005 года в Эстонии действует запрет на т.н. уличную рекламу. Это значит, что за 40 дней до выборов на стенах зданий, сооружений, на общественном транспорте больше не должно быть предвыборной рекламы. Насколько Вы довольны этим порядком?

- 1 очень доволен
- 2 вполне доволен
- 3 не очень доволен
- 4 совсем не доволен
- 5 трудно сказать

К 14. 4-го марта этого года состоялись выборы Рийгикогу. Вы на них голосовали?

- 1 Да
- 2 Нет → ПЕРЕХОД К ВОПРОСУ К 22

НА ВОПРОСЫ 15-21 ОТВЕЧАЮТ ТОЛЬКО УЧАСТВОВАВШИЕ В ПОСЛЕДНИХ ВЫБОРАХ

К 15. Каким именно образом Вы голосовали?

- 1 в день выборов в избирательном участке
- 2 на предварительном голосовании в участке
- 3 через интернет
- 4 каким-то другим образом

ВОПРОСЫ К15А И К15В ЗАДАВАТЬ ТОЛЬКО ГОЛОСОВАВШИМ В ИНТЕРНЕТЕ (К 15, ОТВЕТ 3), С ОСТАЛЬНЫМИ ПЕРЕХОДИТЬ К ВОПРОСУ К16.

К 15А: Где Вы воспользовались электронным голосованием?

- 1 Дома
- 2 На работе
- 3 В общественном интернет-пункте
- 4 В другом месте

К15В: При голосовании Вы были за компьютером в одиночестве?

- 1 Да
- 2 Нет

К 16. За кандидата какой партии Вы отдали свой голос на выборах Рийгикогу в марте 2007 г.? **ОДИН ОТВЕТ, КАРТА 2**

- 1 Союз Isamaa и Res Publica
- 2 Народный Союз Эстонии

- 3 Партия реформ
- 4 Социал-демократическая партия
- 5 Центристская партия
- 6 Зеленые Эстонии
- 7 Конституционная партия
- 8 Христианские Демократы
- 9 Партия независимости
- 10 Левая партия
- 11 Русская партия в Эстонии
- 12 Независимый кандидат
- 13 *Не хочет отвечать*

К 17. Что в Вашем выборе более важным - личность кандидата или партия? ОДИН ОТВЕТ

- 1 В основном личность кандидата
- 2 В равной мере и личность кандидата, и партия
- 3 В основном партия

К 18. Что было решающим при Вашем выборе? Это... ОДИН ОТВЕТ, КАРТА 3

К 19. Еще какое-нибудь соображение было достаточно важным? ОДИН ОТВЕТ, КАРТА 3

	К 18. ОДИН ОТВЕТ	К 19. ОДИН ОТВЕТ
Политические воззрения партии/кандидата	1	1
Взгляды партии/кандидата в местной политике	2	2
Прежняя деятельность кандидата в местной политике	3	3
Прежняя деятельность кандидата в государственной политике	4	4
Предвыборная кампания	5	5
Симпатия к кандидату	6	6
Национальность кандидата	7	7
Пол кандидата	8	8
Влияние друзей или знакомых	9	9
<i>Трудно сказать</i>	10	10

К 20. У людей бывают разные причины для голосования на выборах. Какой была основная причина того, что Вы в этот раз участвовали в голосовании на выборах Рийгикогу? Прежде, чем дадите ответ, прочитайте, пожалуйста, все причины! ОДИН ОТВЕТ, КАРТА 4

К 21. Еще какая-нибудь причина была достаточно важной? ОДИН ОТВЕТ, КАРТА 4

	К 20. ОДИН ОТВЕТ	К 21. ОДИН ОТВЕТ
Участие в голосовании вызывает во мне чувство, что я являюсь частью своей страны	1	1
Влияние предвыборной кампании	2	2
Желание участвовать в выборе тех, кто будет руководить государственной и местной жизнью	3	3
Через участие в голосовании могу повлиять на общественные процессы	4	4
Желание отдать голос за определенного кандидата	5	5
Желание отдать голос за определенную партию	6	6
Проголосовав, имею больше оснований требовать от политиков выполнения данных обещаний	7	7

Из чувства долга, т.к. голосование на выборах – долг каждого гражданина	8	8
Для меня это одна из возможностей выразить свои убеждения	9	9
По мнению членов семьи или друзей не годится не ходить на выборы	10	10
Я всегда ходил(а) на выборы и собираюсь и впредь ходить голосовать	11	11
Какая-то другая причина	12	12

ДЛЯ НЕ УЧАСТВОВАВШИХ В ВЫБОРАХ (К 14, ОТВЕТ 2)

К 22. У людей бывают разные причины не голосовать на выборах. Какой была основная причина того, что Вы на этот раз не голосовали на выборах Рийгигогу? Прежде, чем дадите ответ, прочитайте, пожалуйста, все причины! ОДИН ОТВЕТ, КАРТА 5

К 23. Была еще какая-нибудь существенная причина? ОДИН ОТВЕТ, КАРТА 5

	К 22. ОДИН ОТВЕТ	К 23. ОДИН ОТВЕТ
У меня не было права голоса	1	1
Я не участвовал по служебным обстоятельствам (был в командировке, на дежурстве, ...)	2	2
Мой голос все равно ничего бы не решил	3	3
Я не понял, как голоса избирателей распределялись между кандидатами	4	4
Я не доверял Рийгигогу	5	5
Я не доверял партиям	6	6
Меня не интересует политика	7	7
Я не нашел подходящего мне кандидата	8	8
Я разочаровался в политике	9	9
Я не пошел голосовать из-за плохой погоды	10	10
Я не пошел на выборы по состоянию здоровья	11	11
Какая-то другая причина	12	12

ОТВЕЧАЮТ ВСЕ!

Для простого гражданина самым обычным способом участия в политике является голосование на выборах. В каких из прошлых выборов Вы принимали участие?

	участвовал	не участвовал	не помню
К 24. Выборы советов местных самоуправлений в 2005	1	2	3
К 25. Выборы Европейского парламента в 2004 году	1	2	3
К 26. Выборы Рийгигогу в 2003 году	1	2	3

ЕСЛИ РЕСПОНДЕНТ УЧАСТВОВАЛ В ВЫБОРАХ РИЙГИГОГУ И В 2003 ГОДУ (К26=1) ТО ПРОДОЛЖАЙТЕ (ОСТАЛЬНЫМ -> К28):

К 27. За какую партию Вы голосовали на выборах Рийгигогу в 2003 году? КАРТА 6

- 1 Центристская партия
- 2 Res Publica
- 3 Партия реформ
- 4 Народный Союз Эстонии
- 5 Союз Отечества (Isamaaliit)
- 6 Умеренные (теперь Социал-демократическая партия)
- 7 Объединенная народная партия Эстонии (ОНПЭ)
- 8 Христианские Демократы
- 9 Партия независимости
- 10 Социал-Демократическая партия труда (теперь Левая партия)

- 11 Русская партия в Эстонии
- 12 Независимый кандидат
- 13 Не заполнил бюллетень/ испортил бюллетень
- 14 Не помню/ не знаю

ОТВЕЧАЮТ ВСЕ

В обществе много различных ценностей, к которым стремятся люди. Какие из следующих ценностей для Вас являются самыми важными? Выберите, пожалуйста, три! - КАРТА 7 А, В, С, D (NB! РОТАЦИЯ)

К 28 (ЗАПИШИТЕ НОМЕР)

К 29..... (ЗАПИШИТЕ НОМЕР)

К 30 (ЗАПИШИТЕ НОМЕР)

- 1 Экономическое обеспечение себя и близких
- 2 Государственная безопасность и правопорядок
- 3 Качественное образование и возможности для переобучения и повышения квалификации
- 4 Защита эстонской нации и культуры
- 5 Ограничение имущественного расслоения общества
- 6 Равноправие полов
- 7 Создание действенной и качественной системы здравоохранения
- 8 Обеспечение самостоятельности и суверенитета Эстонии
- 9 Демократические права и свободы, в т.ч. привлечение к участию в принятии решений
- 10 Обеспеченность работой и возможность получать за сделанную работу достойную плату
- 11 Свободные возможности для самореализации и карьеры
- 12 Укрепление чувства общности и солидарности в обществе
- 13 Интеграция Эстонии в международную жизнь
- 14 Что-то другое
- 15 *Трудно сказать*

Хотя голосование на выборах является для простого гражданина самым обычным способом участия в политике, есть еще много других возможностей повлиять на жизнь общества и политические решения. Приходилось ли Вам в течение последнего года ... ЗАЧИТЫВАЙТЕ ВАРИАНТЫ ПО ОДНОМУ И ОТМЕЧАЙТЕ ОТВЕТ В КАЖДОМ РЯДУ

	да	нет
К 31. читать в газетах статьи и новости на общественные темы	1	2
К 32. слушать по радио и смотреть на ТВ передачи и новости на общественные темы	1	2
К 33. обсуждать с друзьями и знакомыми общественные проблемы и события	1	2
К 34. писать в прессу (письмо читателя или статью в рубрику «Мнение»)	1	2
К 35. подписывать какое-нибудь обращение или открытое письмо	1	2
К 36. участвовать в народном собрании, где обсуждается какой-то вопрос	1	2
К 37. выступать с заранее подготовленной речью на народном собрании, митинге	1	2
К 38. участвовать в марше протеста, пикете, забастовке	1	2
К 39. участвовать в каком-то незаконном мероприятии (например, в незарегистрированной демонстрации, блокировании улицы или здания)	1	2
К 40. участвовать в организованной партией кампании, в подготовке или распространении материалов	1	2

К 41. покупать какое-то изделие, вещь или услугу с целью поддержки какого-то мероприятия, достижения какой-то цели	1	2
К 42. поддерживать какую-либо партию материально, финансово	1	2
К 43. баллотироваться на выборах в местные органы или в Рийгикогу	1	2
К 44. работать вместе с другими над решением какой-то местной проблемы (проблемы места жительства)	1	2
К 45. быть кандидатом или принадлежать к числу членов правления, предводителей какого-то объединения	1	2
К 46. подавать исковое заявление в суд	1	2
К 47. писать, звонить представителям центральной власти, встречаться с ними	1	2
К 48. писать, звонить работникам местного самоуправления, встречаться с ними	1	2
К 49. для проявления протеста, неудовлетворенности не голосовать на выборах в местные органы или Рийгикогу	1	2
К 50. из чувства протеста, неудовлетворенности отказаться от покупки какой-то услуги или изделия	1	2
К 51. использовать интернет в связи с каким-то из перечисленных выше действий	1	2

Теперь зачитаю Вам семь точек зрения, которые иногда представляют люди. Скажите, пожалуйста, насколько Вы согласны с этими мнениями. КАРТА 8

	Совершен-но согласен	Скорее согласен	Скорее не согласен	Совсем не согласен	<i>Трудно сказать</i>
К 52. Политика часто настолько сложна, что простые люди не понимают, что происходит	1	2	3	4	8
К 53. Я не верю, что политики считаются с тем, что считают такие люди, как я	1	2	3	4	8
К 54. Дела в стране пошли бы лучше, если бы был один сильный руководитель, который не должен считаться с парламентом и партиями, а может быстро и решительно принимать решения	1	2	3	4	8
К 55. Большинству людей можно доверять	1	2	3	4	8
К 56. Если сам за себя не постоишь, другие используют тебя для достижения своих целей	1	2	3	4	8
К 57. Люди сотрудничают только в том случае, если получают от этого личную пользу	1	2	3	4	8
К 58. Дела в стране пошли бы лучше, если бы мужчин и женщин было в политике поровну	1	2	3	4	8

К 59. Как Вы считаете, жизнь в Эстонии в целом идет по направлению к лучшему или к худшему?

- 1 Определенно к лучшему
- 2 Скорее к лучшему

- 3 Скорее к худшему
- 4 Определенно к худшему
- 5 *Трудно сказать*

К 60. Насколько Вы в целом довольны тем, как осуществляется демократия в Эстонии?

- 1 очень доволен
- 2 вполне доволен
- 3 не очень доволен
- 4 совсем не доволен
- 5 *трудно сказать*

Насколько Вы доверяете государственным учреждениям Эстонии и другим общественным институтам? Если Вы о каком-то институте недостаточно хорошо знаете, скажите об этом и перейдем к следующему. **ОДИН ОТВЕТ В КАЖДОМ РЯДУ! КАРТА 9**

	Полностью доверяю	Скорее доверяю	Скорее не доверяю	Совсем не доверяю	<i>Трудно сказать</i>
К 61. Президент	1	2	3	4	5
К 62. Рийгикогу	1	2	3	4	5
К 63. Правительство Республики	1	2	3	4	5
К 64. Суды	1	2	3	4	5
К 65. Канцлер права	1	2	3	4	5
К 66. Журналистика	1	2	3	4	5
К 67. Европейский Союз	1	2	3	4	5

Что, по Вашему мнению, уменьшает доверие людей к государственным институтам? Оцените, пожалуйста, каждый фактор в отдельности.

ОДИН ОТВЕТ В КАЖДОМ РЯДУ! ЗАЧИТАЙТЕ ПО ОДНОМУ!

	Сущест- венно уменьшает	Несколько уменьшает	Особенно не уменьшает
К 68. Некомпетентность политиков и чиновников	1	2	3
К 69. Неэффективность, разбазаривание народных денег	1	2	3
К 70. Политики и чиновники действуют в своих частных интересах	1	2	3
К 71. Политическая коррупция	1	2	3
К 72. Политические скандалы	1	2	3
К 73. Система выборов, недостаточно учитывающая волю народа	1	2	3
К 74. Связи между политической властью и миром бизнеса	1	2	3
К 75. Отсутствует сотрудничество между политическими силами	1	2	3
К 76. Законы и постановления плохо сформулированы, дают возможность найти лазейки	1	2	3
К 77. Связь между политической властью и преступным миром	1	2	3
К 78. Политики не считаются с волей народа	1	2	3
К 79. Политики манипулируют информацией	1	2	3
К 80. Неинформированность и неосведомленность самих	1	2	3

людей			
К 81. Влияние журналистики, усиление ею негативной информации	1	2	3
К 82. Что-то другое, уточните	1	2	3

Теперь хотелось бы узнать Ваше мнение о примененном нынче во второй раз голосовании в интернете.

К 83. Знали ли Вы о возможности голосования через интернет на последних выборах Рийгикогу?

- 1 Не знал
- 2 Знал, но не было возможности голосовать через интернет
- 3 Знал и имел возможность голосовать через интернет

К 84. Насколько вероятным Вы считаете, что в будущем будете голосовать на выборах посредством интернета?

- 1 Обязательно буду
- 2 Вероятно, буду
- 3 Вероятно, нет
- 4 Определенно нет
- 5 *Трудно сказать*

К 85. Как Вы находите, возможность голосовать через интернет является положительным или отрицательным шагом для демократии Эстонии?

- 1 Определенно положительный
- 2 Скорее положительный
- 3 Ни положительный, ни отрицательный
- 4 Скорее отрицательный
- 5 Определенно отрицательный
- 6 *Трудно сказать*

К 86. Насколько часто Вы обычно пользуетесь интернетом?

- 1 Практически каждый день
- 2 Пару раз в неделю
- 3 Пару раз в месяц
- 4 Реже
- 5 Никогда

Насколько велик, по Вашему мнению, риск, что ...

	Очень велик	Скорее велик	Скорее мал	Очень мал	<i>Трудно сказать</i>
К87 ... кто-то узнает, кому Вы или кто-то другой отдали свой голос через интернет?	1	2	3	4	8
К88... кто-то может манипулировать поданными через интернет голосами (добавлять или гасить голоса)?	1	2	3	4	8
К89 ... система голосования через интернет станет жертвой нападения хакеров или технических проблем?	1	2	3	4	8

К90 ... возможность голосовать через интернет увеличивает риск покупки голосов или влияния на избирателей другими способами? (Имеетесь в виду не Вы, а другие избиратели)

1

2

3

4

8

К 91. Как Вы считаете, принадлежность Эстонии к Европейскому Союзу, это хорошо, плохо или ни хорошо, ни плохо?

1 хорошо

2 плохо

3 ни хорошо, ни плохо

4 *трудно сказать*

К 92. Если Вы участвовали в 2004 году в выборах европейского парламента, то помните ли Вы, за какую партию Вы тогда голосовали? (С УЧЕТОМ ОТВЕТА НА РАНЕЕ ЗАДАННЫЙ ВОПРОС К25 НЕУЧАСТИЕ МОЖЕТЕ ОТМЕТИТЬ САМИ). КАРТА 10

1 Социал-демократическая партия

2 Центристская партия

3 Партия реформ

4 Союз Отечества (Isamaaliit)

5 Народный Союз Эстонии

6 Res Publica

7 Демократическая партия

8 Партия пенсионеров

9 Социал-демократическая рабочая партия

10 Русская партия в Эстонии

11 Независимый кандидат

12 Не заполнил бюллетень / испортил бюллетень

13 Не голосовал

14 Не помнит / не знает

К 93. По мнению некоторых объединение Европы следует продолжать. По мнению других оно и так уже слишком далеко зашло. Какое число по 10-балльной шкале, где 1 значит “слишком далеко зашло” и 10 - “следует продолжать” лучше всего выражает Ваше мнение?

КАРТА 11. ОТМЕТЬТЕ НОМЕР С КАРТЫ.

98 отказ от ответа

99 трудно сказать

К 94. Насколько Вы верите, что принятые Европейским Союзом решения отвечают интересам Эстонии?

1 твердо верю

2 скорее верю

3 скорее не верю

4 совсем не верю

5 *трудно сказать*

К 95. Насколько Вы верите, что принятые Европейским Союзом решения отвечают интересам таких людей, как Вы?

1 твердо верю

2 скорее верю

3 скорее не верю

- 4 совсем не верю
- 5 трудно сказать

К 96. Насколько Вы довольны общим осуществлением демократии в Европейском Союзе? Вы им ...

- 1 очень довольны
- 2 вполне довольны
- 3 не очень довольны
- 4 совсем не довольны
- 5 трудно сказать

К97. Говоря о политике, используются понятия “правые” и “левые”. Какова Ваша позиция? Какое число по 10-балльной шкале, где 1 обозначает “левых” и 10 - “правых” лучше всего выражает Ваши взгляды? КАРТА 12. ОТМЕТЬТЕ НОМЕР С КАРТЫ.

- 98 отказ от ответа
- 99 трудно сказать

К98. Вы ощущаете, что Вам близка какая-то партия? Если да, то какая? ОДИН ОТВЕТ! ПОЖАЛУЙСТА, НЕ ИСПОЛЬЗУЙТЕ КАРТУ!

- 1. Союз Isamaa и Res Publica
- 2. Народный Союз Эстонии
- 3. Партия реформ
- 4. Социал-демократическая партия
- 5. Центристская партия
- 6. Зеленые Эстонии
- 7. Конституционная партия
- 8. Христианские Демократы
- 9. Партия независимости
- 10. Левая партия
- 11. Русская партия в Эстонии
- 12. Независимый кандидат
- 13. не желает отвечать
- 14. не чувствует близости ни к одной из партий → ПЕРЕХОД К ВОПРОС. К100
- 15. трудно сказать → ПЕРЕХОД К ВОПРОС. К100

К 99. Вы чувствуете, что с этой партией ...

- 1 очень близки
- 2 довольно близки
- 3 просто сторонник
- 4 трудно сказать

Членом каких из следующих организаций Вы являетесь, в деятельности каких организаций принимаете участие? ПОКАЖИТЕ КАРТУ 13

	Не связан	Участвую случайно в мероприятиях, собраниях	Участвую регулярно в мероприятиях, собраниях	Вхожу в правление, в число руководства
К100 Профессиональные организации (профсоюзы, союзы по специальности)	1	2	3	4
К101 Объединения по интересам, клубы увлечений (в т.ч. культура, спорт)	1	2	3	4

К102 Религиозные объединения, церковные приходы	1	2	3	4
К102 Товарищества недвижимости, объединения арендаторов/ собственников	1	2	3	4
К103 Общественные группы по интересам (организации семей, пенсионеров, детей, национальных меньшинств, людей с недостатками)	1	2	3	4
К104 Общественные защитные организации (защита потребителя, охрана природы, защита старины)	1	2	3	4
К105 Организации государственной обороны и граждановедения (кайтселийт, скауты, гайды)	1	2	3	4
К106 Молодежные организации (в т.ч. ученические и студенческие союзы, корпорации)	1	2	3	4
К107 Другие организации (какие)	1	2	3	4

ДАННЫЕ РЕСПОНДЕНТА

К108. Каков уровень Вашего образования? ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ, КАРТА 14

- 1 Меньше чем основное (меньше 9 классов)
- 2 Основная школа, незаконченное среднее образование
- 3 Профессиональное училище, не дающее среднего образования (профтехучилище, ремесленное училище)
- 4 Профессиональное училище, дающее среднее образование (среднее профессиональное училище, техникум)
- 5 Обычная средняя школа, гимназия
- 6 Незаконченное высшее образование
- 7 Высшее образование
- 8 Ученая степень, несколько высших образований

К109. ПОЛ РЕСПОНДЕНТА

- 1 мужской
- 2 женский

К110. В каком году Вы родились?

_____ (запишите год)
 9999 трудно сказать

К 111. Ваша национальность

- 1 Эстонец
- 2 Русский, белорус, украинец
- 3 Другая

К112. Сколько человек в Вашей семье (вместе с Вами)?

_____ (число)
 99 трудно сказать

К 113. Каков сейчас Ваш статус на работе? Вы:

- 1 сам себе работодатель или предприниматель – физическое лицо
- 2 работаете
- 3 учитесь → ПЕРЕХОД К ВОПРОСУ К 116
- 4 работаете в своем хозяйстве или домохозяйка (домохозяин) → ПЕРЕХОД К ВОПРОСУ К 116
- 5 на пенсии
- 6 безработный
- 7 другое → ПЕРЕХОД К ВОПРОСУ К 116

NB! ЕСЛИ ЯВЛЯЕТСЯ САМ СЕБЕ РАБОТОДАТЕЛЕМ, РАБОТАЕТ, БЕЗРАБОТНЫЙ ИЛИ НА ПЕНСИИ (К113=1, 2, 5 ИЛИ 6)

К 114. Вы работаете или работали ...

- 1 в сельском хозяйстве
- 2 в государственной промышленности
- 3 в частной сфере в промышленности
- 4 в общественной сфере служащим
- 5 в частной сфере служащим
- 6 не работал
- 7 трудно сказать

К 115. Какой является (была) Ваша позиция на той работе, где Вы получаете (получали) наибольший доход? ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ!

- 1 Разнорабочий или квалифицированный рабочий (механик, продавец)
- 2 Служащий, конторский служащий (секретарь, кассир)
- 3 Специалист, но не руководитель (врач, юрист)
- 4 Руководитель среднего звена: руководитель какого-то подразделения учреждения, предприятия (заведующий отделом, главный инженер)
- 5 Руководитель высшего звена: руководитель учреждения, предприятия (директор, заместитель)
- 6 Руководитель личного бизнеса, предприниматель (хуторянин, лицо свободной профессии)
- 7 Другое
- 8 Не работаю (пенсионер, инвалид, домохозяйка, учащийся, студент, безработный)
- 9 Трудно сказать

ОТВЕЧАЮТ ВСЕ!

К 116. Вы находите, что живете в деревне или селе, в маленьком или среднем городе или в большом городе?

- 1 деревня или село
- 2 маленький или средний город
- 3 большой город
- 4 трудно сказать

К 117. Вы считаете, что принадлежите к какой-то вере? Если да, то к какой? ОДИН ОТВЕТ, КАРТА 15

- 1 лютеранство / протестантство
- 2 православие
- 3 католичество
- 4 другое христианство
- 5 иудаизм
- 6 ислам
- 7 другая нехристианская вера

8 ни одной
9 трудно сказать

К 118. Независимо от того, ходите ли Вы на богослужения, считаете ли Вы себя ...

1 верующим
2 неверующим
3 убежденным атеистом
4 трудно сказать

К 119. Нам также нужна некоторая информация о доходах Вашей семьи, чтобы проанализировать результаты опроса в разрезе разных типов семей. Сложите, пожалуйста, нетто-доходы всех членов Вашей семьи в месяц , (т.е. после вычета налогов) – в т.ч. все пенсии, социальные пособия, детские пособия, различные прочие доходы, например, за аренду и т.п. Естественно, обрабатывать Ваш ответ, как и ответы всех других, будем конфиденциально, и установить Вашу семью задним числом невозможно. Могли бы Вы сказать, каков примерный доход Вашей семьи в месяц?

_____ ЕЕК

8888888 отказ от ответа

9999999 трудно сказать

Q2a. На Ваш взгляд, какая наиболее важная политическая проблема стоит перед Эстонией сегодня? ЗАПИШИТЕ ОТВЕТ ДОСЛОВНО.

997. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА → ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К Q4

998. НЕ ЗНАЕТ → ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К Q4

Q2b. Какая из политических проблем, стоящих перед Эстонией сегодня, является второй по значимости? ЗАПИШИТЕ ОТВЕТ ДОСЛОВНО.

997. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА

998. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q3a. Если вернуться к наиболее важной политической проблеме, стоящей перед Эстонией сегодня, как Вы считаете, какая из партий решит данную проблему наилучшим образом? ПАРТИИ НЕ ЗАЧИТЫВАТЬ! ПРИ НЕОБХОДИМОСТИ ЗАЧИТАЙТЕ РЕСПОНДЕНТУ ЕГО ОТВЕТ НА Q2a. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. Партия Зеленые Эстонии – *Erakond Eestimaa Rohelised*
2. Партия Союз Исамаа и Республика – *Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit*
3. Социал-демократическая Партия Эстонии – *Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond*
4. Партия Реформ Эстонии – *Eesti Reformierakond*
5. Центристская Партия Эстонии – *Eesti Keskerakond*
6. Русская Партия Эстонии – *Vene Erakond Eestis*
7. Эстонская Партия Независимости – *Eesti Iseseisvuspartei*
8. Народный Союз Эстонии – *Eestimaa Rahvaliid*
9. Партия Христианские Демократы Эстонии – *Erakond Eesti Kristlikud Demokraadid*
10. Другая партия, какая? ЗАПИШИТЕ: _____
11. Независимый кандидат, кто? ЗАПИШИТЕ: _____
96. Ни одна из партий
97. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
98. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

ВОПРОС Q3b СПРОСИТЕ, ЕСЛИ РЕСПОНДЕНТ НАЗВАЛ КАКУЮ-ЛИБО ПРОБЛЕМУ В Q2b. ОСТАЛЬНЫЕ ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К Q4.

Q3b. Если вернуться ко второй по значимости политической проблеме, стоящей перед Эстонией сегодня, как Вы считаете, какая из партий решит данную проблему наилучшим образом? ПАРТИИ НЕ ЗАЧИТЫВАТЬ! ПРИ НЕОБХОДИМОСТИ ЗАЧИТАЙТЕ РЕСПОНДЕНТУ ЕГО ОТВЕТ НА Q2b. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. Партия Зеленые Эстонии – *Erakond Eestimaa Rohelised*
2. Партия Союз Исамаа и Республика – *Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit*
3. Социал-демократическая Партия Эстонии – *Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond*
4. Партия Реформ Эстонии – *Eesti Reformierakond*
5. Центристская Партия Эстонии – *Eesti Keskerakond*
6. Русская Партия Эстонии – *Vene Erakond Eestis*
7. Эстонская Партия Независимости – *Eesti Iseseisvuspartei*
8. Народный Союз Эстонии – *Eestimaa Rahvaliid*
9. Партия Христианские Демократы Эстонии – *Erakond Eesti Kristlikud Demokraadid*
10. Другая партия, какая? ЗАПИШИТЕ: _____
11. Независимый кандидат, кто? ЗАПИШИТЕ: _____

- 96. Ни одна из партий
- 97. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
- 98. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

СПРОСИТЬ У ВСЕХ

Q4. Некоторые люди считают, что нет никакой разницы в том, кто стоит у власти. Другие полагают, что есть большая разница в том, кто стоит у власти. Используя шкалу, представленную на этой карточке, где **ОДИН** означает, что нет никакой разницы в том, кто стоит у власти и **ПЯТЬ** означает, что есть большая разница в том, кто стоит у власти, куда бы Вы себя поместили? **ПОКАЖИТЕ КАРТОЧКУ Q4. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ.**

- 1. Нет никакой разницы в том, кто стоит у власти
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5. Есть большая разница в том, кто стоит у власти
- 7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
- 8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q5. Некоторые люди считают, что неважно, за кого голосуют люди, т.к. это никак не влияет на происходящее. Другие полагают, что то, как голосуют люди, может существенно повлиять на происходящее. Используя шкалу, представленную на этой карточке, где **ОДИН** означает, что то, как голосуют люди, никак не влияет на происходящее и **ПЯТЬ** означает, что то, как голосуют люди, существенно влияет на происходящее, куда бы Вы себя поместили? **ПОКАЖИТЕ КАРТОЧКУ Q5. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ.**

- 1. То, как голосуют люди, не влияет на происходящее
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5. То, как голосуют люди, существенно влияет на происходящее
- 7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
- 8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q6. Говоря о работе правительства в целом, как Вы считаете, насколько хорошо или плохо справлялось правительство со своими обязанностями на протяжении последних четырех лет? Справлялось ли правительство с обязанностями очень хорошо, хорошо, плохо или очень плохо? **ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.**

- 1. Справлялось очень хорошо
- 2. Справлялось хорошо
- 3. Справлялось плохо
- 4. Справлялось очень плохо
- 7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
- 8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q7. Считаете ли Вы, что какая-либо из политических партий в Эстонии представляет Ваши взгляды сравнительно хорошо? **ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.**

- Да	1	→ СПРОСИТЕ Q7a
- Нет	5	→ ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К Q8
ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	7	
НЕ ЗНАЮ	8	

Q7a. Какая из партий представляет Ваши взгляды наилучшим образом? ПАРТИИ НЕ ЗАЧИТЫВАТЬ! ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. Партия Зеленые Эстонии – *Erakond Eestimaa Rohelised*
 2. Партия Союз Исамаа и Республика – *Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit*
 3. Социал-демократическая Партия Эстонии – *Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond*
 4. Партия Реформ Эстонии – *Eesti Reformierakond*
 5. Центристская Партия Эстонии – *Eesti Keskerakond*
 6. Русская Партия Эстонии – *Vene Erakond Eestis*
 7. Эстонская Партия Независимости – *Eesti Iseseisvuspartei*
 8. Народный Союз Эстонии – *Eestimaa Rahvaliid*
 9. Партия Христианские Демократы Эстонии – *Erakond Eesti Kristlikud Demokraadid*
 10. Другая партия, какая? ЗАПИШИТЕ: _____
96. Ни одна из партий
97. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
98. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

СПРОСИТЬ У ВСЕХ

Q8. Вне зависимости от того, как Вы относитесь к партиям, был ли на последних выборах лидер партии, который представлял Ваши взгляды сравнительно хорошо? ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

- Да	1	→ СПРОСИТЕ Q8a
- Нет	2	→ ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К Q9
ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	7	
НЕ ЗНАЮ	8	

Q8a. Кто из партийных лидеров представляет Ваши взгляды наилучшим образом? НЕ ЗАЧИТЫВАТЬ! ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ. ЕСЛИ РЕСПОНДЕНТ НАЗОВЁТ ДРУГОЕ ИМЯ ИЛИ ТОЛЬКО НАЗВАНИЕ ПАРТИИ, ТО ОТМЕТЬТЕ КОД «10» И ЗАПИШИТЕ ЕГО ОТВЕТ.

1. Алексей Лотман
 2. Март Лаар
 3. Свен Миксер
 4. Андрус Ансип
 5. Эдгар Сависаар
 6. Станислав Черепанов
 7. Велло Лейто
 8. Андрус Блок
 9. Пеэтер Высу
 10. Другой, кто? ЗАПИШИТЕ: _____
97. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
98. НЕ ЗНАЮ

СПРОСИТЬ У ВСЕХ

Q9. Меня интересует Ваше мнение о каждой из политических партий Эстонии. Сейчас я прочитаю Вам список партий и попрошу дать им оценку от 0 до 10, где «0» означает, что эта партия Вам «очень не нравится» и «10» означает, что эта партия Вам «очень нравится». Если я назову партию, о которой Вы не слышали или знаете о ней недостаточно, скажите об этом. ПОКАЖИТЕ КАРТОЧКУ Q9-Q10. ЗАЧИТАЙТЕ КАТЕГОРИИ A-F В РАЗНОМ ПОРЯДКЕ ДЛЯ КАЖДОГО СЛЕДУЮЩЕГО РЕСПОНДЕНТА. ОДИН ОТВЕТ В КАЖДОМ РЯДУ.

	очень не нравится											очень нравится	НЕ СЛЫШАЛ О ТАКОЙ ПАРТИИ	ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	НЕ ЗНАЕТ О ПАРТИИ ДОСТАТОЧНО / НЕ МОЖЕТ ДАТЬ ОЦЕНКУ
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				
а. Партия Зеленые Эстонии	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	97	98	
б. Союз Исамаа и Республика	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	97	98	
с. Социал-демократическая Партия	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	97	98	
д. Партия Реформ	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	97	98	
е. Центристская Партия	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	97	98	
ф. Народный Союз Эстонии	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	97	98	

Q10. А что Вы думаете о лидерах политических партий? Сейчас я прочитаю Вам список лидеров партий и попрошу дать им оценку от 0 до 10, где «0» означает, что этот лидер Вам «очень не нравится» и «10» означает, что этот лидер Вам «очень нравится». Если я назову лидера партии, о котором Вы не слышали или знаете о нем недостаточно, скажите об этом. КАРТОЧКА Q9-Q10. ЗАЧИТАЙТЕ КАТЕГОРИИ А-F В РАЗНОМ ПОРЯДКЕ ДЛЯ КАЖДОГО СЛЕДУЮЩЕГО РЕСПОНДЕНТА. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ В КАЖДОМ РЯДУ.

	очень не нравится											очень нравится	НЕ СЛЫШАЛ О ТАКОМ ЛИДЕРЕ	ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	НЕ ЗНАЕТ О ЛИДЕРЕ ДОСТАТОЧНО / НЕ МОЖЕТ ДАТЬ ОЦЕНКУ
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				
а. Алексей Лотман	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	97	98	
б. Март Лаар	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	97	98	
с. Свен Миксер	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	97	98	
д. Андрус Ансип	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	97	98	
е. Эдгар Сависаар	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	97	98	
ф. Андрус Блок	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	96	97	98	

Q11. В политике нередко говорят о «левых» и «правых». Куда бы Вы поместили следующие партии на шкале от 0 до 10, где «0» означает «левые» и «10» означает «правые»? ПОКАЖИТЕ КАРТОЧКУ Q11-Q13. ЗАЧИТАЙТЕ КАТЕГОРИИ А-F В РАЗНОМ ПОРЯДКЕ ДЛЯ КАЖДОГО СЛЕДУЮЩЕГО РЕСПОНДЕНТА. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ В КАЖДОМ РЯДУ.

	0 левые											10 правые											НЕ СЛЫШАЛ О ТАКОЙ ШКАЛЕ	НЕ СЛЫШАЛ О ПАРТИИ	ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	НЕ МОЖЕТ ПОМЕСТИТЬ
а. Партия Зеленые Эстонии	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	95	96	97	98
б. Союз Исамаа и Республика	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	95	96	97	98
в. Социал-демократическая Партия	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	95	96	97	98
г. Партия Реформ	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	95	96	97	98
д. Центристская Партия	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	95	96	97	98
е. Народный Союз Эстонии	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	95	96	97	98

Q12. Используя все эту же шкалу, куда Вы поместили следующих лидеров партий? КАРТОЧКА Q11-Q13. ЗАЧИТАЙТЕ КАТЕГОРИИ А-F В РАЗНОМ ПОРЯДКЕ ДЛЯ КАЖДОГО СЛЕДУЮЩЕГО РЕСПОНДЕНТА. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ В КАЖДОМ РЯДУ.

	0 левые											10 правые											НЕ СЛЫШАЛ О ТАКОЙ ШКАЛЕ	НЕ СЛЫШАЛ О ЛИДЕРЕ	ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	НЕ МОЖЕТ ПОМЕСТИТЬ
а. Алексей Лотман	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	95	96	97	98
б. Март Лаар	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	95	96	97	98
в. Свен Миксер	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	95	96	97	98
г. Андрус Ансип	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	95	96	97	98
д. Эдгар Сависаар	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	95	96	97	98
е. Андрус Блок	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	95	96	97	98

Q13. Куда Вы поместили бы себя на данной шкале? КАРТОЧКА Q11-Q13. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

0 Левые												10 правые											НЕ СЛЫШАЛ О ТАКОЙ ШКАЛЕ	ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	НЕ МОЖЕТ ПОМЕСТИТЬ
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	95	97	98	

Q14. Говоря о политике, нередко обсуждается вопрос, является ли Россия угрозой безопасности или надежным партнером для Эстонии. Куда бы Вы поместили следующие партии на шкале от 0 до 10, где 0 означает позицию партии, что Россия является угрозой безопасности для Эстонии и 10 означает позицию партии, что Россия является надежным партнером для Эстонии. Если я назову партию, о которой Вы не слышали или знаете о ней недостаточно, скажите об этом. ПОКАЖИТЕ КАРТОЧКУ Q14-Q16. ЗАЧИТАЙТЕ КАТЕГОРИИ А-F В РАЗНОМ ПОРЯДКЕ ДЛЯ КАЖДОГО СЛЕДУЮЩЕГО РЕСПОНДЕНТА. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ В КАЖДОМ РЯДУ.

0 Россия												10 Россия											НЕ СЛЫ-	НЕ СЛЫ-	ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТ-	НЕ МОЖЕТ
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	95	97	98		

	является угрозой безопасности										является надежным партнером										ШАЛО ТАКИХ ОБСУЖДЕНИЯХ	ШАЛО ПАРТИИ	ВЕТА	ПОМЕСТИТЬ
а. Партия Зеленые Эстонии	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	95	96	97	98
б. Союз Исамаа и Республика	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	95	96	97	98
в. Социал-демократическая Партия	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	95	96	97	98
г. Партия Реформ	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	95	96	97	98
д. Центристская Партия	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	95	96	97	98
е. Народный Союз Эстонии	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	95	96	97	98

Q15. Используя все эту же шкалу, куда Вы поместили следующих лидеров партий? КАРТОЧКА Q14-Q16. ЗАЧИТАЙТЕ КАТЕГОРИИ А-Ф В РАЗНОМ ПОРЯДКЕ ДЛЯ КАЖДОГО СЛЕДУЮЩЕГО РЕСПОНДЕНТА. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ В КАЖДОМ РЯДУ.

	Россия является угрозой безопасности										Россия является надежным партнером										НЕ СЛЫШАЛО ТАКИХ ОБСУЖДЕНИЯХ	НЕ СЛЫШАЛО ЛИДЕРЕ	ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	НЕ МОЖЕТ ПОМЕСТИТЬ
а. Алексей Лотман	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	95	96	97	98
б. Март Лаар	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	95	96	97	98
в. Свен Миксер	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	95	96	97	98
г. Андрус Ансип	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	95	96	97	98
д. Эдгар Сависаар	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	95	96	97	98
е. Андрус Блок	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	95	96	97	98

Q16. Куда Вы поместили бы себя на данной шкале? КАРТОЧКА Q14-Q16. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

Россия является угрозой безопасности										Россия является надежным партнером										НЕ СЛЫШАЛО ТАКОЙ ШКАЛЕ	ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	НЕ МОЖЕТ ПОМЕСТИТЬ
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	95	97	98

Q17. Как Вы считаете, во время этой предвыборной кампании между партиями были существенные различия, незначительные различия или различий не было совсем? ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. Существенные различия
2. Незначительные различия
3. Различий не было совсем
7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q18. В какой степени Вы следили за предвыборной кампанией? В большой степени, в определенной степени, в малой степени или совсем не следили? ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. В большой степени

2. В определенной степени
3. В малой степени
4. Совсем не следил(а)
7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q19. В целом, насколько Вы довольны тем, как функционирует демократия в Эстонии – очень довольны, в некоторой степени довольны, не очень довольны или совсем не довольны? ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. Очень доволен/довольна
2. В некоторой степени доволен/довольна
3. Не очень доволен/довольна
4. Совсем не доволен/довольна
7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q20. Существует ли какая-либо партия, которая, как Вы считаете, близка Вам? ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

- Да	1	→ ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ Q20b
- Нет	5	→ СПРОСИТЕ К Q20a
ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	7	
НЕ ЗНАЮ	8	

Q20a. Возможно, какая-то политическая партия Вам все-таки немного ближе, чем другие? ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

- Да	1	→ СПРОСИТЕ Q20b
- Нет	5	→ ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К Q21
ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	7	
НЕ ЗНАЮ	8	

Q20b. Какая это партия? Назовите, пожалуйста. ПАРТИИ НЕ ЗАЧИТЫВАТЬ! ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

Партия Зеленые Эстонии – <i>Erakond Eestimaa Rohelised</i>	1	→ СПРОСИТЕ Q20c
Партия Союз Исамаа и Республика – <i>Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit</i>	2	
Социал-демократическая Партия Эстонии – <i>Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond</i>	3	
Партия Реформ Эстонии – <i>Eesti Reformierakond</i>	4	
Центристская Партия Эстонии – <i>Eesti Keskerakond</i>	5	
Русская Партия Эстонии – <i>Vene Erakond Eestis</i>	6	
Эстонская Партия Независимости – <i>Eesti Iseseisvuspartei</i>	7	
Народный Союз Эстонии – <i>Eestimaa Rahvaliid</i>	8	
Партия Христианские Демократы Эстонии – <i>Erakond Eesti Kristlikud Demokraadid</i>	9	
Другая партия, какая? ЗАПИШИТЕ:	10	
ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	97	→ ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К Q21
НЕ ЗНАЕТ	98	

Q20c. Как Вы считаете, эта партия Вам очень близка, в некоторой степени близка или не очень Вам близка? ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. Очень близка
2. В некоторой степени близка

3. Не очень близка
7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

СПРОСИТЬ У ВСЕХ

Q21. Голосовали ли Вы на последних выборах в Рийгикогу в марте 2011 года? ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

- Голосовал(а)	1	→ ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К Q21c
- Не голосовал(а)	5	
ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	7	→ СПРОСИТЕ Q21a
НЕ ЗНАЮ	8	

Q21a. Если бы Вы участвовали на выборах в Рийгикогу в марте 2011, за какую партию Вы бы проголосовали? ПАРТИИ НЕ ЗАЧИТЫВАТЬ! ОТМЕТЬТЕ ПАРТИИ В ТОМ ПОРЯДКЕ, В КАКОМ ИХ НАЗОВЕТ РЕСПОНДЕНТ: ПЕРВОЙ НАЗВАННУЮ, ВТОРОЙ НАЗВАННУЮ И ТРЕТЬЕЙ НАЗВАННУЮ – СТОЛЬКО, СКОЛЬКО ИХ НАЗОВЕТ РЕСПОНДЕНТ САМ, БЕЗ ПОДСКАЗКИ. NB! В КАЖДОЙ КОЛОНКЕ МОЖЕТ БЫТЬ ТОЛЬКО ПО ОДНОМУ ОТВЕТУ.

	1-я наз- ванная	2-я наз- ванная	3-я наз- ванная
Партия Зеленые Эстонии – <i>Erakond Eestimaa Rohelised</i>	1	1	1
Партия Союз Исамаа и Республика – <i>Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit</i>	2	2	2
Социал-демократическая Партия Эстонии – <i>Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond</i>	3	3	3
Партия Реформ Эстонии – <i>Eesti Reformierakond</i>	4	4	4
Центристская Партия Эстонии – <i>Eesti Keskerakond</i>	5	5	5
Русская Партия Эстонии – <i>Vene Erakond Eestis</i>	6	6	6
Эстонская Партия Независимости – <i>Eesti Iseseisvuspartei</i>	7	7	7
Народный Союз Эстонии – <i>Eestimaa Rahvaliid</i>	8	8	8
Партия Христианские Демократы Эстонии – <i>Erakond Eesti Kristlikud Demokraadid</i>	9	9	9
Независимый кандидат, кто? ЗАПИШИТЕ:	10	10	10
НИ ЗА ОДНУ ИЗ ПАРТИЙ	96		
ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	97		
НЕ ЗНАЕТ	98		

ЕСЛИ РЕСПОНДЕНТ ОТВЕЧАЛ НА ВОПРОС Q21a, ТО ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К Q22c.

ВОПРОС Q21c СПРОСИТЕ, ЕСЛИ «ГОЛОСОВАЛ(А)» (Q21=1).

Q21c. За какую из партий Вы голосовали? ПАРТИИ НЕ ЗАЧИТЫВАТЬ! ОТМЕТЬТЕ ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

Партия Зеленые Эстонии – <i>Erakond Eestimaa Rohelised</i>	1	→ СПРОСИТЕ Q21d
Партия Союз Исамаа и Республика – <i>Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit</i>	2	
Социал-демократическая Партия Эстонии – <i>Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond</i>	3	
Партия Реформ Эстонии – <i>Eesti Reformierakond</i>	4	
Центристская Партия Эстонии – <i>Eesti Keskerakond</i>	5	
Русская Партия Эстонии – <i>Vene Erakond Eestis</i>	6	
Эстонская Партия Независимости – <i>Eesti Iseseisvuspartei</i>	7	
Народный Союз Эстонии – <i>Eestimaa Rahvaliid</i>	8	
Партия Христианские Демократы Эстонии – <i>Erakond Eesti Kristlikud Demokraadid</i>	9	

Независимый кандидат, кто? ЗАПИШИТЕ:	10	→ ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К Q22a
Испортил(а) бюллетень / Оставил(а) бюллетень пустым	96	→ ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К Q22c
ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	97	
НЕ ЗНАЕТ	98	

Q21d. За кого из кандидатов Вы голосовали? ЗАПИШИТЕ ИМЯ ИЛИ НОМЕР КАНДИДАТА ТАК, КАК РЕСПОНДЕНТ ЕГО НАЗОВЁТ:

97. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА

98. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q21e. Отданный Вами на выборах голос выражает поддержку только партии или выражал поддержку как партии, так и конкретному кандидату? ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. Выражает поддержку только партии
2. Выражал поддержку как партии, так и конкретному кандидату
7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q22a. Задумывались ли Вы о том, чтобы проголосовать за другую партию? ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

- Да	1	→ СПРОСИТЕ Q22b
- Нет	5	→ ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К Q22c
ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	7	
НЕ ЗНАЕТ	8	

Q22b. За какую/какие? ПАРТИИ НЕ ЗАЧИТЫВАТЬ! ОТМЕТЬТЕ ПАРТИИ В ТОМ ПОРЯДКЕ, В КАКОМ ИХ НАЗОВЕТ РЕСПОНДЕНТ: ПЕРВОЙ НАЗВАННУЮ, ВТОРОЙ НАЗВАННУЮ, ТРЕТЬЕЙ НАЗВАННУЮ – СТОЛЬКО, СКОЛЬКО ИХ НАЗОВЕТ РЕСПОНДЕНТ САМ, БЕЗ ПОДСКАЗКИ. НВ! В КАЖДОЙ КОЛОНКЕ МОЖЕТ БЫТЬ ТОЛЬКО ПО ОДНОМУ ОТВЕТУ.

	1-я наз- ванная	2-я наз- ванная	3-я наз- ванная
Партия Зеленые Эстонии – <i>Erakond Eestimaa Rohelised</i>	1	1	1
Партия Союз Исамаа и Республика – <i>Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit</i>	2	2	2
Социал-демократическая Партия Эстонии – <i>Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond</i>	3	3	3
Партия Реформ Эстонии – <i>Eesti Reformierakond</i>	4	4	4
Центристская Партия Эстонии – <i>Eesti Keskerakond</i>	5	5	5
Русская Партия Эстонии – <i>Vene Erakond Eestis</i>	6	6	6
Эстонская Партия Независимости – <i>Eesti Iseseisvuspartei</i>	7	7	7
Народный Союз Эстонии – <i>Eestimaa Rahvaliid</i>	8	8	8
Партия Христианские Демократы Эстонии – <i>Erakond Eesti Kristlikud Demokraadid</i>	9	9	9
Независимый кандидат, кто? ЗАПИШИТЕ:	10	10	10
ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	97		
НЕ ЗНАЕТ	98		

СПРОСИТЬ У ВСЕХ

Q22c. Существуют ли такие партии, за представителя которых Вы бы никогда не проголосовали? ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

- Да	1	→ СПРОСИТЕ Q22d
------	---	-----------------

- Нет	5	→ ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К Q23
ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	7	
НЕ ЗНАЕТ	8	

Q22d. Что это за партия/партии? ПАРТИИ НЕ ЗАЧИТЫВАТЬ! ОТМЕТЬТЕ ПАРТИИ В ТОМ ПОРЯДКЕ, В КАКОМ ИХ НАЗОВЕТ РЕСПОНДЕНТ: ПЕРВОЙ НАЗВАННУЮ, ВТОРОЙ НАЗВАННУЮ, ТРЕТЬЕЙ НАЗВАННУЮ – СТОЛЬКО, СКОЛЬКО ИХ НАЗОВЕТ РЕСПОНДЕНТ САМ, БЕЗ ПОДСКАЗКИ. НВ! В КАЖДОЙ КОЛОНКЕ МОЖЕТ БЫТЬ ТОЛЬКО ПО ОДНОМУ ОТВЕТУ.

	1-я наз-ванная	2-я наз-ванная	3-я наз-ванная
Партия Зеленые Эстонии – <i>Erakond Eestimaa Rohelised</i>	1	1	1
Партия Союз Исамаа и Республика – <i>Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit</i>	2	2	2
Социал-демократическая Партия Эстонии – <i>Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond</i>	3	3	3
Партия Реформ Эстонии – <i>Eesti Reformierakond</i>	4	4	4
Центристская Партия Эстонии – <i>Eesti Keskerakond</i>	5	5	5
Русская Партия Эстонии – <i>Vene Erakond Eestis</i>	6	6	6
Эстонская Партия Независимости – <i>Eesti Iseseisvuspartei</i>	7	7	7
Народный Союз Эстонии – <i>Eestimaa Rahvaliid</i>	8	8	8
Партия Христианские Демократы Эстонии – <i>Erakond Eesti Kristlikud Demokraadid</i>	9	9	9
Независимый кандидат, кто? ЗАПИШИТЕ:	10	10	10
НЕ ГОЛОСОВАЛ БЫ НИ ЗА ОДНУ ИЗ ПАРТИЙ	96		
ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	97		
НЕ ЗНАЕТ	98		

СПРОСИТЬ У ВСЕХ

Q23. Голосовали ли Вы на выборах в Рийгикогу в марте 2007года? ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

- Голосовал(а)	1	→ СПРОСИТЕ Q23b
- Не голосовал(а)	5	
НЕ БЫЛО ПРАВА ГОЛОСА НА ТЕХ ВЫБОРАХ	6	→ ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К Q24a
ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	7	
НЕ ЗНАЕТ / НЕ ПОМНИТ	8	

Q23b. За какую партию Вы голосовали? ПАРТИИ НЕ ЗАЧИТЫВАТЬ! ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

Партия Реформ Эстонии – <i>Eesti Reformierakond</i>	1	→ СПРОСИТЕ Q23c
Центристская Партия Эстонии – <i>Eesti Keskerakond</i>	2	
Партия Союз Исамаа и Республика – <i>Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit</i>	3	
Социал-демократическая Партия Эстонии – <i>Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond</i>	4	
Партия Зеленые Эстонии – <i>Erakond Eestimaa Rohelised</i>	5	
Народный Союз Эстонии – <i>Eestimaa Rahvaliid</i>	6	
Другая, какая? ЗАПИШИТЕ:	7	
Независимый кандидат, кто? ЗАПИШИТЕ:	8	→ ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К Q24a
Испортил(а) бюллетень / Оставил(а) бюллетень пустым	96	
ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	97	
НЕ ЗНАЕТ/ НЕ ПОМНИТ	98	

Q23c. За кого из кандидатов Вы голосовали на выборах в Рийгикогу в марте 2007?

ЗАПИШИТЕ ИМЯ КАНДИДАТА: _____

97. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА

98. НЕ ЗНАЕТ / НЕ ПОМНИТ

Q23d. Отданный Вами на выборах 2007 голос выражал поддержку только партии или выражал поддержку как партии, так и конкретному кандидату? ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. Выражал поддержку только партии
2. Выражал поддержку как партии, так и конкретному кандидату
7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

СПРОСИТЬ У ВСЕХ

Q24a. Как Вы считаете, сколько членов в Рийгикогу?

- ЗАПИШИТЕ НАЗВАННОЕ РЕСПОНДЕНТОМ ЧИСЛО: _____
7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
 8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q24b. В каком году Эстония стала членом Европейского Союза?

- ЗАПИШИТЕ НАЗВАННЫЙ РЕСПОНДЕНТОМ ГОД: /__/_/_/_/_/
7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
 8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ
 - 9.

Q24c. Кто является президентом Банка Эстонии?

- ЗАПИШИТЕ НАЗВАННОЕ РЕСПОНДЕНТОМ ИМЯ: _____
7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
 8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q25. Насколько Вы интересуетесь политикой: очень интересуетесь, в некоторой степени, в малой степени или совсем не интересуетесь? ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. Очень интересуюсь
2. В некоторой степени
3. В малой степени
4. Совсем не интересуюсь
7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q26-Q30. В течение четырёх недель перед выборами в Рийгикогу как часто Вы...? ПОКАЖИТЕ КАРТОЧКУ Q26-Q30. ЗАЧИТАЙТЕ КАТЕГОРИИ Q26-Q30. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ В КАЖДОМ РЯДУ.

	Часто	Иногда	Никогда	ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	НЕ ЗНАЮ
Q.26 ... смотрели передачи о выборах по телевизору?	1	2	3	7	8
Q.27 ... читали о выборах в газетах?	1	2	3	7	8
Q.28 ... говорили о выборах с семьей или друзьями?	1	2	3	7	8
Q.29 ... участвовали в предвыборных общественных собраниях или мероприятиях?	1	2	3	7	8
Q.30 ... искали информацию о партиях и кандидатах в интернете?	1	2	3	7	8

Q31. Как часто Вы пользуетесь интернетом – неважно, дома, на работе или где-либо ещё? ПОКАЖИТЕ КАРТОЧКУ Q31. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. Каждый день или почти каждый день
2. Как минимум один раз в неделю
3. Как минимум один раз в месяц
4. Меньше чем раз в месяц
5. Вообще не пользуюсь
8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ/ ЗАТРУДНЯЕТСЯ ОТВЕТИТЬ

ВОПРОСЫ Q32-Q34 СПРОСИТЬ ТОЛЬКО У ТЕХ, КТО ГОЛОСОВАЛ НА ВЫБОРАХ В РИЙГИКОГУ В МАРТЕ 2011 (Q21 = 1, см. на стр. 11). ОСТАЛЬНЫЕ ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К Q35.

Q32. Когда Вы решили, за какую партию будете голосовать на выборах в Рийгикогу? ПОКАЖИТЕ КАРТОЧКУ Q32. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. Примерно за три месяца до выборов или еще раньше
2. Примерно за месяц до выборов
3. Примерно за неделю до выборов
4. В день выборов или за день до выборов
7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
8. НЕ ЗНАЮ

Q33. Каким из способов Вы пользовались для голосования на выборах в Рийгикогу в 2011 году? ЗАЧИТАЙТЕ 1-4. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

- голосовал(а) в день выборов	1	→ ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К Q35
- голосовал(а) на предварительных выборах в одном из избирательных участков	2	
- голосовал(а) на предварительных выборах по интернету	3	→ СПРОСИТЕ Q34
- голосовал(а) другим способом	4	→ ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К Q35
ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	7	
НЕ ЗНАЕТ, НЕ ПОМНИТ	8	

Q34. Если бы у Вас не было возможности голосовать по интернету, стали бы Вы участвовать в голосовании? ЗАЧИТАЙТЕ 1-4. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. Да, я голосовал(а) бы в любом случае
2. Скорее да
3. Скорее нет
4. Нет, определенно не голосовал(а) бы
8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q35. Скажите, пожалуйста, насколько Вы согласны со следующими утверждениями: полностью согласны, скорее согласны, скорее не согласны или совсем не согласны? ПОКАЖИТЕ КАРТОЧКУ Q35-Q36. ЗАЧИТАЙТЕ УТВЕРЖДЕНИЯ А-Н. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ В КАЖДОМ РЯДУ.

	Полностью согласен	Скорее согласен	Скорее не согласен	Совсем не согласен	ВСЕ РАВНО/ ЭТА ТЕМА НЕ ИНТЕРЕСУЕТ	ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	НЕ ЗНАЕТ
a. Максимальный размер родительской зарплаты следует уменьшить	1	2	3	4	5	7	8
b. В Эстонии следует ввести ступенчатый подоходный налог	1	2	3	4	5	7	8
c. В Эстонии следует дать возможность однополым парам регистрировать свои отношения	1	2	3	4	5	7	8
d. Процедуру получения гражданства Эстонии следует упростить	1	2	3	4	5	7	8
e. Армии Эстонии следует перейти на контрактную службу, призывную службу стоит отменить	1	2	3	4	5	7	8
f. Переход русских гимназий на эстонский язык обучения происходит излишне поспешно	1	2	3	4	5	7	8
g. Для того, чтобы повысить энергетическую независимость Эстонии, следует построить в Эстонии атомную электростанцию	1	2	3	4	5	7	8
h. Для того, чтобы повысить уровень социального обеспечения, следует повысить налоги	1	2	3	4	5	7	8

Q36. Некоторые люди полагают, что было бы лучше, если бы наше государство управлялось по-другому. Скажите пожалуйста, насколько Вы согласны с утверждением: «Рийгикогу-следует распустить и выборы упразднить – управлять должен сильный лидер, который сможет принимать быстрые решения»?
КАРТОЧКА Q35-Q36. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. Полностью согласен
2. Скорее согласен
3. Скорее не согласен
4. Совсем не согласен
5. ВСЕ РАВНО/ ЭТА ТЕМА НЕ ИНТЕРЕСУЕТ
7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q37. В отношениях с избирателями политики часто выделяют разные вещи. Как Вы считаете, какой из двух принципов более важен? ЗАЧИТАЙТЕ 1-2. ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. Желание политика формировать политику государства согласно воле избирателей или
2. Желание политика убедить избирателей в политических взглядах и плане действия партии
7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q38. В политической системе Эстонии выборы служат нескольким целям. Как Вы считаете, какая из двух целей важнее? ЗАЧИТАЙТЕ 1-2. ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. На выборах политики отчитываются перед избирателями за свои действия или
2. На выборах политики представляют избирателям свое видение будущего
7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q39. В Эстонии множество партий, которые хотели бы получить Ваш голос. Насколько вероятно, что Вы когда-нибудь отдадите свой голос следующим партиям? Ответьте, пожалуйста, с помощью шкалы от 0 до 10, где „0“ означает „абсолютно невероятно“ и „10“ - „очень вероятно“. Если я назову партию, о которой Вы не слышали или знаете о ней недостаточно, скажите об этом.

ПОКАЖИТЕ КАРТОЧКУ Q39. ЗАЧИТАЙТЕ КАТЕГОРИИ А-F В РАЗНОМ ПОРЯДКЕ ДЛЯ КАЖДОГО СЛЕДУЮЩЕГО РЕСПОНДЕНТА. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ В КАЖДОМ РЯДУ. ЕСЛИ РЕСПОНДЕНТ НЕ ЗНАЕТ ЭТОЙ ПАРТИИ, ТО ОТМЕТЬТЕ КОД «88» «НЕ СЛЫШАЛ О ПАРТИИ». ЕСЛИ РЕСПОНДЕНТ НЕ ЗНАЕТ, КУДА РАЗМЕСТИТЬ НА ШКАЛЕ ОТВЕТ ДЛЯ ЭТОЙ ПАРТИИ, ОТМЕТЬТЕ КОД «89» «НЕ МОЖЕТ ОЦЕНИТЬ ВЕРОЯТНОСТЬ».

	0 Абсолютно не-вероятно										10 Очень вероятно	НЕ СЛЫШАЛ О ПАРТИИ	ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	НЕ МОЖЕТ ОЦЕНИТЬ ВЕРОЯТНОСТЬ
a. Партия Зеленые Эстонии	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	88	77	89
b. Союз Исамаа и Республика	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	88	77	89
c. Социал-демократическая Партия	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	88	77	89
d. Партия Реформ	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	88	77	89
e. Центристская	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	88	77	89

Партия															
f. Народный Союз Эстонии	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	88	77	89	

Q40. Вне зависимости от результатов выборов Рийгикогу, правительство состоящее из каких партий было бы лучшим для Вас лично?

ПАРТИИ НЕ ЗАЧИТЫВАТЬ! ОТМЕТЬТЕ ВСЕ НАЗВАННЫЕ РЕСПОНДЕНТОМ ПАРТИИ. МОЖЕТ БЫТЬ НЕСКОЛЬКО ОТВЕТОВ.

1. Партия Реформ – *Eesti Reformierakond*
2. Центристская Партия – *Eesti Keskerakond*
3. Союз Исамаа и Республика – *Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit*
4. Социал-демократическая партия – *Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond*
5. Партия Зеленые Эстонии – *Erakond Eestimaa Rohelised*
6. Народный союз Эстонии – *Eestimaa Rahvaliit*
7. Партия Христианские Демократы Эстонии – *Erakond Eesti Kristlikud Demokraadid*
8. Русская Партия Эстонии – *Vene Erakond Eestis*
9. Эстонская Партия Независимости – *Eesti Iseseisvuspartei*
10. Другая партия, какая? ЗАПИШИТЕ: _____
97. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
98. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q41. Как Вы считаете, членство Эстонии в Евросоюзе это, в общем, хорошо, плохо или ни хорошо, ни плохо? ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. Хорошо
2. Плохо
3. Ни хорошо, ни плохо
7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q42. Многие не принимали участие на выборах в Европейский Парламент в 2009 году, а многие голосовали. Голосовали ли Вы? ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

- да, голосовал	1	→ СПРОСИТЕ Q43 → ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К Q44
- нет, не голосовал	2	
НЕ БЫЛО ПРАВА ГОЛОСА НА ТЕХ ВЫБОРАХ	6	
ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	7	
НЕ ЗНАЕТ / НЕ ПОМНИТ	8	

Q43. За какую партию Вы тогда голосовали? ПАРТИИ НЕ ЗАЧИТЫВАТЬ! ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. Партия Реформ Эстонии – *Eesti Reformierakond*
2. Центристская Партия Эстонии – *Eesti Keskerakond*
3. Партия Союз Исамаа и Республика – *Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit*
4. Социал-демократическая Партия Эстонии – *Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond*
5. Партия Зеленые Эстонии – *Erakond Eestimaa Rohelised*
6. Народный Союз Эстонии – *Eestimaa Rahvaliit*
7. Независимый кандидат Индрек Таранд
20. Другая, какая? ЗАПИШИТЕ: _____
77. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
88. НЕ ЗНАЕТ/ НЕ ПОМНИТ
94. ОСТАВИЛ(А) БЮЛЛЕТЕНЬ ПУСТЫМ
95. ИСПОРТИЛ(А) БЮЛЛЕТЕНЬ

СПРОСИТЬ У ВСЕХ

Q44. Используя следующую карточку, скажите пожалуйста, насколько Вы доверяете следующим

институтам Эстонии. На шкале от 0 до 10, где «0» означает, что Вы «совсем не доверяете» данному институту, и «10» означает, что Вы «полностью доверяете» данному институту Эстонии. ПОКАЖИТЕ КАРТОЧКУ Q44. ЗАЧИТАЙТЕ КАТЕГОРИИ А-Ф. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ В КАЖДОМ РЯДУ.

	Совсем не доверяю										Пол-ностью доверяю	ЗАТРУД-НЯЕТСЯ ОТВЕТИТЬ
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
a. Правительство Эстонии	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	88
b. Рийгикогу	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	88
c. Президент Эстонии	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	88
d. Политики	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	88
e. Политические партии	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	88
f. Судебная система	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	88

Q45. Насколько Вы довольны состоянием экономики Эстонии? Оцените, пожалуйста, по шкале от 0 до 10, где «0» означает «совсем не доволен» и 10 «полностью доволен». ПОКАЖИТЕ КАРТОЧКУ Q45-Q46. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

Совсем не доволен										Полностью доволен	НЕ ЗНАЕТ
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	88
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	88

Q46. Насколько Вы довольны экономическим положением Вашей семьи / домохозяйства? КАРТОЧКА Q45-Q46. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

Совсем не доволен										Полностью доволен	НЕ ЗНАЕТ
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	88
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	88

Q47. Как Вы оцениваете то, насколько хорошо или плохо справилось правительство Эстонии со сдерживанием экономического кризиса? ЗАЧИТАЙТЕ 1-4. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. Очень хорошо
2. Скорее хорошо
3. Скорее плохо
4. Очень плохо
8. ЗАТРУДНЯЕТСЯ ОТВЕТИТЬ

И в ещё некоторые вопросы о Вас.

Q48. В каком году Вы родились? ЗАПИШИТЕ ГОД РОЖДЕНИЯ ЧЕТЫРЕХЗНАЧНЫМ ЧИСЛОМ.

ЗАПИШИТЕ: в /_/_/_/_/ году

997. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА

998. НЕ ЗНАЮ

Q49. Пол респондента. ОТМЕТЬТЕ НЕ СПРАШИВАЯ.

1. Мужчина

Q50. Какой самый высокий уровень образования Вы получили? ПОКАЖИТЕ КАРТОЧКУ Q50. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. Нет образования
2. Незаконченное основное образование (меньше, чем 7, 8, 9 классов, в зависимости от года окончания)
3. Основное образование
4. Незаконченное среднее образование
5. Среднее образование (обычная школа, гимназия)
6. Профессиональное образование (ПТУ, профессиональное училище, которое не даёт среднего образования)
7. Средне-профессиональное или средне-специальное образование (СПТУ, профессиональное училище, которое даёт среднее образование, техникум)
8. Прикладное высшее образование или высше-профессиональное образование
9. Незаконченное академическое высшее образование (незаконченный университет)
10. Академическое высшее образование (степень бакалавра или выше)
11. ДРУГОЕ, ЧТО? ЗАПИШИТЕ: _____
97. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
98. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q51. Ваше семейное положение? ПОКАЖИТЕ КАРТОЧКУ Q51. ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. Женат/замужем
2. В гражданском браке
3. Вдовец/вдова
4. Разведены (официально)
5. Официально женаты/замужем, но живёте раздельно
6. Холостой/холостая (не был женат/замужем)
7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q52. Являетесь ли Вы или кто-либо из Вашего домохозяйства членом профсоюза? ЗАЧИТАЙТЕ 1-4. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. Да, я являюсь
2. Да, кто то из членов моего домохозяйства является
3. Как я, так и кто то из членов домохозяйства являемся
4. Не являемся
7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q53. Являетесь ли Вы сейчас или являлись ранее членом нижеперечислен-ных организаций? Если да, то являетесь членом сейчас или являлись ранее? ЗАЧИТАЙТЕ КАТЕГОРИИ А-С. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ В КАЖДОМ РЯДУ.

ЕСЛИ РЕСПОНДЕНТ ОТВЕЧАЕТ, ЧТО ЯВЛЯЕТСЯ СЕЙЧАС И ЯВЛЯЛСЯ РАНЕЕ, ТО ОТМЕТЬТЕ ТОЛЬКО «Да, являюсь сейчас» (КОД «1»).

	Да, являюсь сейчас	Да, являлся ранее	Нет
a. Объединение предпринимателей или работодателей	1	2	3
b. Объединение хуторян	1	2	3
c. Профессиональное объединение	1	2	3

Q54. Что из нижеперечисленного наиболее соответствует Вашему статусу за последние семь дней перед интервью? ПОКАЖИТЕ

КАРТОЧКУ Q54, Q58. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

Оплачиваемая работа на полной ставке (как минимум 40 часов в неделю)	1	→ СПРОСИТЕ Q55
Оплачиваемая работа на половину ставки (неполный рабочий день, меньше чем 40 часов, но больше чем 19 часов в неделю)	2	
Оплачиваемая работа меньше чем на полставки (неполный рабочий день, меньше чем 19 часов в неделю)	3	
Неоплачиваемая работа по ведению хозяйства на собственном хуторе или в семейной фирме	4	
Безработный	5	→ ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К ТЕКСТУ ПЕРЕД Q58
Школьник, студент	6	
Пенсионер	7	
Домохозяин/домохозяйка, заботитесь о детях или о ком-то другом	8	
Постоянная неработоспособность или инвалидность	9	
ДРУГОЕ, ЧТО? ЗАПИШИТЕ:	10	

Q55. Кем Вы сейчас работаете? Дайте, пожалуйста, подробный ответ (например, не просто электрик, а электротехник или электромонтер; не просто продавец, а продавец обуви; не просто учитель, а учитель начальных классов и т.д.). ЗАПИШИТЕ ОТВЕТ КАК МОЖНО БОЛЕЕ ПОДРОБНО. ПРИ НЕОБХОДИМОСТИ УТОЧНИТЕ И ЗАПИШИТЕ, ЧТО ИМЕННО ЧЕЛОВЕК ДЕЛАЕТ НА СВОЕЙ РАБОТЕ (СМ. ИНСТРУКЦИЮ К ОПРОСУ).

Q56. Вы работаете ... ? ЗАЧИТАЙТЕ 1-4. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. В государственном секторе
2. В частном секторе
3. В совместной частно-государственной организации
4. В некоммерческом секторе
7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q57. Уточните пожалуйста характер этого сектора. Это...? ПОКАЖИТЕ КАРТОЧКУ Q57, Q61. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. Сельское хозяйство, рыболовство, лесное хозяйство
2. Обрабатывающая промышленность, горная промышленность, строительство
3. Сфера обслуживания (транспорт, информация и связь, оптовая и розничная торговля, финансовая деятельность и страхование, операции с недвижимым имуществом, бизнес-услуги, деятельность в сфере административных и вспомогательных услуг, государственная служба, военная служба)
4. Другое, что? ЗАПИШИТЕ: _____
7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

ВОПРОСЫ Q58-Q61 СПРОСИТЬ ТОЛЬКО У ТЕХ, КТО ЖЕНАТ/ЗАМУЖЕМ ИЛИ ЖИВЕТ В ГРАЖДАНСКОМ БРАКЕ (ОТМЕЧЕН КОД «1 или 2» В Q51). ОСТАЛЬНЫЕ ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К ВОПРОСУ Q61.

Q58. Что из нижеперечисленного наиболее соответствует статусу Вашего супруга/супруги или сожителя за последние семь дней перед интервью? ПОКАЖИТЕ КАРТОЧКУ Q54, Q58. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

Оплачиваемая работа на полной ставке (как минимум 40 часов в неделю)	1	→ СПРОСИТЕ Q59
Оплачиваемая работа на половину ставки (неполный рабочий день, меньше чем 40 часов, но больше чем 19 часов в неделю)	2	
Оплачиваемая работа меньше чем на полставки (неполный рабочий день, меньше чем 19 часов в неделю)	3	
Неоплачиваемая работа по ведению хозяйства на собственном хуторе или в семейной фирме	4	
Безработный	5	→ ПЕРЕХОДИТЕ К Q62
Школьник, студент	6	
Пенсионер	7	
Домохозяин/домохозяйка, заботитесь о детях или о ком-то другом	8	
Постоянная неработоспособность или инвалидность	9	
ДРУГОЕ, ЧТО? ЗАПИШИТЕ:	10	

Q59. Кем сейчас работает Ваш супруг(а) или сожитель? Дайте полный ответ (например, не просто электрик, а электротехник или электромонтер; не просто продавец, а продавец обуви; не просто учитель, а учитель начальных классов и т.д.). ЗАПИШИТЕ ОТВЕТ ДОСЛОВНО И КАК МОЖНО БОЛЕЕ ПОДРОБНО. ПРИ НЕОБХОДИМОСТИ УТОЧНИТЕ И ЗАПИШИТЕ, ЧТО ИМЕННО ЧЕЛОВЕК ДЕЛАЕТ НА СВОЕЙ РАБОТЕ (СМ. ИНСТРУКЦИЮ К ОПРОСУ).

Q60. Он(-а) работает ...? ЗАЧИТАЙТЕ 1-4. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. В государственном секторе
2. В частном секторе
3. В совместной частно-государственной организации
4. В некоммерческом секторе
7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q61. Уточните пожалуйста характер этого сектора. ПОКАЖИТЕ КАРТОЧКУ Q57, Q61. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. Сельское хозяйство, рыболовство, лесное хозяйство
2. Обрабатывающая промышленность, горная промышленность, строительство
3. Сфера обслуживания (транспорт, информация и связь, оптовая и розничная торговля, финансовая деятельность и страхование, операции с недвижимым имуществом, бизнес-услуги, деятельность в сфере административных и вспомогательных услуг, государственная служба, военная служба)
4. Другое, что? ЗАПИШИТЕ: _____
7. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
8. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

СПРОСИТЬ У ВСЕХ

Q62. Каков средний общий нетто-доход Вашего домохозяйства за месяц? Сложите, пожалуйста, все официальные и неофициальные зарплаты, стипендию, пенсию, пособия и другие доходы всех членов домохозяйства за месяц (после вычета налогов), т.е. деньги, получаемые «на руки». Мы не просим назвать точную сумму, Вы можете назвать подходящий промежуток. ПОКАЖИТЕ КАРТОЧКУ Q62. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ОДИН ОТВЕТ

До 200 € (До 3129 крон)	1
-------------------------	---

200 - 275 € (3129-4311 крон)	2
276 - 350 € (4312-5484 крон)	3
351 – 425 € (5485-6658 крон)	4
426 – 500 € (6659-7831 крон)	5
501 – 575 € (7832-9005 крон)	6
576 – 700 € (9006-10 960 крон)	7
701 – 1000 € (10 961-15 654 крон)	8
1001 – 1300 € (15 655 – 20 348 крон)	9
1301 – 1600 € (20 349 – 25 042 крон)	10
1601 – 1900 € (25 043 – 29 729 крон)	11
Более 1900 € (Более 29 729 крон)	12
НЕ БЫЛО ДОХОДА	97
ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА	98
НЕ ЗНАЕТ/ З.О.	99

Q63. Сколько человек, включая Вас, проживает в Вашем домохозяйстве?

ЗАПИШИТЕ: ВСЕГО _____ человек

Q64. Сколько из них моложе 18 лет?

ЗАПИШИТЕ: _____ человек моложе 18 лет

Q65. Считаете ли Вы себя принадлежащим к какой-либо религии? Если да, то к какой? ПОКАЖИТЕ КАРТОЧКУ Q65. ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. Лютеранин
2. Православный
3. Римо-католик
4. Протестант (точная принадлежность не уточнена)
5. Баптист
6. Методист
7. Адвентист
8. Ислам, мусульманин
9. Иудей
10. Буддист
11. Индуист
12. Мормон
13. Агностик
14. Атеист
99. Другое, что? ЗАПИШИТЕ: _____
93. Не принадлежит ни к одной из религий
97. ОТКАЗ ОТ ОТВЕТА
98. НЕ ЗНАЕТ

Q66. В независимости от религиозной принадлежности, насколько религиозным Вы себя считаете? ЗАЧИТАЙТЕ 1-4. ОТМЕТЬТЕ ТОЛЬКО ОДИН ОТВЕТ.

1. нерелигиозный

