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ESTONIAN IN FINLAND

ELDIA Case-Specific Report

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Foreword

This Case-Specific Report (CSR), presenting the results of one of the case studies within the international research project ELDIA, deals with the multilingual community of speakers of the Estonian language in Finland. The Estonian-speaking communities in Finland represent more recent allochthonous (migrant) minority groups that arose as a result of the intensive waves of emigration after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and Estonia's entry into the European Union in 2004.

The report consists of five chapters: Introduction: What is ELDIA about (1) and Socio-historical and Linguistic contexts of Estonian in Finland (2); it is followed by chapters on methodology (3), findings from legal and media analysis (4.1-4.2) and a survey (4.3). The CSR is concluded by a discussion on the case-specific language vitality barometer (5).

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1 Introduction: What is ELDIA about?

ELDIA (European Language Diversity for All) is an interdisciplinary research project for re-conceptualising, promoting and re-evaluating individual and societal multilingualism.

The empirical research was conducted with selected multilingual communities, which covered practically the whole spectrum of different political and socioeconomic circumstances of linguistic minorities in Europe. The communities investigated speak endangered and often only recently literarised minority languages (e.g. Karelian, Veps, Seto) or languages with a vigorous standard variety (e.g. Hungarian). Included are both autochthonous (e.g. Meänkieli/Tornedal Finnish speakers) or indigenous minorities (e.g. Sámi) and more recent migrant groups (such as the Estonians in Germany and Finland). All these minority languages belong to the Finno-Ugric language family which is seriously underrepresented in internationally accessible sociolinguistic literature. The results of the research project, however, will be generalisable beyond this internally highly diverse language group: they will contribute to the study of multilingualism and the development of language policies in other multilingual contexts as well, in and outside Europe.

The project provides

- more detailed knowledge about multilingualism and the interaction of languages in Europe, in the form of context analyses, case-specific and comparative reports, practical information and recommendations
- data and corpora for further research
- means of communication and networking between researchers (workshops, publications, etc.)
- the European Language Vitality Barometer (EuLaViBar) – a checklist/handbook for policy-makers and other stakeholders.

ELDIA is funded by the 7th Framework Programme of the European Commission. Note that the views expressed in this research report are the sole responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the European Commission.

More information about ELDIA can be found on the project website www.eldia-project.org. All our electronic publications can also be accessed directly at http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:80789. The most central results of ELDIA have also been published in a monograph (Laakso & al. 2016).

2 Sociohistorical and Linguistic Contexts

2.1 Introduction

The Estonian-speaking communities in Finland represent more recent allochthonous groups that arose as a result of the intensive waves of emigration after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and Estonia's entry into the European Union in 2004. According to Statistics Finland, 46,195 Estonian citizens were living in Finland as of May 2014. Estonian-speaking communities in Finland are the largest and fastest-growing communities in the Estonian Western Diaspora. The Estonian community in Finland is supported by the geographic proximity of their homeland, the close relatedness between the Estonian and Finnish languages, the similar cultural space and cultural proximity. The two countries have close relations in political, economic, cultural and other fields. In public discourse (media, political discourse and research), Finland and Estonia (and in narrower terms Finns and Estonians) are periodically likened to "big and little brothers" respectively, and this plays a major role in the knowledge and attitudes of each country with regard to the other.

Although there have probably been migrations between Estonia and Finland throughout the history of both countries, very little is known about Estonians in Finland before the 19th century. The documented history of the Estonian-language population in Finland dates back to the early 20th century, when there was a considerable Estonian community living in the country, approximately 2,000 persons as confirmed by sources (see Nigol 1918: 78): workers, entrepreneurs and also some Estonian intellectuals who sought for a politically more liberal atmosphere in the last years of the Czarist regime. After the tumultuous years of the Second World War the Estonian-language population in Finland decreased severalfold. The work of Estonian societies was stopped and there were no more public cultural activities in the Estonian language. The political situation and the incorporation of the Republic of Estonia in the Soviet Union (1940) obstructed the interaction between Estonians and Finns until Estonia regained independence (1991).

Estonians in Finland began to receive more attention after Estonia joined the European Union in 2004. However, the role and status of the Estonian language and of Estonians in Finland has not prompted more serious discussion (other than individual articles) at the political level or in the public discourses. The consistent trend in the labour migration of Estonian citizens to Finland, which is accelerating among the younger working-age population, has become an increasingly salient issue and is the topic that prompts the most public discussion in both countries.

2.2 Sociohistory

2.2.1 The context of the investigated language community

Estonians and the Estonian language in Finland. In terms of the number of native speakers Estonians are the second-largest immigrant community in Finland after the Russian-speakers: at the end of the year 2016, 75,444 residents of Finland spoke Russian as their native language and 49,241 spoke Estonian (Tilastokeskus 2016). The Estonian-speaking population of Finland has increased several-fold in two decades: whereas in 1990 there were 1394 individuals who spoke Estonian as their mother tongue in Finland, by 2004 that number had already increased to 13,784. The figure of 20,000 Estonian-speaking inhabitants was exceeded in 2007, and their numbers were in 2014 already approaching 40,000. However, it is quite likely that these figures do not reflect the actual size of the Estonian community in Finland. It is probable that Estonians who immigrated to Finland during the era of Soviet occupation (and/or their descendants) have acquired Finnish citizenship. Commuters and seasonal workers should also be taken into account, although their exact numbers can be only guessed.

The Estonian minority in Finland can be called an allochthonous speaker community which has developed outside the geographical borders of its mother country (Estonia). The Estonian linguistic minority does not have long-standing traditions or a long history in Finland. Instead, it is a relatively "new" community with a rather young age composition, resulting from intensive immigration which is still in progress. The development of the Estonian community in Finland has been triggered by a number of factors, such as changes in the political and socio-economic situation in Estonia, Estonia regaining its independence (1991), the opening of borders and the eastward enlargement of the EU (2004). Intensive labour migration of Estonian citizens to Finland started in the spring of 2006, when restrictions on the free movement of labour were removed for the countries which had joined the EU in 2004, which might be viewed as the starting point of cross-border labour migration and commuting. The reasons behind emigration to Finland are first of all economic, directly related to the situation of the Estonian labour market. According to the data from the most recent census conducted in Estonia (REL 2011), 15,140 people living in Estonia work in Finland, while the total number of permanent residents of Estonia working abroad is 24,907. Estonians are employed in various lines of work in Finland, most of them in construction, transport, and healthcare but also in other service areas. As is typical of immigrant groups, the majority of Finnish Estonians are drawn to larger cities or their surrounding areas (Helsinki, Vantaa, Espoo, Tampere, Turku).

Languages in Finland. The official total population of Finland at the end of 2016 was 5,503,297 (Väestörakenne 2016). Of these, 6.4% or ca. 354,000 were speakers of so-called foreign languages, i.e. languages other than Finnish, Swedish, or Sámi. This group is growing rapidly (by more than 24,000 from the previous year).[1]

As established by §17 of the Constitution of Finland and §1 of the Finnish Language Law, the 'national languages' (Fin: *kansalliskielet*) of Finland are Finnish and Swedish. The Constitution also establishes the language rights of the Sámi and Roma people and of those using the Finnish sign language. The European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages was ratified in Finland in 1994. In 2009, the Charter came to include the Karelian language in addition to the previously indicated languages (i.e. the Sámi and Roma languages and the Finnish sign language listed in the Constitution plus the languages of "old minorities", such as Yiddish, Tatar and Russian). According to §17 of the Constitution, similarly to the Roma and Sámi people "other groups" also have the right to preserve and develop their language and culture. Besides long-standing minorities and their languages, "other groups" include immigrant communities and their languages, among them Estonian.[2]

Swedish-speaking Finns and the Swedish language in Finland. Due to the fact that from the 13th century until 1809 Finland was part of Sweden and to the historic continuity of Swedish settlement in Finland, Swedish is the second official language of Finland: it has a strong legal position in the country as a result of its political, economic and cultural foundations developed during the Swedish era. The history of Swedish-speaking Finns dates back as far as the 12-13th century when the very first settlements of Swedes were formed on the coast of Finland and in the Turku archipelago. In Finland, Swedish was the official language of administration and government up to the 20th century. According to the Language Law adopted in 1922, the official languages of Finland are Finnish and Swedish. Swedish-speaking Finns are not considered a minority, but rather a parallel ethnic group with their own language, culture, history and identity. The Swedish language variety of Finland *(finlandssvenska)* is the mother tongue of 289,540 (Tilastokeskus 2016) residents of Finland, who live primarily on the Southern and Western coastal areas (including the capital city of Helsinki and its surroundings), in the Turku archipelago and on the Åland islands.

The basic unit of the linguistic division in Finland is the municipality (which number 342 in total). In accordance with the ethnic structure of the population of each municipality, Finland's local governments are either monolingual (Finnish or Swedish) or bilingual. According to the *Report of the Government on the application of language legislation* (*2009*), most of the population lives in unilingual Finnish-speaking municipalities. One third of the population lives in bilingual municipalities (which number 43 in total, in 22 of which Swedish is the majority language and in 21 Finnish is the majority language). The autonomous province of

[1] http://stat.fi/tup/maahanmuutto/maahanmuuttajat-vaestossa/vieraskieliset.html

[2] Information about legislation on languages in Finland is available on the website of the Ministry of Justice at http://oikeusministerio.fi/fi/index/toimintajatavoitteet/perusoikeudetjademokratia/kielilaki.html; see also Grans 2011.

the Åland Islands (*Ahvenanmaa*) is officially monolingual, with Swedish as its only official language, as stipulated in the Act on the Autonomy of Åland (*Ahvenanmaan itsehallintolaki* 1991).

The **Sámi** people are an indigenous people of Northern Fennoscandia. In Finland, they traditionally inhabit the northern part of Lapland (mainly the municipalities of Enontekiö, Inari, Utsjoki and Sodankylä). The Sámi language is a dialect continuum which is now usually divided into up to ten individual languages, six of which have a standard orthography. (For more information, see Vuolab-Lohi 2007: 1.) Three of these are spoken in Finland: Inari Sámi, Skolt Sámi and Northern Sámi. The largest of these is North Sámi, which is also spoken in Northern Sweden and Norway. It is estimated that there may be around 300 speakers of Inari Sámi (Morottaja 2007: 1) and 250–300 speakers of Skolt Sámi (Moschnikoff 2006). The Inari Sámi people are the only Finnish Sámi group who have traditionally resided within the boundaries of just one country and one county. Likewise, Inari Sámi is the only Sámi language spoken within the boundaries of just one municipality (Morottaja 2007: 1).

The Finnish Sámi are often multilingual, and practically all Sámi speakers are bilingual in Finnish. It is estimated that there are around 6,500 Sámis in Finland, of whom approximately 4,000 (i.e. more than half) live outside traditional Sámi habitats. According to Statistics Finland, 1,969 people (as of the end of 2016) consider Sámi their first language. Sámi languages are protected by the Sámi Language Act of 1992 (*Saamen kielilaki*). This act upholds the right of the Sámi people to preserve and develop their language and culture as established in the Constitution of Finland. For more information see Vuolab-Lohi 2007: 1-2.

Karelian has been spoken in Finland for as long as Finnish. There is no official data on the number of speakers of the language,[3] but according to most recent estimates, ca. 5,000 people still actively use Karelian in their everyday life, ca. 10,000 have a good command of Karelian and up to 30,000 have some knowledge of the language and identify themselves with the Karelian speech community (for more information, see Sarhimaa 2014).

The Finnish **Roma** population numbers around 13,000; people speaking the Roma language have been living in Finland from as early as the 16th century. (Additional information can be found in Granqvist 2006: 1 and included references.) More detailed data on the number of Roma people in Finland is not available because registering residents by ethnic origin is prohibited by the Finnish Personal Data Act (*Tietosuojalainsäädäntö* and *Henkilötietolaki* §11) (Granqvist 2006: 1). Although Roma people live all over Finland, the majority reside in cities in Southern Finland, primarily in the Greater Helsinki area (*ibid*.); many Finnish Roma have emigrated to Sweden.

[3] For a few years already, Karelian speakers have been allowed to register Karelian as their mother tongue. However, the number of those who have used this opportunity is still very small and not shown in the database of Statistics Finland.

The Finnish sign language is used by around 4,000-5,000 deaf people. Moreover, around 10,000 hearing Finns have learnt it as their native or as a second or foreign language. More information can be found on *www.kotus.fi*.

Immigrants and their languages. As mentioned above, there are ca. 354,000 speakers of allochthonous languages in Finland, and the Estonian speakers, whose number is approaching 50,000, are the second largest group among them, second only to Russian speakers (75,444). The third largest immigrant language at the end of 2016 was Arabic (21,783), followed by Somali (19,059) and English (18,758).[4]

The number of foreign-language speakers in Finland was stable from the end of World War II to the 1980s. Refugees began arriving in the 1970s: the first ones from Chile and Asia, others later from the Near and Middle East, Africa and Eastern Europe. Since the 1990s refugees have been taken in from Somalia and the territory of the former Yugoslavia (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the then Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Kosovo Albanians), but also from Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Myanmar, Sudan etc. (in detail Latomaa 2009: 229, Pohjanpää & al. 2003: 22.) A major turning point in immigration to Finland came at the start of the 1990s. Prior to that point in time immigration to Finland had primarily involved repatriation from Sweden.

Another factor contributing to the growing numbers of foreigners was the repatriation of Ingrian Finns from the territory of the former Soviet Union.[5] According to various sources, Finland had received 20,000 ethnic Finns by 1997, and about 25,000 ethnic Finns by the end of 2003 (see Liebkind 2004: 26-27).

Finnish and Estonian. Finnish and Estonian belong to the (Baltic-)Finnic language group of the Finno-Ugric (Uralic) language family. The Finnic group is now usually divided into 12 languages: Finnish, Estonian, Karelian, Ludian, Vepsian, Ingrian, Votian, Estonian, Livonian, Võro and Seto, Meänkieli (Tornedal Finnish) and Kven. These languages are or were spoken around the Gulf of Finland, in present-day Russia (east of the Gulf of Finland and around lakes Onega and Ladoga), Finland, Norway, Sweden, Estonia and Latvia. Võro and Seto (traditionally classified as dialects of Estonian) are spoken in south-eastern Estonia, Seto also on the Russian side of the border. The Finnic languages are mutually very closely related, sharing numerous grammatical and lexical features. Thus Estonian and Finnish are to some extent mutually intelligible, and learning Finnish on the basis of Estonian or vice versa is relatively easy.

[4] http://stat.fi/tup/maahanmuutto/maahanmuuttajat-vaestossa/vieraskieliset.html

[5] Ingria *(Inkeri),* the region around and west of St. Petersburg, was the home of a large allochthonous Finnish minority from the 17th century up to the Stalinist terror and World War II which decimated and dispersed most of the Finnish population. In the post-war years, many Ingrian Finns ended up in Estonia, and their descendants are also represented among the Estonians in Finland (see chapters 3.1.1, 3.1.4, 4.3.1, 4.3.7). From the 1990s until 2011, ethnic Finns from the former Soviet Union, mostly Ingrian Finns, enjoyed a special "repatriant" status in Finnish immigration policies.

The vehicular/vernacular languages of the group at issue. The main languages of communication of the Estonian community in Finland are Finnish and Estonian and/or local dialects of Finnish. As a rule, English (but sometimes also Russian) is used as the *lingua franca* between various groups. Estonian as spoken in Finland cannot be considered a separate language, nor is there currently any need to standardise this variety of Estonian. Until now, the Estonian language spoken in Finland has not figured in official discussions as a language variety requiring special attention.

The Estonian language spoken in Finland shows various influences from Finnish but only minimal differences from common Estonian (for more details see Praakli 2009, 2014; Praakli and Viikberg 2010: 28–30; Viikberg and Praakli 2013). In general, there are no clearly observable differences in the grammar or structure of the language; rather, Estonian as spoken in Finland is characterised by largely individual, spontaneous code-switchings between Estonian and Finnish, primarily at the lexical and pragmatic level (see Praakli 2009, 2014).

Identification. No research has yet been performed into the identity of Estonians in Finland. On the basis of the interviews (25) conducted by Kristiina Praakli (2009), however, it can be said that the Estonians of Tampere mainly define their identity on the basis of whether they see Finland as a temporary or a permanent country of residence. Estonians who see Finland as a temporary home identify themselves as ethnic Estonians and citizens of the Republic of Estonia, whose home currently happens to be Finland for a particular reason. Estonians who associate themselves permanently with Finland and see themselves and their family as having a future in Finland define themselves as Estonians living in Finland, thus addressing both ethnicity (Estonian) and their residence in another linguistic and cultural environment (Finland). In many interviews, subjects stressed the role of dual identity, mentioning the benefits of belonging to two cultures and simultaneously being an Estonian and a Finn. Their self-definition depends largely on their purpose for residing in the country as well as on the person's attitude toward Finland and Finns. The stated identity of persons permanently residing in Finland differs from the identity of commuters, who might work in Finland on weekdays but have a permanent residence in Estonia.

Ethnonyms. Information from ELDIA research (based on interviews with individual and groups) indicates that Finnish Estonians use designations such as "Estonian from Finland" or "Estonian living in Finland" when speaking of themselves or their community. While the pejorative designation *ryssät* (a traditional Finnish derogatory term for Russians) – which was primarily used in the 1990s to refer to immigrants from the Eastern Bloc – still comes up in colloquial speech every now and then, it is not a deeply ingrained term used to refer to Russian- or Estonian-speaking groups.

A lively discussion arose in both individual and focus group interviews when the respondents were asked how Estonians living in Finland should be referred to. The respondents expressed many opinions, particularly in regard to the expression *väliseestlased* (expatriate Estonians; this term seems to be associated to the Estonian refugee communities formed in

the Western world after 1944). There was a prevailing opinion that the best way to refer to Estonians living in Finland was *Soomes elav eestlane* (Estonian living in Finland) or *Soome eestlane* ("Estonian of Finland"); the majority of the respondents preferred the former one.

Interrelations and the social status(es) of the ethnic groups. Relations between the Estonian minority and the Finnish majority have not been comprehensively researched. A few studies (Liebkind 2004; Jaakkola 2009) have been undertaken on social networks among the Estonian minority in Finland; research has also been undertaken into the attitudes espoused by Finns regarding various minorities. According to studies, these attitudes vary, depending on the immigrants' nationality, status and activities in Finland. The results of these studies indicate that the Finns, with respect to the cultural and linguistic closeness of the Estonians, generally have a more favourable, supporting and understanding attitude towards Estonians than towards immigrants from non-European countries (see Liebkind 2004; Jaakkola 2009).

No research has yet been conducted on the contact between Estonians and other minorities in Finland. On the basis of the activities of local societies, however, it can be presumed that Estonians have closer contacts with Russians and Ingrian Finns from Estonia.

2.2.2 Previous research on the Estonian minority in Finland

Estonian communities in Finland have thus far predominantly been of interest to sociologists. Most of the research has been conducted in Finland. The research topics have included the integration of Finnish residents of foreign origin (including Estonians) into society (Pohjanpää & al. 2003; Liebkind & al. 2004; Paananen 2005), language choices within families, opportunities for using one's mother tongue and areas in which language is used (Pohjanpää & al. 2003; Liebkind & al. 2004; Tarnanen & Suni 2005) and cultural contacts and attitudes towards immigrants (Jaakkola 1999). Several papers and articles deal with the emigration of Estonians to Finland (Kulu 1992; Kyntäjä 1997; Kulu & Kyntäjä 1998; Laanekask 2006). Some studies have treated the social networks of Estonians in Finland (Pohjanpää & al. 2003; Liebkind & al. 2004; Tarnanen & Suni 2005; Reuter & Jaakkola 2005). The main emphasis in all of these works lies in the analysis of the integration of immigrants into society, one aspect of which consists of the social interactions of Estonian speakers.

Estonian researchers and research groups have predominantly dealt with the topic of international emigration (e.g. the University of Tartu Centre for Migration and Diaspora Studies and Statistics Estonia), for example Anniste 2009, 2011.

Research into the Estonian language in Finland and Estonian-Finnish multilingualism is still in the early stages. To date, two PhD theses have been defended (Praakli 2009, Hassinen 2002). Several of the articles deal with the history and way of life of the former Estonian village of Kabböle in Finland (Suhonen 1980; Punttila 1996; Mäkeläinen 2006).

Research has also been conducted into the linguistic development of children and language acquisition in a Finnish-language environment (Hassinen 2002; Teiss 2005, 2006). Some works deal with the Finnish proficiency of adult Estonian immigrants (Jääskeläinen 1997, 2002).

The Estonian community in Finland in research reports. The Estonian community in Finland has been briefly touched upon in the EU monitoring system *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe* (Compendium 2007) and in a survey on the cultural consumption of Estonians commissioned by the City of Helsinki *Vironkielisten maahanmuuttajien osallistuminen kulttuuri- ja yhdistyselämään* (Lagerspetz 2011).

Gaps in research. The most relevant gaps in the research into this minority involve the absence of sociolinguistic studies. Research into multilingualism, identity, second language acquisition, Estonian language sustainability, language retention and change and attitudes toward language as well as language policy should be continued.

2.3 Territorial and political context

Geographical territory. The Estonian community in Finland is not a "territorial minority". Unlike the speakers of other Finnic minority languages (e.g. the Meänkieli and Kven languages in Northern Sweden and Northern Norway), the Estonian community in Finland lacks a geographical territory or traditionally native habitat. As is characteristic of allochthonous (or immigrant) groups, the immigration behaviour of Estonians is city-oriented, i.e. it is focused on cities and large urban centres. Although Estonians are scattered all over the country, the majority live in the capital and in its satellite cities and districts and in other major cities. According to Statistics Finland (Tilastokeskus 2016), the majority of Estonians in Finland live in the Uusimaa region which includes the capital area (33,021), followed by Varsinais-Suomi (Turku and surroundings, 3,946), Pirkanmaa (Tampere and surroundings, 2,228) and Päijät-Häme (Lahti and surroundings, 1,495).

The migration of Estonian citizens to Finland is a permanent process. However, Finland did not immediately open its labour market to the new EU Member States that had joined the European Union in 2004, but first imposed a two-year transition period. Intensive migration began in the spring of 2006, when the restrictions on the movement of workers from the countries ended.

The main reasons for emigration are the increased desire to work abroad, but people's decisions to migrate are based not only on their current standard of living and the current labour market situation, but also on future developments (income, job opportunities etc). Finland is preferred due to its geographic and cultural closeness and a relatively low language barrier, and also because of the large Estonian community in Finland, which simplifies the process of moving there. Estonians are primarily employed in five fields: construction, health care, transport, agriculture and the service sector.

As the Estonian minority in Finland is a relatively young minority group, it is not at present possible to assess the language group's geographical stability or mobility. However, the migration behaviour of Estonians throughout history tends to be best characterised by compact habitation.

2.4 Cultural context

2.4.1 Cultural symbols and cultural activities

Cultural symbols. Thanks to the cultural closeness between Estonia and Finland, there is a fair amount of similarity in mindsets, traditional lifestyles, traditions, customs and ethnic symbols. However, the question as to whether and to what extent cultural symbols are related to traditional lifestyles requires study.

Cultural signs symbolising Estonian identity are not in a prominent place in the daily public lives of Estonians in Finland. In general, Finland's Estonians do not identify themselves publicly through ethnosymbols (such as traditional garments) which express cultural identity and which would make the minority familiar in public life and distinct from other minorities in Finland. Even though a significant part of Estonian identity in the general sense revolves around national handicraft, folk costumes, folk song and folk music, these are not practised on a daily basis in public life, but only on certain holidays and at cultural events (such as song and dance festivals). The most conspicuous marker of Estonian identity in public space are the Estonian grocery stores present in many Finnish towns and cities and the goods of Estonian origin sold there (black bread, curds and sour cream).

In private space (Estonians' homes) the use of ethnosymbols characteristic of identity varies from person to person. Typical symbols of Estonian identity used in private spaces include folk handicraft, national symbols (flag), Estonian language wall calendars and kitchenware made from juniper and Saaremaa dolomite etc.

Estonian societies and organisations in Finland. There are several Estonian or Estonia-related societies and organisations in Finland. The best known to the Finnish public are the Tuglas Society (*Tuglas-Seura*; http://www.tuglas.fi), founded in 1982 by Finnish Estophiles, and the Union of Finnish-Estonian societies known to the public as SVYL (*Suomen Viro-yhdistysten liitto,* http://www.svyl.net), which acts as an umbrella organisation for a number of small Finnish-Estonian societies. On the national level, the Embassy of the Republic of Estonia (http://www.estemb.fi/est) and the Estonian Institute in Helsinki (http://www.viro-instituutti.fi) are the principal promoters of Estonian language and culture. All of these organisations and societies hold Estonian-themed events. Relevant and regularly updated information on events, language courses etc. is available on their websites. A major annual event which has turned into a tradition and holds a strong position in Helsinki's cultural life is the St. Martin's Day Fair, known to the Finnish public as *Martin Markkinat* (http://www.martinmarkkinat.fi).

The oldest society founded by Finnish Estonians is the Estonian Club in Tampere, which was established in spring 1996 (www.eestiklubi.fi). The club is primarily engaged in organising Estonian-themed cultural events, activities for children and joint holiday celebrations. There are or have been Estonian societies in Kotka, Turku, Rovaniemi etc.

In November 2002, representatives of Estonian societies from all over Finland founded the Union of Finnish Estonians in Tampere (http://eestlasedsoomes.wordpress.com/about/). The establishing act of the union states that it is a national central organisation of Estonians in Finland representing their interests in the country. Its purpose is to support the integration of Estonians into Finnish society, the founding of Estonian societies and cultural associations and Estonians running for political office in Finland irrespective of their party affiliations. Regrettably, in the last few years the union has shown very little activity.

Estonians in Finland traditionally celebrate the Independence Day of the Republic of Estonia, Shrove Tuesday, Mothers' Day, St. Martin's Day and Christmas; since 2002, the Estonian Club in Tampere has been taking the initiative in organising summer festivals *(suvepäevad* 'summer days').

2.4.2 Language use in different domains

Media. The Estonian community in Finland does not have an Estonian-language public broadcasting or print media channel available to them. Until 2002, Estonian-language radio programmes were broadcast once a week (for 30 minutes on Saturdays) by the radio station Radio Moreeni maintained by the Tampere University. After the ELDIA study was conducted, a commercial Estonian-language radio channel *Finest FM* was launched in 2013; it can be heard in southernmost Finland and in the Internet. Also, the Estonian community in Finland has from time to time published its own newspaper: *Eesti Leht* was published from 1997-2003 (once or twice a year) on the initiative of the Estonian community and the Estonian Club in Tampere. In 2003 and 2004, a revamped version of the newspaper continued appearing under a new name *Binokkel* (four issues in total). Since then, the publication has ceased.

Two studies have been conducted on diasporic minorities and their media in Finland: an M.A. thesis by Minna Suihkonen (2003) and a country report by Ralf Kauranen and Salla Tuori (Åbo Akademi University, Department of Sociology) on diasporic minorities and their media in contemporary Finland (Kauranen & Tuori 2001).

Learning Estonian in Finland. In Finland, a wide range of language-learning options are available. Courses in Estonian are offered at adult learning centres, language schools and universities. Of all foreign countries, it is in Finland where the traditions of academic studies of Estonian are the longest: the first university lectorate of Estonian was opened in 1923 at Helsinki University, where the very first lecturer was Villem Grünthal-Ridala. The majority of Finnish universities have at one time or another provided academic studies of Estonian, whether as an area of specialisation (in connection with Finnish or Finno-Ugric studies) or simply in the form of a language course. At the time of writing this research report (2014), it

was possible to learn Estonian at the universities of Helsinki, Tampere, Jyväskylä, Turku and Oulu.

As for **Finnish general education institutions**, Estonian is taught exclusively at Latokartano basic school (*Latokartanon peruskoulu*) in Helsinki. Latokartano is currently the only Finnish institution at this level of education offering a bilingual curriculum (in Estonian and Finnish) for students from the 1st to the 9th grades whose native language is Estonian. Around 650 students attend lessons at this school, *ca* 170 of whom are enrolled in the bilingual study programme. The purpose of this teaching method is to ensure that the students achieve active bilingualism, developing their Estonian and Finnish language skills equally, and gain a good knowledge of Estonian culture. The main purposes of bilingual education are defined in the policy document of the school, which are available on its website (http://eestiklass.wordpress.com/). The programme is based on the curriculum established for Finnish basic schools. After graduating, students can choose whether to continue their studies in a secondary educational institution. Furthermore, Estonian as a foreign language is offered as an optional subject to other students of the school.

In Finland, the state supports the teaching of the mother tongues of immigrant (*maahan-muuttaja*) children. According to §12 of the Basic Education Act (*Perusopetuslaki*), the parents and caregivers of immigrant children have a legal right to request that municipalities organise the teaching of their native language to their children. The purpose of teaching immigrant children their parents' native language is to support and promote their native language skills, knowledge of their cultural background and development of their cultural identity. While the law states that parents or caregivers have the right to request the teaching of their native language to their children, the provision of such an arrangement depends on circumstances. Estonian lessons are organised if the parents or caregivers of at least four children have made such a request and if it is possible for the school or municipality to create a study group of four students (minimum) and to find a competent teacher. Provided that these conditions are met, a school or a municipality is obligated to arrange at least two classes per week. In general, such classes are attended at the end of the school day, right after other classes, at the students' school or at another school in the neighbourhood. If possible, language skills and the ages of the students are taken into account when forming study groups. Native language lessons are not part of the compulsory curriculum. Although such studies are voluntary, attending the lessons is compulsory for the students who requested them.

Developing the language skills of **pre-school children** is mostly up to local Estonian societies. In general, children's play groups are held on weekends. There is currently just one Estonian-language day-care centre in Finland: in October 2012, the kindergarten "Anni" was opened in Helsinki on the initiative of the local Estonian community (www.annilastentarha.fi).

The Estonian-language Education Society in Helsinki (founded in November 2007; http://www.eestikeelsehariduseselts.fi) deals with questions related to studies in Estonian

and other educational issues in Finland. The society is a non-profit organisation whose activities are based on voluntary participation. Its main purposes are to preserve and develop Estonian language and culture in Finland, to promote and support Estonian-language education in Finland and to organise school studies in Estonian.

Estonians on the Finnish political scene. Finnish Estonians have not formed any political associations. Their participation in Finnish politics has been rather passive. Although some Estonians have run for political office in local elections (in 2004 and 2012), none have been elected. Political figures with Estonian background or politics who are actively engaged in promoting the 'Estonian cause' are non-existent on the Finnish political landscape.

Administration, court, public institutions. In Finland, the position of Estonian is similar to that of any other immigrant group language: the native language is mostly used to communicate in the family circle or with close friends. As Estonians tend to have quite a good command of spoken Finnish, they are able to communicate in Finnish in government agencies. However, the use of Estonian is not ruled out in official communication: for example, in Tampere there is an information centre for foreigners (*Tampereen maahan-muuttajaneuvonta*), where customer service is provided in 16 different languages, including Estonian. The websites of a number of government agencies are available in Estonian, and comprehensive Estonian-language information materials have been published.

Several government offices have published detailed Estonian-language information materials on Finnish legislation, integration and a variety of everyday issues. Individuals who do not speak Finnish can use the services of a translator to communicate in government agencies, if required.

Church. Ecclesiastical activities in Estonian take place in the Lutheran church of Alppila in Helsinki. The church also hosts a children's song and play group, *Sipsik* (for Estonian-speaking children up to five years old), and an adult choir, Siller (http://www.siller.fi/www/).

Local politicians. Estonians in Finland have not established their national political representation. There are no top-politicians of Estonian origin known to the public. Several Estonians participate actively in the activities of local governments, but are not known to the wider public.

Academic use of Estonian. Working languages at academic events held in Finland are usually Finnish (or Swedish) and/or English. However, Estonian may be used as a working language at conferences on Estonian language and culture.

2.5 Languages in contact and language maintenance

2.5.1 General description of the languages at issue

Estonian belongs to the Finnic (Baltic-Finnic) language group of the Finno-Ugric (Uralic) language family and is closely related to Finnish. The relatedness of the Finnic languages and their position in the Uralic language family have been thoroughly researched since the 19th century, but many details of prehistorical developments, such as the geographic origins, localisation and dating of the diverse proto-language stages are still open to some debate. For a detailed overview of the linguistic background of Estonian, see e.g. Erelt (2003).

Typologically, Estonian, although usually classified as an agglutinating language, has moved towards the inflecting (fusional) and analytic (isolating) types, while Finnish is more conservative and more clearly agglutinating; this means that Estonian sometimes expresses grammatical relations with stem alternations or independent grammatical words where Finnish uses clearly segmentable grammatical suffixes (for more details, see e.g. Metslang 1994). Despite these differences, Estonian and Finnish share a large part of their morphology and morphophonological phenomena such as the consonant gradation (an originally phonological but now grammatically conditioned alternation of original stops with fricatives or zero). In contrast to the 14 cases in Estonian, most Finnish grammars distinguish 15 cases for Finnish. The exact number of the cases in Finnic can be subject to debate, as the border between adverbial cases and adverb derivation is not clear. Nevertheless, more relevant than the exact number of the cases is that the case systems as a whole are almost identical.

Of the five often-mentioned characteristic features of Estonian (cf. Viitso 2003: 130) – 1) the presence of three contrastive quantities of vowels and most consonants, 2) 14 case forms both in the singular and the plural, 3) postpositions prevailingly instead of prepositions, 4) a specific illabial mid-high central vowel *õ* and 5) no voiced stops and sibilants – three (2, 3, 5) are shared with Finnish. For more descriptions of the differences between Estonian and Finnish: see e.g. Metslang 1994; Remes 1995, 2009.

Finnish and Estonian also share a considerable part of their lexicon, which makes them to some extent mutually intelligible – especially in the most elementary level for basic communication needs – and easily learnable. At the same time, the seemingly common vocabulary includes numerous “false friends” (for instance, *hallitus* means ‘mould’ in Estonian, ‘government’ in Finnish; Fin *sulhanen* means ‘bridegroom, fiancé’ while Est *sulane* means ‘farmhand’; Fin *vaimo* means ‘wife’, while its Estonian cognate *vaim* means ‘spirit, ghost’, etc).

In the area of today’s Estonia, the traditional spoken varieties originally belonged to two deeply different main dialect groups (or tribal languages): the North Estonian dialect and the South Estonian dialect. The literary language, which started to develop in the 16th century, was at first cultivated in two varieties – North Estonian (or the Tallinn language) and South Estonian (or the Tartu language). From the 18th century on, the North Estonian literary language gradually ousted its Southern rival. After intensive language planning in the early

20th century, the Northern-based literary language became the dominant standard language of Estonia (for more details, see Erelt 2003).

The Language Act of the Republic of Estonia entered into force 1 April 1995. According to this Act, the official language of Estonia is Estonian. Any language other than Estonian is a foreign language (§2). The language of public administration in state agencies, local governments and agencies thereof (hereinafter local governments) and the language of service and command in the Estonian Defence Forces shall be Estonian.

2.5.2 Monolingualism, bilingualism and multilingualism

The main languages of communication of the Estonian community in Finland are Finnish and Estonian and/or local dialects of Finnish. However, by the present moment, the multilingual behaviour of Estonians living in Finland has been but minimally studied. Based on the interviews carried out by Kristiina Praakli it can be said that, for example, the first generation Estonians living in in Tampere appreciate bilingualism: beside good knowledge of and good communication skills in their native Estonian, which they think should be transmitted to next generations, good knowledge of Finnish is also considered essential. Bilingualism is considered an asset and knowledge of both languages is emphasized.

2.5.3 Results of language contact

Describing the stability of the language contact situation is complicated at the moment. The Estonian-Finnish contact situation is rather short-term, the bilingual language use by the speakers and the norms of their multilingual behaviour inside the community are still taking form. There are no surveys or data bases, which would enable to make conclusions about changes in the contact situation.

Estonian-Finnish code-switching phenomena have been studied by Kristiina Praakli (2009). In the Tampere data, the bilingual language use of first-generation speakers is characterised by major code-switchings to Finnish within a sentence. Typical code-switchings are single words that are generally (but not always) phonologically and/or morpho-syntactically integrated. The most frequent types of words are nouns (64%), discourse particles (18%) and verbs (8%). Influence of the Finnish language in different amounts can be observed in the speech of all the informants.

Sirje Hassinen (2002) has analysed language acquisition, concentrating on code-mixing phenomena by simultaneously bilingual, Finnish-Estonian children (at age 1.2–4.0). The purpose of her thesis was to analyse the acquisition of vocabulary and inflectional form as well as the development of their utterances. Hassinen´s approach to the children´s language usage was mainly linguistic, considering also some psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic features.

Karmela Liebkind (Liebkind & al 2004) has studied the language choices of Finland's new minority groups in different fields of language use and transmission of the language to the

next generation. The results of her study reveal a connection between Finnish language skills and language choices: the better respondents can speak Finnish, the more exclusive was the use of the native language in family communication with children. Approximately half of the Russian and two-thirds of the Estonian women living in Finland primarily or exclusively use Finnish for communicating with their children, which can in turn be explained by the multiplicity of exogamic marriages.

Liebkind also assesses the role of the level of education in language choices. It appears that informants who have higher education (with the exception of Ingrian Finns) use their own language (Estonian or Russian) more, independently of how well they can speak Finnish. The results of surveys by Mirja Tarnanen and Minna Suni (2005) also refer to the Estonian community as an extremely heterogeneous group by their linguistic behaviour.

2.5.4 Perception of learnability and willingness to use the language

There is no previous research on learnability and willingness to use the languages by minority speakers. The current ideologies of both countries, Estonia and Finland, at the official level, support pluralism.

The survey initiated by the Ministry of Education and Science of Estonia and carried out among the Estonians residing in Finland (2007) shows that more than half of the respondents (total 357 respondents) would like their children to be taught partly in Estonian, partly in Finnish. The most popular option would be bilingual teaching arranged in conformity with the Finnish curriculum; this wish was expressed by 115 people or 54 % of the Estonian respondents residing in Helsinki and in the surroundings. 19 % of the respondents would like their children to be taught in Finnish, according to the Finnish curriculum, while an equal share, 19 % of respondents would prefer their children to be taught in Estonian and in accordance with the Estonian curriculum. 8 % wish their children to be taught in Estonian but according to the Finnish curriculum. Thus 81 % of the respondents residing in the capital and its surroundings would like their children to be taught in conformity with the Finnish curriculum, but at the same time, a major part of the respondents finds that it is important to increase the percentage of lessons in the Estonian language.

The children attending school in Finland are entitled to receive up to two lessons a week in their mother tongue. 58% of respondents find it not enough to maintain and develop the children's Estonian language skills. At the same time, only 29% of the respondents' children use the possibility. One of the reasons is obviously the fact that parents are not informed well enough – 21% of respondents are not aware of the possibility. Moreover, attending Estonian classes can be difficult as the lessons often take place in another school, far from home. 92 % of the 357 respondents agreed to participate in the discussion on Estonian language education also in the future. (For more details, see http://www.hm.ee/index.php?048347).

3 Data sampling and methods

This chapter provides a brief overview on how the fieldwork in ELDIA was organised and what methods were applied for data collection. First, it describes the organisation of the fieldwork, then outlines the sampling and methods for both the questionnaire survey and the interviews, and ends with a description of sociodemographic background of informants.

Designing the data sampling was originally the task of Jarmo Lainio (University of Stockholm). The fieldwork was conducted following the ELDIA Fieldwork Manual which was prepared by Jarmo Lainio in cooperation with Karl Pajusalu, Kadri Koreinik and Kristiina Praakli (all from the University of Tartu).

3.1 Sample survey

3.1.1 Minority language speakers' survey

The mail survey commenced in January 2011 and lasted for three months, including participants from all over Finland. All minority group participants received the questionnaire in Finnish and Estonian, leaving it up to the participant to decide in which language to fill out the questionnaire. The questionnaire was accompanied by a consent form for participation in the survey and an invitation to participate in additional individual and focus group interviews.

Regrettably, participation in the survey was lower than expected, the number of respondents being 170 (response rate 21.4%). There are several possible reasons for the low response rate and reluctance to participate in the survey. A number of representatives of the younger generation had not lived in Finland for long enough to participate in the survey and did not feel a strong connection to Finland (yet). As for the older age groups (50–64 and 65+), several people included in the sample on the basis of language data of the population register did not speak any Estonian or their Estonian was quite poor. The latter age groups also featured several individuals of Ingrian Finnish and Russian origin whose native language and/or language spoken at home is Russian and/or Ingrian Finnish. To increase the survey response rate, a second invitation was sent to participants and they were contacted by social media channels. This specific approach did not prove to be very productive, although the number of respondents is large enough to yield representative analysis and interpretation results.

The control group survey was conducted along the same principles, including randomly selected participants from age groups 18–29, 30–49, 50–64 and 65+ (800 in total) from all over Finland. However, participation was rather passive and only 142 questionnaires were returned (response rate 17.8%).

3.1.2 Data collecting modes

The survey was carried out as a mail survey. A project questionnaire (both in Estonian and Finnish) with an informational cover letter was sent to all persons who had agreed to participate. An invitation to take part in individual and focus group interviews was enclosed to questionnaires. Questionnaires were posted on 15th January 2011. The second stage of fieldwork involved thematic individual and focus group interviews with minority group (informants were selected from age groups 18–29, 30–49, 50–64 and 65+), majority media representatives and politicians from the control group, all conducted along the same principles. Individual interviews included 40 and group interviews 20 questions.

3.1.3 The survey questionnaires

For all ELDIA case studies, two survey questionnaires (for the minority group and the control group) were created centrally; the master questionnaires were translated into the minority and majority languages at issue. (For the case studies conducted by the ELDIA team of the University of Oulu in the multilingual area of Northern Sweden and Norway, the questionnaire was slightly modified with respect to the multilingual situation involving many minority languages. In the case of Estonians in Finland, no adapted questionnaire was used.)

Unfortunately, due to various problems which finally led to the withdrawal of the University of Stockholm from the project and the resulting heavy time pressure, the questionnaires could not be properly tested before use: some minor technical errors remained, and the questionnaire as a whole was often experienced as too lengthy and challenging. Moreover, all questions were not equally relevant for all case studies. In the case of this study, some respondents did not find the questions 22–27 relevant for the Estonian minority in Finland, and the questions 37, 38, 41–43 provoked negative or ironic comments from many respondents.

A revised version of the MinLg questionnaire, developed on the basis of the experiences from the ELDIA case studies, has been published as an attachment to the *EuLaViBar Toolkit,* downloadable at *http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:301101*.

Minority Group Survey. In the case of Estonians in Finland one survey questionnaire was used. The target group survey questionnaire consisted of 63 questions. More precisely, they were question sets because many questions had a number of alternatives that increased the actual number of questions to 373. These included 31 open-ended questions, some of them as alternatives.

The target group questions were divided into the following thematic categories:

1. Basic information about the informant (1–6). This section covered the personal information of the anonymous respondents: age, birth place (country, rural or urban), education and profession. These are the sociological basic variables that were compared to other variables in the data analysis.

2. Background of language usage (7–27). This extensive section mapped the stage at which the informant had learned the minority and majority language(s) at issue, the information about language usage with family members and relatives such as spouses, children, parents and grandparents, sisters and brothers and other family members. Language usage at school age was inquired separately.

3. Language skills (28–32). This section outlined the language skills of the informants in the minority language, majority language, English and eventually in another language. The questions included variables in private and public sphere, such as home, work, school, street, shopping, library, church, authorities and local activities.

4. Attitude towards different languages and desire to use them (33–59). This was the largest and most complex section in the questionnaire. The respondents were asked to evaluate various statements about the usage and mixed usage of the minority and majority language. Furthermore, several variables were used to cover the informant's attitude towards language usage in various contexts. The respondents had to characterise the relevant languages by means of various adjectives and comment on their usefulness. The last part of this section dealt with the role of language planning and the ideas of correct language usage.

5. Language usage in public and private sphere (60–61). This brief section completed the points of the two preceding ones by asking a more detailed question on the presence of the minority language in public sphere.

6. Culture, media and social media in different languages (62–63). The last section sought to find out how the informants use media in different languages. The same selection that was applied earlier was repeated here: minority language, majority language, English, another language. Both sets of questions focused on reading and writing.

Control Group Survey. The control group (majority population; henceforth: CG) survey questionnaire was based on the contents and structure of the MinLG survey. However, several parts of the questionnaire were shortened especially with respect to the use and adopting of the MinLG. The major differences in comparison with the MinLG survey are the following: a detailed section about cross- and intergenerational language use was changed into few focussed questions, and questions concerning attitudes were either changed or replaced (e.g in many cases questions were asked about two different MinLGs of each case study). Structurally, the CG questionnaire consisted of the following parts: basic information about the respondent (Q1-6), background of language usage (Q7-11), language skills (Q14-18), attitude towards different languages (Q12-13 and Q 19-46), culture, media and social media in different languages (Q47). The minority group questionnaire was more specific in terms of inter-generational and intra-generational language choices, also some questions on attitudes were changed.

The data collection modes for the CG were the same as in the MinLg survey and thus the questionnaires were sent exclusively by mail.

The response rate for the CG survey amounts to 19,7%. In total, 119 questionnaires were returned, of which 77 were complete and 43 were only partly completed. Approximately 3,3% of the addressed individuals either refused to participate in the survey or returned the questionnaire blank.

It must be admitted that according to the respondents' opinion quite a few questions were problematic and unnecessary due to the background and particular nature of the language community, for example, questions on language use at educational institutions during the respondents' school-age period (it must be kept in mind that the majority of respondents were born and brought up in Estonia and received their education in an Estonian-language general education institution), opinions on the language use of small children in the respondents' childhood and currently, obstructing the use of Estonian, etc. However, it must be emphasised that fieldwork methodology provided for conducting identical surveys in all communities without any exceptions. So, while some questions might not have been relevant for the Estonian community, the very same questions were of great significance for other communities, providing ample and highly valuable information on multilingual and language behaviour.

3.1.4 Target population, sampling frame and sample size

Target population. Estonians as residents of Finland were included in the survey on the basis of a randomly selected representative sample ordered from the population register. Survey questionnaires were sent to 800 representatives of the minority group and to 800 representatives of the control group, who were all randomly selected from the following age groups: 18–29, 30–49, 50–64 and 65+.

Response rate. The target amount of filled-in responses was 800. As of April 31, 2011, total number of questionnaires returned was 170 (response rate 21.25%). In the case of Estonians in Finland, due to various reasons, the target amount of filled-in responses was difficult to reach.

The low percentage of responding to the questionnaires by Estonians living in Finland and their unwillingness to participate in the research can be explained differently. Many representatives of the younger generation (age group 18–29) said they had lived in Finland for too short a period to take part in the study, did not speak Finnish, did not know the political, educational ect. situation or circumstances in Finland or did not relate themselves with Finland (they work in Finland, but their home is in Estonia) and other personal reasons, which primarily became apparent in recruiting for the individual and focus group interviews: many families had emigrated to Finland during the economic stagnation in Estonia 2008–2009, and they did not want to know anything about the study, but to settle in their new home country and focus on a new beginning in Finland.

In the case of the older age groups (50-64 and 65+), it was found that many of those who in the list were officially registered as speakers of Estonian did not really know Estonian or spoke it poorly. In the older age group, there were a lot of people of Ingrian Finnish (or Russian) extraction who filled the questionnaire but added a comment that their mother tongue and home language is Ingrian Finnish.

Survey outcome	**N**	**%**
Completed questionnaire	170 from 800	21.5 %
Partial questionnaire (more than 50% completed)	5	
Out of scope: CG questionnaire was used	0	
Out of scope: survey not carried out		
Non-contact: correct address not found	8	
Non-contact: Contact attempts failed	200 through Facebook	
Refusal: by the respondent	6	
Refusal; by the respondent's family member	1	
Refusal due to e.g. incapability	2	
Technical problems	0	
TOTAL	170	

Table 1. Minority language survey outcome and response rate

3.2 Individual interviews

The second stage of fieldwork involved individual and focus group interviews with informants of minority and majority groups. Eight additional individual interviews were conducted with male and female informants from all age groups of the minority group (18–29, 30–49, 50–64, 65+). While the survey was carried out in the entire territory of Finland, interviews were first and foremost conducted with Estonians living in Helsinki and its surrounding areas. Suitable informants had to meet the following criteria: residence in Finland for at least five years, Estonian native language but also fluent knowledge of Finnish, regular contacts with Finns as well as with the local Estonian community.

Although all interviews were conducted successfully, the project researchers had to take into account the fact that two more surveys were being carried out among the Estonian community in Helsinki simultaneously with ELDIA fieldwork, likely having an effect on people's willingness to participate in one or another survey.

Interview structure. All interviews were semi-structured and followed the general ELDIA format. Still, certain questions vary from one language community to another. Each individual interview included about 40 questions. Interview duration depends on the subjects covered, the total interview length being on the average 90 minutes.

All individual interviews followed the thematic template below. All interviews were meant to be qualitative semi-structured interviews.

I. Mother tongue:

- What is/are your mother/your parents/ mother tongue /or mother tongues? Is it easy or difficult to determine your mother tongue? Why?
- Who is a speaker of your mother tongue? Who else in your family/ in your neighborhood uses your mother tongue?
- What does your mother tongue mean to you? What kind of advantages have you had because of your mother tongue?
- What do you think yourself: is your mother tongue strong/vital in general? Who is responsible for your mother tongue? Why?
- What should be done for your mother tongue to develop it? What are the best ways to ensure the future of your mother tongue(s)? Should the language(s) be preserved or maintained? Who should be in charge of saving the language? (Speakers? Society by taxes, etc.?)

II. Other languages

- What have been important languages for you during your lifetime? Why?
- What languages do you master at an everyday level? Where do/did? you learn them / Would you like to master more languages? What further languages? Why?
- What makes in your opinion other languages attractive / ugly or useless?
- Should people acquire other languages than their own mother tongue? Why?

III. Attitudes towards multilingualism

- Do you need to use more than one language in your everyday life? With whom do you speak different languages? In what circumstances? Why?
- What languages would it be good to know? Why?
- Are multilingual persons valued higher than monolingual in your society? If so in what ways?
- Whose responsibility is it to teach different languages?
- Do you think that your society should be more multilingual? Less multilingual?

IV. Languages and modernisation

- How has the modernisation of life (e.g. technological change, increased mobility, new communication modes, etc.) influenced the use of languages in your society / for you at home?
- Do you use new media? What languages do you use in new media (internet)? Do you use some language more/less than earlier because of new media languages?

- Is language teaching efficient in school? What should be done to make it more effective?
- What do you think about the future of languages? How do you feel, are there more or less languages used in the world / in your country after ten years?
- How would you describe the future of your mother tongue?
- Which are the important steps to achieve a better understanding between different ethnic groups /nations?

Recording device(s). With permission of each participant, all of the interviews were recorded with a video camera Panasonic and with a Handy Portable Stereo Recorder ZoomH2 (http://www.zoom.co.jp/english/products/h2/), interviews were transported to the computer and were transcribed for content analysis in full.

3.3 Focus group interviews

3.3.1 Focus group interviews with the target group

Focus group interviews with members of the minority group included 4–6 respondents. Also, separate interviews were carried out with men and women in the age group 30–49 and an additional interview with the experts, that is, with Estonians actively engaged in the area of Estonian language and culture. Focus group interviews focused on language and culture preservation issues and lasted approximately 90 minutes. Interviews were conducted in the spring of 2011 by Tiina Hakman. The Estonian informants participating in focus group interviews lived in Helsinki or its surrounding areas.

In addition to interviews with representatives of the minority group, two focus group interviews were conducted with representatives of the majority group: with 1) Finnish media representatives and 2) Finnish experts in minority issues. As for the last group, it was considered important that they had been exposed to or were informed about issues related to the Estonian community in Finland. The main subjects for both interviews were immigration, Finnish minority, education and cultural policy, the role of media and the present situation and future of minority languages in Finland. The duration of both interviews was approximately 90 minutes. These interviews were conducted in the spring of 2011 by Tiina Hakman and Kristiina Praakli.

3.4 Sociodemographic distribution

The minority group. The minority group survey involved 170 respondents, the majority of whom (85.3%) filled out the Estonian-language questionnaire. In terms of sex distribution, women dominated among respondents (115 or 68.1%), as expected, while men constituted about one third of the total number of respondents (54 or 32%). The age distribution structure of respondents does not display significant differences. Although the response rate

was highest in the age group 50–64 (54 or 32%) and lowest (29 or 17%) in the youngest age group (18–29), all age groups are more or less equally represented: the highest number of respondents is from the age group 50–64 (32%) and age groups 30–49 and 65+ are slightly less, but still almost equally represented (44 or 26% and 42 or 25% respectively).

	18-29	**30-49**	**50-64**	**65+**	**Total**
Male	6	16	20	12	54
Female	3	28	34	29	114
Total	29	44	54	41	168

Table 2. Age and sex distribution of respondents

The following figure shows the distribution of respondents by age and sex.

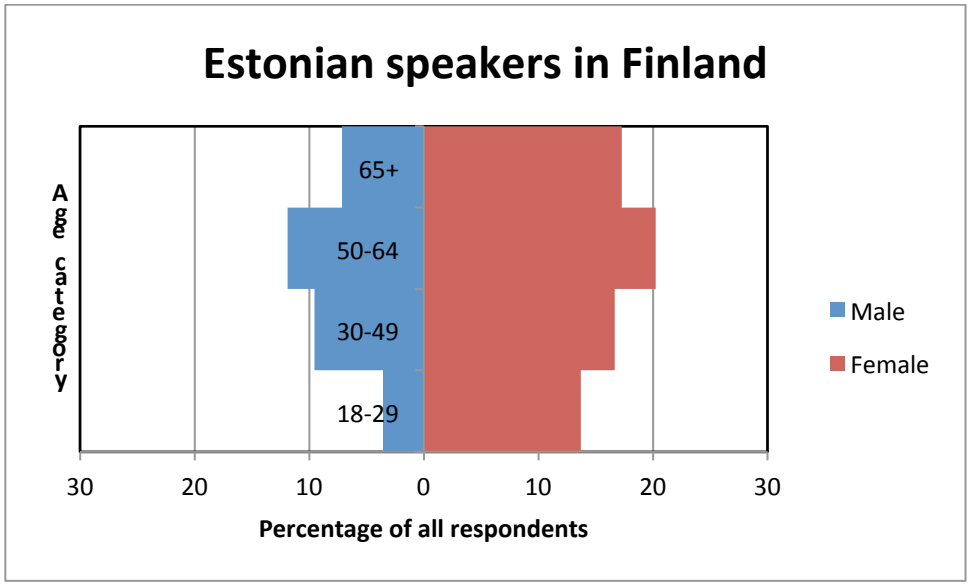

Figure 1. Age and sex distribution of respondents

Data on **household** composition indicates that at the time of responding to the survey, a considerable share of respondents (38%) were co-habiting with a spouse or a significant other, but without children. About a third of the respondents (29.6%) lived in a one-member household and 20.8% were in a relationship with a spouse/significant other and children. Other household types were less common: 5.6% of the respondents lived in a household with a single parent with one child/children and the smallest share of the respondents lived in the same household with their parents (2.5%). The so-called three-generation household (grandparents, parents and children) was quite rare and in isolated cases, the household type was described as "other". Hence, slightly more than half of the respondents (58.8%) live in a household consisting of a married or co-habiting couple and 20.8% of those households include children as well.

More than half of the survey respondents (91 or 55.5%) were employed (a total of 16 lines of work mentioned), about a third (47 or 28.7%) were retired and one tenth described their

professional activity as "other". In isolated cases respondents mentioned looking for a job or working at home.

Respondents' country of birth. Almost all survey respondents were born outside of Finland: the majority in Estonia (142), 14 in the territory of the former Soviet Union (13 in the historical territory of Ingria, 1 in Karelia), 1 in Poland and only 4 respondents of 170 indicated Finland as their country of birth. Additional comments to questions reveal that the majority of respondents born in Estonia or in the territory of the Former Soviet Union emigrated to Finland either after Estonia regained independence (1991), after the eastward enlargement of the EU (2004) or after restrictions on free movement of labour between Estonia and Finland were removed (2006).

The greater part of respondents lived at the time of participating in the survey in Finland, as a rule, in larger cities, primarily in the Greater Helsinki area (Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa). Seven respondents identified Estonia as their country of residence: these respondents are probably commuters who have a place of residence in both countries and who stay in Finland mainly for work.

Respondents' education. More than half of the respondents had secondary education (81 or 57%), one third had higher education (42 or 29.6%) and 12% primary education. Two respondents belonging to the oldest age group (65+) had no formal education whatsoever. Respondents were also asked to answer questions about their parents education. Gathered data indicates that the majority of respondents' parents had at least secondary education and, in general, mothers had a higher level of education than fathers.

The control group. Control group respondents (that is, Finns) were randomly selected. While target group participants could choose between a Finnish-language and an Estonian-language questionnaire, control group participants received the questionnaire in both official languages of Finland, that is, in Finnish and Swedish. In total, 146 filled-out questionnaires were returned, the majority of which were filled out in Finnish (92%) and the rest (8%) in Swedish. The survey was conducted by mail.

63% of control group respondents were women (cf with 68% in the target group). The response rate was most active in the age group 50-64 (29%) and most passive in the youngest age group 18–29 (21%). Other age groups were represented more or less equally (24% in the age group 30–49; 26% in the oldest age group 65+). Data on household composition reveals that about half of the respondents (41%) were in a relationship with a spouse/significant other, but lived without children, a quarter (25%) lived alone, 22% lived in a two-generation household (a spouse/significant other and children) and 5% in a household with a single parent and a child/children. All respondents without an exception were born in Finland. As for the level of education of the respondents, the largest share were with secondary education (42%), 35% had basic education 20% and 3 respondents had allegedly no education whatsoever. Major differences were not identified in the level of education of the respondents' parents: the majority of mothers had basic (47%) or secondary education

(30%); as for fathers, their respective figures were somewhat lower: 44% had basic education and 28% secondary education; 15% of fathers had higher education in contrast to 11% of mothers. About half of the respondents were employed or studied (52%), a third (30%) were retired, 8% were unemployed or looking for a job, the rest worked at home (6%) or described their professional activity as "other" (4%).

3.5 The principles underlying the ELDIA data analyses

by Anneli Sarhimaa and Eva Kühhirt

The new materials that were collected by means of the questionnaire survey and the interviews were systematically analysed within ELDIA Work Package 5 (WP5). In order to enhance the comparability of the results obtained in the different case studies, the analyses of all datasets, including that which is discussed in this report, were conducted in the same way. The analyses followed the ELDIA WP5 Manual and the WP5 Manual Sequel, which were compiled by Anneli Sarhimaa and Eva Kühhirt (University of Mainz, Germany) with the support of Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark (Åland Islands Peace Institute) and the project researchers involved in the various case stdies. The instructions were confirmed by the ELDIA Steering Committee.

3.5.1 Minority languages as part of multilingualism in modern societies

At its most general level, the goal of the data analyses was to provide new information on a selection of central sociolinguistic, legal and sociological aspects of modern European multilingualism. In contrast to most other studies concerned with (European) minority languages, the ELDIA research agenda stresses the necessity of assessing minority language vitality in relation to a much wider multilingual context than that of a particular minority language and the local majority language. Like speakers of majority languages, speakers of minority languages in Europe use different languages in different contexts, although there are also cases where members of an economically disprivileged minority do not have equal access to the entire range of languages, e.g. by way of education. It is our belief that the vitality of a minority language depends not only on its relationship with the local majority language but also on the position which it occupies within the matrix of all the languages that are used in that particular society, and sometimes even of languages spoken in the neighbouring countries, as is the case with, for example, Northern Sámi, Meänkieli, Karelian and Seto.

In ELDIA, new data were methodically collected from minority-language speakers and control group respondents, relating not only to the use of and attitudes towards the minority language in question but also to the use of and attitudes towards the relevant national languages and international languages (English, German, French, and, in some cases, Russian). Thus, one of the aims of the data analyses was to identify patterns of multilingualism and try to determine whether local multilingualism patterns favour or

threaten the maintenance of a particular minority language. Instructions on how to analyse and report on the central issues pertaining to multilingualism were developed jointly under the supervision of Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark, the leader of the ELDIA Work Package within which the Comparative Report of all the case studies will be produced.

3.5.2 The operational goal of ELDIA

As stated in the Introduction of this report, the operational goal of the ELDIA-project is to create a European Language Vitality Barometer (EuLaVIBar). This will be a concrete tool, easily usable for measuring the degree of vitality of a particular minority language or indeed any other type of language.

The EuLaViBar will be created in two steps. First, the analyses conducted on the data gathered during the project will be summarised in case-specific language vitality barometers, i.e. individual vitality barometers will be created for each of the minority languages investigated. The Language Vitality Barometer for Karelian in Finland is presented in Chapter 5 of this Case-Specific Report. Then, during WP7 (Comparative Report), a generalisable EuLaViBar based on the comparison of these individual-language barometers will be created by an interdisciplinary group of senior researchers from the fields of linguistics, sociology and law.

The EuLaViBar, the main product of ELDIA, has been submitted to the European Council and made public at the end of the project in August 2013. The full rationale behind the preparation of the survey questionnaire data by the linguists for the statistical analyses, as well as the instructions on classifying the questionnaire data in a manner which allows for calculating the case-specific barometer, will be discussed in detail in the Comparative Report.[6] Instructions for creating a language vitality barometer will be given in the EuLaViBar Handbook. They are available as open-access documents on the ELDIA Website (www.eldia-project.org; direct download link: *http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:301101*.

The following Section briefly introduces the ELDIA concept of language vitality and how it can be measured. The other Sections then describe the scope and aims of the data analyses and how they were made.

3.5.3 Defining and measuring language vitality

According to the ELDIA research agenda, the vitality of a language is reflected in and should be measurable in terms of its speakers being willing and able to use it, having the opportunity to use it in a wide variety of public and private contexts, and being able to develop it further and transfer it to the following generation. The definition is solidly based on what is currently known about the factors that promote or restrict language vitality

[6] A full-length version of the Comparative Report is currently being edited and will appear as a monograph. An abridged version can be downloaded from the project website *www.eldia-project.org* or directly from *http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:304815*.

and/or ethnolinguistic vitality in general. In this respect, the ELDIA approach has significantly benefited from work by Joshua Fishman, Leena Huss, Christopher Stroud and Anna-Riitta Lindgren. It also draws greatly on UNESCO reports on language vitality and endangerment (2003; 2009).

ELDIA aims at studying and gaining access to the full range of critical aspects of language diversity, use and maintenance in the language communities investigated, including economic aspects. Consequently, the methodological approach, which has been developed gradually during the different project phases, combines revitalisation, ethnolinguistic vitality research and the findings of diversity maintenance research and economic-linguistic studies. In brief, the EuLaViBar is the result of a novel practical application of ideas by two prominent language-economists, viz. François Grin and Miquel Strubell. In our analyses we have systematically operationalised, firstly, Grin's concepts of "capacity", "opportunity" and "desire" (see, e.g. Grin 2006, Gazzola & Grin 2007), and, secondly, Strubell's idea of language-speakers as consumers of "language products" (see, especially, Strubell 1996; 2001). We have also developed a language vitality scale and operationalized it over the entire ELDIA survey questionnaire data. As can be seen further below in this Section, our scale draws on but is not identical with Joshua Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) which, since the 1990s, has served as the foundational conceptual model for assessing language vitality (Fishman 1991).

On the basis of the operationalisations described above, all the information that was gathered via the ELDIA survey questionnaire was analysed for each case study individually. The results are summarised in the case-specific Language Vitality Barometer (see Chapter 5). As mentioned, the principles of the operationalisations and the underlying theoretical and methodological considerations will be discussed and explained in detail in the Comparative Report. In sum, the EuLaViBar, and thus the data analyses, involve constitutive components on four different levels: Focus Areas (level 1) which each comprise several Dimensions (level 2), the Dimensions being split into variables (level 3) and the variables into variants (level 4).

The four Focus Areas of the EuLaViBar are Capacity, Opportunity, Desire and Language Products. In the ELDIA terminology, these are defined as follows (the ELDIA definitions are not fully identical with those by Grin and Strubell):

- **Capacity** as a Focus Area of the EuLaViBar is restricted by definition to the subjective capacity to use the language in question and refers to the speakers' self-confidence in using it. The objective abilities to use a language are related to factors such as education and patterns of language use in the family, which are difficult to measure and impossible to assess reliably within ELDIA; they are thus excluded from the definition.
- **Opportunity** as a Focus Area of the EuLaViBar refers to those institutional arrangements (legislation, education etc.) that allow for, support or inhibit the use of languages. The term refers to actually existing regulations and does not, therefore, cover the desire to have such regulations. Opportunities to use

a given language outside institutional arrangements are also excluded from the Focus Area *Opportunity*: the opportunities for using a given language in private life do not count as "opportunity" for the EuLaViBar, neither does the opportunity to use it in contexts where institutional and private language use intertwine or overlap (e.g. "private" conversations with fellow employees during the coffee break).

- **Desire** as a focus area of the EuLaViBar refers to the wish and readiness of people to use the language in question; desire is also reflected via attitudes and emotions relating to the (forms of) use of a given language.
- **Language Products** as a Focus Area of the EuLaViBar refers to the presence of or demand for language products (printed, electronic, "experiental", e.g. concerts, plays, performances, etc.) and to the wish to have products and services in and through the language in question.

In addition to the Focus Areas, the ELDIA methodological toolkit consists of four main Dimensions along which each of the four Focus Areas is described and evaluated with regard to language vitality. These are Legislation, Education, Media, and Language Use & Interaction, and they are defined as follows:

- **Legislation** as a dimension of the EuLaViBar refers to the existence or non-existence of legislation (supporting or inhibiting language use and language diversity) and to public knowledge about and attitudes towards such legislation.
- **Education** as a dimension of the EuLaViBar refers to all questions concerning formal and informal education (level of education, language acquisition, the language of instruction, opinions/feelings/attitude towards education, etc.).
- **Media** as a dimension of the EuLaViBar refers to all questions regarding media, including media use, the existence of minority media, language in media production, language in media consumption, majority issues in minority media and minority issues in majority media.
- **Language Use and Interaction** as a dimension of the EuLaViBar includes all aspects of language use (e.g. in different situations / with different people, etc.).

In the case-specific data analyses, the Dimensions were described in terms of pre-defined sets of language-sociological variables which were used, survey question by survey question, to describe and explain the statistical data. The variables include, in alphabetical order:

- Community members' attitudes towards their language and its speakers
- Community members' attitudes towards other languages and their speakers
- Cross-generational language use
- Domain-specific language use
- The existence of legal texts in the minority language in question
- The existence of media
- Inter-generational language use
- Intra-generational language use

- Language acquisition
- Language maintenance
- The language of teaching in schools
- Legislation concerning education
- Media use & consumption
- The mother tongue
- The role of languages in the labour market
- Self-reported language competence
- Support/prohibition of language use.

The variants of the variables were defined in the above-mentioned WP5 Manuals. They were chosen so that they allowed for scaling each possible type of survey response along the following ELDIA language maintenance scale:

0. **Language maintenance is severely and critically endangered**. The language is "remembered" but not used spontaneously or in active communication. Its use and transmission are not protected or supported institutionally. Children and young people are not encouraged to learn or use the language.
   →Urgent and effective revitalisation measures are needed to prevent the complete extinction of the language and to restore its use.
1. **Language maintenance is acutely endangered**. The language is used in active communication at least in some contexts, but there are serious problems with its use, support and/or transmission, to such an extent that the use of the language can be expected to cease completely in the foreseeable future.
   →**Immediate** effective measures to support and promote the language in its maintenance and revitalization are needed.
2. **Language maintenance is threatened**. Language use and transmission are diminishing or seem to be ceasing at least in some contexts or with some speaker groups. If this trend continues, the use of the language may cease completely in the more distant future.
   →Effective measures to support and encourage the use and transmission of the language must be taken.
3. **Language maintenance is achieved to some extent**. The language is supported institutionally and used in various contexts and functions (also beyond its ultimate core area such as the family sphere). It is often transmitted to the next generation, and many of its speakers seem to be able and willing to develop sustainable patterns of multilingualism.
   →The measures to support language maintenance appear to have been successful and must be upheld and continued.
4. **The language is maintained at the moment.** The language is used and promoted in a wide range of contexts. The language does not appear to be threatened: nothing indicates that (significant amounts of) speakers would give up using the language and transmitting it to the next generation, as long as its social and institutional support remains at the present level.
   → The language needs to be monitored and supported in a long-term perspective.

As pointed out earlier, in the same way as with the Focus Areas, the scale was systematically operationalised all through the ELDIA survey questionnaire data. A systematic scale of all the possible types of answers to a certain question in the ELDIA survey questionnaire was developed, so that, on the basis of the statistical results, it is possible to draw conclusions concerning the current language-vitality state of affairs with regard to what was asked. As will be shown in the ELDIA Comparative Report, by employing this knowledge it is ultimately possible to draw conclusions about the relative language-maintaining effect of such matters as the language-educational policies implemented in the society in question.

3.5.4 Practical procedures in the data analyses

The analyses of the survey questionnaire data and the interview data were conducted by linguists. In order to achieve the ultimate operational goal, the analyses focused on those features that are fundamental for the EuLaViBar in general. Consequently, they concentrated on a relatively restricted selection of the dimensions of the gathered data, and it was often not possible to include in the unified analysis method every feature that might have been deemed relevant in the individual cases.

Analyses conducted on survey questionnaire data

The ELDIA statisticians provided the linguists with one-way tables (frequencies and percentages of the different types of responses for each item, i.e. response options for each question) and with scaled barometer scores for each individual question. The linguists then analysed all the statistical data and wrote a response summary of each question. The summaries consisted of a verbal summary (i.e. a heading which expresses the main outcome of the question) and a verbal explanation presenting and discussing the main results that can be read from the tables. As part of their data analyses, the linguists also created the graphic illustrations inserted in Chapter 4.

Both the minority survey questionnaire and the Control Group questionnaire contained many open-ended questions and other questions that could not be analysed automatically with statistical analysis programs. All such questions were analysed questionnaire by questionnaire, in order to document how often each particular open-ended question was answered and how often it was answered in a particular way. In the open-ended questions, and in many of the closed questions, the respondents were given the option of commenting on their answer or adding something, e.g. the name of another language. When going through the questionnaires manually, the researchers made notes on such additions and comments, summaries of which have been used in writing Chapter 5 of the current report. In order to make the open-ended questions suitable for the required statistical analyses, the results of the manual analyses were manually entered in tables provided in the WP5 Manual Sequel, which offered options for categorising the answers along the language vitality scale in the required, unified manner.

Analyses conducted on interview data

The interviews conducted in WP4 were transcribed and analysed in WP5 as well. The transcriptions of the audio and the video files were prepared with Transcriber, which is a computer software designed for segmenting, labeling and transcribing speech signals. Transcriber is free and runs on several platforms (Windows XP/2k, Mac OS X and various versions of Linux). In ELDIA, the software was used to create orthographic interview transcriptions with basic and speech-turn segmentations. The transcription principles were jointly developed by researchers involved in the data analyses of the various case studies; the set of transcription symbols was discussed and confirmed at an ELDIA workshop in Oulu in August 2010.

In the next step, the orthographic transcriptions were imported into the ELAN (EUDICO Linguistic Annotator) software which is a multimedia annotation tool developed at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics (http://www.lat-mpi.eu/tools/elan/). In the ELDIA analyses, ELAN was used for coding the interview data for content and, to a modest extent, linguistic analyses. ELAN, too, is available as freeware and runs on Windows, Mac OS X and Linux. The user can select different languages for the interface (e.g. English, French, German, Spanish or Swedish). In ELDIA, the same ELAN settings were used throughout all the data sets: the transcription tier(s) are followed by three main (= parent = independent) tiers, viz. Status of Language (StL), Discourse Topics (DT) and Linguistic Phenomena (LP).

When conducting the ELAN analyses, the researchers examined all their interview transcriptions and marked the places where the language or discourse topic changed. Tagging the discourse was conducted at the level of so-called “general” category tags for the discourse theme. Due to the tight project schedule, a clear focus was kept on the central issues; the researchers who did the tagging had the possibility of creating new tags for coding other phenomena for their own use.

The scheme tagging the discourse topics is shown in the following table:

Category tag for discourse theme	**Description of the phenomena which will be tagged with the category tag in question**
Language use	Mother tongue, interaction, language skills (comprehension, speaking, reading, writing), level of language proficiency, support for language use, MajLg/MinLg, language competition, secondary language
Language learning	Language acquisition, mode of learning language X/Y/other languages; mother tongue, MinLg/MajLg, transmission
Education	Level of education, labour market, occupation, language of instruction, mother tongue
Mobility	Level of mobility (highly mobile, mobile, non-mobile), commuting, translocalism
Attitude	Pressure (pressure, non-pressure, indifferent), language mixing, mother tongue, language learning, multilingualism, societal responsibility, nationalism, minority activism, ethnicity, correctness, identity, conflicts, historical awareness/ experiences, legislation
Legislation	Level of knowledge (knowledge/non-knowledge), attitude towards legislation, quality and efficiency of legislation, language policy, labour market, support/prohibition of language use, language policy
Media	Use of media, sort of media (social, local, national, cross-border, MajLg, MinLg, multi/bilingual)
Sphere	Public, semi-public, private
Dialogue partner(s)	Self, father, mother, grandparents, children, spouse, relatives, friends, co-worker, neighbours, boss, public officials, others
Place	School, home, work place, shops, street, library, church, public authorities, community events
Stage of life	Childhood, adolescence, adulthood, seniority; pre-school, school, university/higher education, professional life, retirement, today
Sex	male, female
Mother tongue	Competition, communicative value, attachment (social/cultural), visions of normativity/correctness, maintenance, identity, importance on labour market, current state, historical awareness, conflicts

Table 3. Tagging of the discourse topics

Having coded the discourse topics with the respective tags, the researchers analysed each interview, discourse topic by discourse topic. In order to make the interview data maximally usable in the Case-Specific Reports, they were asked to write brief half-page descriptions of each interview, paying attention to the following variables: e.g. age, sex, level of education (if known), profession/occupation (if known), first-acquired language, mobility, language use in the childhood home, language use with parents and siblings today, language use with spouse, language use with their children, language use with their grandchildren. The researchers were also asked to provide a fairly general discourse description of each interview**,** summarising their observations on the following issues:

- how the information obtained from the interviews relates to the results of the questionnaires, i.e. to what extent what the informant(s) say supports them and when/to what extent it contradicts them;
- any new problems, attitudes, or viewpoints which come up in the interviews

- comments on what still remains unexplained
- comments on the fruitfulness of the interview data, i.e. make a note of well-expressed views which gave you an 'aha'-experience when you were working on the interviews

The results of all the data analyses described above were submitted to the Steering Committee in the form of a project-internal WP5 Report. These were saved on the internal project website; they will not be published as such or made available to the public after the project ends but their authors will use them for post-ELDIA publications. Alongside the Case-Specific Reports, WP5 reports also will feed into the Comparative Report.

4 New data on legislation, media, education, language use and interaction

This chapter includes three sub-chapters: the first chapter, a concise report on Legal and Institutional Analysis, also referred to as "Legal and Institutional Analysis", which analyses the legal institutions in their political context, a second sub-chapter, a summary report on Media Analysis, which concentrates on three three-month periods in 1998, 2004/2005 and 2010/2011, and a third sub-chapter that draws on the latest survey and interview data from 2011. The latter sub-chapter, entitled "Sociolinguistic Analysis of Survey and Interview Findings" draws on the WP5 Report. Please note that survey findings are presented in Chapter 4 only so far as dimensions are concerned. The Focus Areas are dealt with in more detail in Chapter 5, "Case-Specific Language Vitality Barometer".

4.1 Legal and Institutional Analysis

by Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark[7]

With the adoption of the 1919 Constitution and the 1922 Language Act, Finnish and Swedish were accorded the status of official languages, so that Finland has been a bilingual state ever since its creation. In addition, the Sámi languages and culture have been accorded a special place in the legal system in Finland. The right of the Sámi to use their language in dealing with the authorities was introduced in 1991 in the Sámi Language Act. The 1999 Constitution guarantees the right of the indigenous Sámi people to maintain and develop their own language and culture, and it also guarantees the right of the Sámi to linguistic and cultural self-government in their native areas.

While Estonian-speakers are the fourth-largest language group in Finland after Finnish, Swedish and Russian, most of the Estonian-speakers are relatively recent immigrants who have not acquired Finnish citizenship. Estonian is not seen as a national minority language.

There is a long political and legal tradition in Finland in dealing with minorities and languages, but this focuses on "old" minorities. For a long time, however, the legislation that regulates education has foreseen the possibility of teaching of languages other than the two official languages, and private schools providing foreign language medium teaching were foreseen in a law dating from 1963. There is, however, no tradition of dealing with immigrant languages in legislation.

The lack of clarity as to which languages are entitled to what type of protection by the state is considered problematic. The problem concerns languages that are not explicitly

[7] This is a summary based on the detailed analysis by Grans (2011).

mentioned in specific legislation. This is exemplified by the contradictory opinions of different ministries regarding the granting of support for measures to protect, maintain and develop the Karelian language. At the same time, the relevant authorities do not wish to introduce legislation that specifically declares Karelian to be a minority language. The official position is that if the state were to list the minorities included in this notion as "other groups" in Section 17(3) of the Constitution, this will inevitably lead to the risk of excluding some groups that may appear in Finland in the future, and therefore an open definition is preferable. The lack of an unambiguous interpretation of the Constitution also leads to an unequal amount of attention being given to different language groups. While Finland now reports to international human rights bodies on almost all of the languages that have long been spoken in Finland, it only reports on one immigrant language, Russian, and here only regarding the situation of the so-called "old Russians".

While there are language policy programmes for Romani, Sámi and the Sign Languages of Finland, there are as yet no equivalent programmes for Karelian or Estonian.

Language diversity as a goal at the societal level is implicit in the constitutional notion of two national languages and the collective constitutional right of linguistic groups to maintain and develop their own language and culture. While there is no governmental policy that explicitly emphasises multilingualism as a goal, multilingualism at the individual level has long been implicit in the education system, where learning "the other national language" (i.e. Finnish for Swedish-speakers and Swedish for Finnish-speakers) in primary school has until now been obligatory, as has the learning of foreign languages.

4.2 Media Analysis

by Reetta Toivanen

The aim of the media discourse analysis[8] in Finland was to determine how minority languages, language maintenance, language loss and revitalization are discussed in the majority versus the minority language media. Further, the research was conceived in order to obtain further information on developments in the area of interethnic relations in the studied countries. The underlying assumption shared by the separate country analysis was that the way the media comment on language minorities eventually refers to the context in which a language minority seeks to maintain and revitalize its mother tongue. The attitudes shared in the majority media explain, to a certain extent, the attitudes of the majority society towards minority language communities. The opinions and attitudes in the minority

[8] The actual research on the Estonian-language media in Finland and on the Finnish majority media was carried out by Sonja Laitinen at the University of Helsinki, who was trained to use a manual for media discourse analysis. The manual included questions and advice regarding how the researchers should process the vast amount of material and come up with illustrative examples and answers concerning legislation, education, media and language use and interaction.

media tell about the challenges and opportunities the minority community is sharing with its own members.

The key questions of media discourse analysis can be summarised as follows: 1. How are minorities discussed in the majority and minority media? 2. How are majority and minority media positioned or how are they positioning themselves and each other in the field of media? 3. How do the majority and minority media inform the public about developments in the field of intergroup relations? 4. Is the maintenance of languages a topic and how is it discussed? 5. What kinds of roles and functions are assigned to majority and minority languages in the media?

In order to acquire a longitudinal approach to the material and also address issues concerning the change in the status and situation of the studied minority language communities, three different periods were chosen for the actual analysis. The time periods chosen for closer media discourse analysis in Finland were firstly February to April 1998, when the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities entered into force, secondly autumn 2005, and thirdly November 2010 – January 2011.

In Finland the analysis was conducted with a focus on the Karelian and Estonian languages groups. This chapter summarises the results of the media discourse analysis on the Estonian-language minority media in Finland and the Finnish majority media.

Although Estonians in Finland can be considered to be a large minority (28,965 in 31.12.2010, according to the Finnish Immigration Service), there are almost no media in the Estonian language. Estonian-speakers do not have their own Estonian-language TV or radio programmes. Some Estonian TV channels can be watched via satellite, and Estonian newspapers can be read on the Internet. Finnish Estonians used to have an Estonian-language magazine called *Eesti Leht* (1997–2003), later *Binokkel* (2003–2004), which was a quarterly publication of the Estonian Club of Tampere. In 2005 a blog took over *Binokkel's* mission.[9] Some of the old issues of *Eesti Leht* and *Binokkel* can be read online. In recent years the blog / website has not been updated often. The last updates were in February and May 2011, and before that in November 2008. There are also other blogs written by Finnish Estonians, but they are also updated irregularly. The main channels of information exchange among Estonians in Finland are, for example, different communities on Facebook and the websites of local societies of Finnish Estonians (Praakli 2010).

Both *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Kaleva*, the majority media analysed in this research project, write frequently on minorities, minority education, new laws and language use. However, the Estonian-speaking minorities of Finland are seldom dealt with in those publications. Most of the articles that address minority languages or language minorities deal with

[9] 2005–2007: http://eestileht.kolhoos.ee and 2007–2009: http://eestlasedsoomes.wordpress.com.

Swedish-speaking Finns, Sámi communities in the North or immigrants – sometimes Estonians are also included in this group. Estonians are not granted any special status; they are simply immigrants among others. Very few articles deal with the Estonian language and its maintenance in Finland. It can be said that in the majority media discourse, minority language issues are dealt with quite often, but the Estonian-language minorities are not represented.

The Estonian media are almost non-existent in Finland, and a discourse analysis based on newsletters and social media did not reveal much regarding Estonian-speakers' interests, motivations or goals in Finland. The children of Estonian-speakers do enjoy regular education in their mother tongue, as do all children with a foreign mother tongue. Even though there must be problems involved with organizing lessons and finding qualified teachers, for some reason Estonian-speakers are not complaining, and are not making any demands from Finnish society or government. At most, the discourse could be described as Estonians hoping that they can continue using Estonian without being discriminated against, but for them learning Finnish and using it with the authorities is a fact they must accept.

Estonians in Finland are not assumed to have any independent intentions regarding language rights and language use. Estonians' own media in Finland are almost non-existent, and the assumption is that an Estonian can easily keep up his/her Estonian knowledge by reading Estonian newspapers or watching Estonian TV on the Internet. Many Estonians also commute between the two countries, at least during certain periods: the thousands of Estonians who live in Finland on a permanent basis and raise their children in Finland are regarded in the majority media like any other immigrant community. Whereas, for example, the Russian minority in Finland makes such claims as demanding a higher status for Russian, the Estonians, although similar in numbers, are silent on their own agenda.

4.3 Language use and Interaction

4.3.1 Mother tongue

The overwhelming majority (i.e. over 90%) of respondents identify themselves as native speakers of Estonian (in the minority group) or Finnish (in the control group). For Estonians, such a result is anticipated: although the studied group is an Estonian community located outside the geographical borders of Estonia, the overwhelming majority of respondents are first-generation immigrants who were born and brought up in Estonia and, as a rule, relocated to Finland in adulthood. It is likely that quite a different picture would have emerged in terms of the distribution of respondents by native language and self-identified native language, had the survey only included people of Estonian origin born in Finland. Due to the background of minority group respondents, these survey results should be interpreted from the perspective of a socio-linguistic study of first-generation immigrants.

The number of respondents who identified themselves as **speakers of multiple first languages** is quite small: around a tenth (17 respondents) of minority group respondents indicated more than one language as their native language, mostly Estonian and Finnish (6), Estonian and Russian (6) or Ingrian-Finnish and Russian, i.e. regional languages of the Ingrian territory (5).

Multiple mother tongues	Number of respondents
Estonian+Finnish	**6**
Estonian+Võro	**1**
Estonian+Russian	**6**
Russian+Finnish	**2**
Estonian+German	**1**
Ingrian Finnish+Russian	**1**
	17

Table 4. Multiple mother tongues

It is Ingria in the former Soviet Union that the majority of speakers of multiple native languages are from. Only a few respondents of Ingrian-Finnish origin indicated Estonian as their native language or one of their native languages: in general, Ingrian Finns were first exposed to Estonian after migrating to Estonia during World War II. As a rule, Estonian is a second (not a foreign) language to them, because all respondents of Ingrian-Finnish origin had acquired Estonian in early childhood or as primary school students. In terms of their linguistic background (number of native languages, languages used in childhood years to communicate with parents and grandparents, language of communication between parents etc.), Ingrian Finns are the most heterogeneous group included in the survey. Nevertheless, respondents born in the former territory of Ingria identify their native language(s) differently. Also, the concept of native language has shifted in the minds of some Estonian women who migrated to Finland after the eastward enlargement of the EU and who now identify Finnish as their 'new' post-emigration native language. ("When I lived in Estonia, my native language was Estonian, but now it is Finnish.") It should be mentioned that all such statements were made by Estonian women in the 25-35 age group.

Due to the background of minority group respondents, it was expected that the share of those identifying Estonian as their native language would be that large (91.1%). The great majority of respondents were born and brought up in Estonia, having acquired Estonian through generational continuity, in a natural language and communication setting, through immediate interaction with parents, grandparents and an Estonian-language community. The interviewees also tend to define their native language in similar terms: a native language is a language with which they have an "emotional bond" or "the language acquired first in life". The fact that the overwhelming majority of respondents identify themselves as native speakers of Estonian is also reflected in the self-assessment scores of their language skills (see 4.3.3). Respondents assessed their proficiency in Estonian as follows: excellent understanding (92.1%), excellent speaking (89.3%), excellent reading (89.9%) and excellent

writing skills (82%). In the context of the survey respondents, Finnish is a foreign language acquired as a third or fourth language in adulthood after emigrating from Estonia.

4.3.2 Cross and intra-generational language use

A clear-cut Estonian-based language identity of the respondents emerges from their answers on inter- and intra-generational languages of communication, reflecting generational consistency in the use of Estonian: the majority of respondents (over 86%) interacted with **paternal and maternal grandparents** in Estonian only. A different language/languages of communication (as a rule, Finnish, Ingrian-Finnish, Russian or Võru or combinations thereof) was/were used in 10% of respondents' homes. Such respondents were mainly of Ingrian Finnish origin.

Also, the language of communication with **parents** was predominantly Estonian. Childhood language choices have generally remained stable and the language of communication with parents in childhood is the same as in adulthood. As such, there is no reason to talk about a language shift. The use of other (native) languages or multilingual communication patterns is rare.

In terms of intra-generational language choices, respondents were asked to answer questions on the language of communication between their parents. The responses indicate that Estonian is predominantly (87%) used here as well. As for other monolingual language choices, 14 respondents indicated Finnish (incl. Ingrian-Finnish), Russian (6) and Swedish (1); in isolated cases the following language combinations were mentioned: Estonian-Russian (3); Estonian-Finnish (1); and Estonian-Swedish (1).

The respondents' answers on languages of communication with **siblings** in childhood and at the time of the survey reveal that monolingual Estonian-language interaction is dominant in this aspect as well, i.e. the majority used (91%) and still use (88%) Estonian to communicate with their siblings. As for other languages of communication, Finnish (incl. Ingrian-Finnish), Russian (1), Swedish (1) and combinations of Estonian-Finnish (3), Russian-Finnish (3) and Russian-Estonian-Finnish (1) were mentioned.

The respondents' language choices regarding communication with their child/children are characterised by the predominant use of Estonian, i.e. the majority use Estonian to interact with their younger as well as older children. Across inter- and intra-generational communication and other interaction, the most multilingual is communication between respondents and their spouses/significant others, in which various language choices are revealed and different patterns and strategies of multilingual interaction are employed. The language of communication of minority group respondents with their spouses or significant others is solely Estonian in 30% of cases, while 42% of respondents interact with their spouse or significant other solely in Finnish or another language (for example, English, Russian, Swedish or German); around a third interact in more than two languages, in most cases Estonian and Finnish. Analysis of the respondents' answers on the use of two

languages reveals that Finnish is employed as the main language of communication between spouses and Estonian is used for specific functions and purposes. Likewise, the use of Estonian depends on such factors as who the interaction partner is, what the subjects of conversation are, whether others are involved in the conversation and where the interaction takes place.

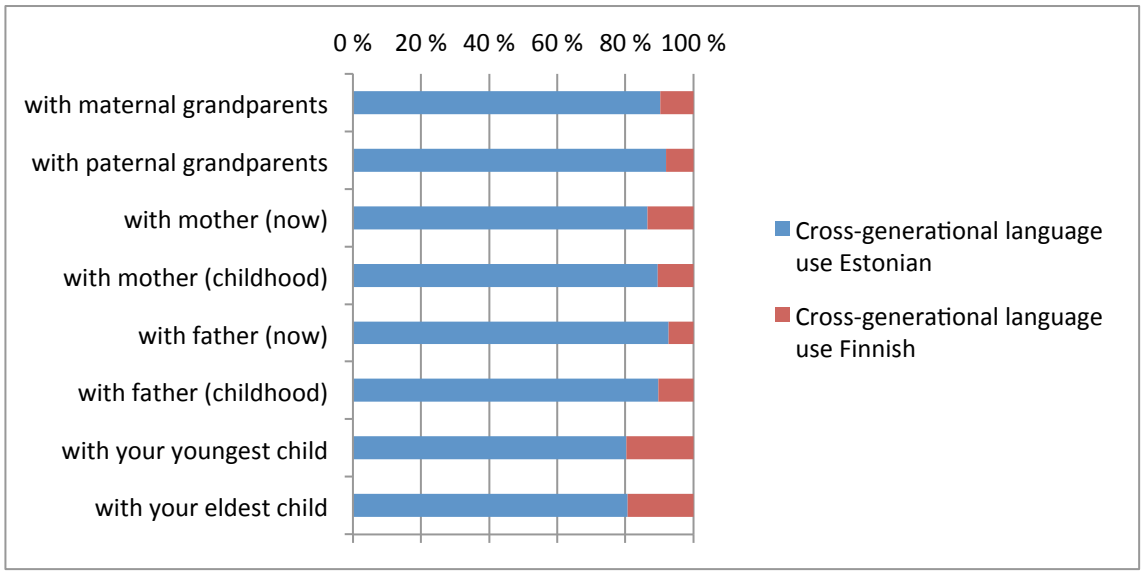

Figure 2. Cross-generational language use

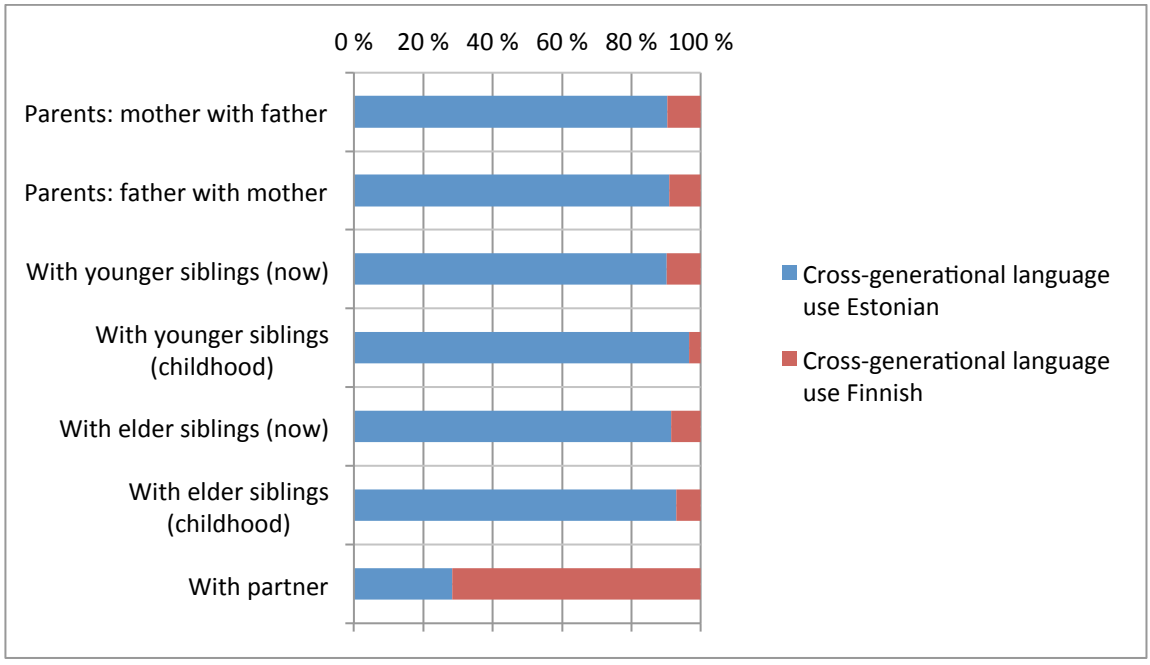

Figure 3. Intra-generational language use

Control group. Similarly to the minority group, the inter- and intra-generational language choices of the control group respondents are characterised in the majority of cases (82.8%) by monolingual interaction in Finnish.

4.3.3 Self-reported language competence

The next sub-section analyses the respondents' language skills – based on self-assessment – in minority, majority and foreign languages. Respondents were asked to rate their language proficiency on a five-point scale: understanding, reading, speaking and writing skills as excellent, good, moderate, basic or non-existent. The actual language skills of the respondents were not tested, which means that the results are based on subjective assessment. First, the respondents from both groups were asked to evaluate their native language skills (Estonian, Finnish or Swedish respectively).

Estonian and Finnish language skills

The fact that almost all respondents identify themselves as native speakers of Estonian is reflected in their self-assessment scores in all areas of written and oral self-expression skills. Respondents rated their Estonian language proficiency as follows: understanding – excellent (92.1%), speaking – excellent (89.3%), reading – excellent (89.9%) and writing – excellent (82%).

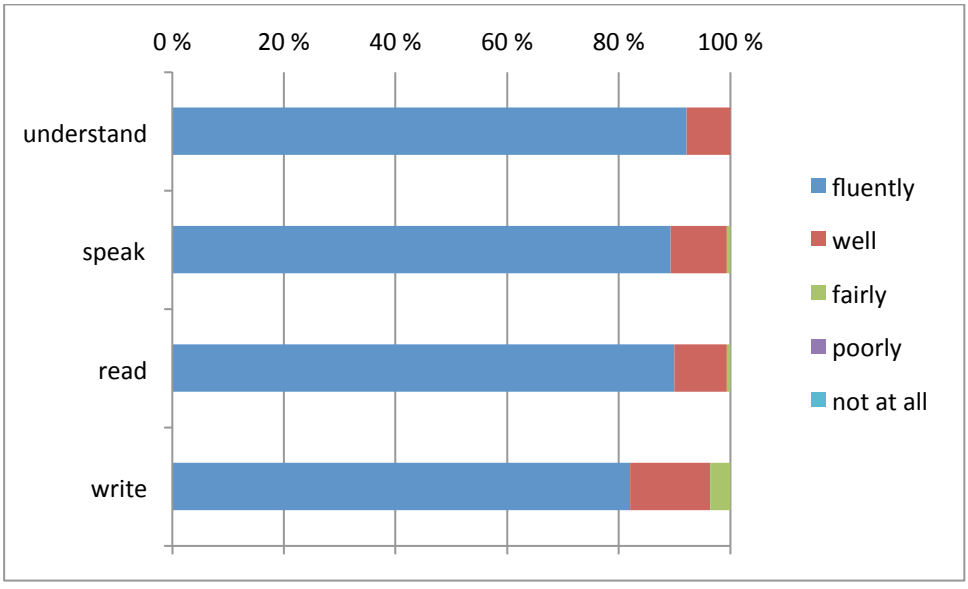

Figure 4. Self-reported competence in Estonian

For the majority of respondents Finnish is a third or fourth foreign language acquired in adulthood. However, the level of Finnish language skills varies: only around half of the respondents indicate that their Finnish language proficiency is at the native speaker level and a third rate their skills as good. As expected, respondents rate their oral language skills

more highly than their written skills, and only a third are able to express themselves fluently when writing in Finnish. Thus, it can be concluded that while the language skills of the majority of respondents are excellent or good, this applies more often to oral skills or spoken language.

As for Finnish language skills across sex, age and level of education, those of women are better than those of men: while 40% of female respondents rate their speaking skills as excellent, the same figure among men is just 12.5%. Such a drastic difference may apparently be explained with the professional activities of women (in the spheres of education, research and service provision) requiring a very good command of Finnish. Across different age groups, Finnish language skills were rated highest in the 50-64 age group, followed by the 30-49 and 18-29 age groups. As for the distribution of respondents by level of education, those with secondary education have the best Finnish language skills, but generally differences across levels of education are insignificant.

The respondents' self-assessment of language proficiency also provides an insight into their language-learning strategies. Around half of the respondents (41.6%) have never made a conscious effort to learn Finnish, but have instead acquired the language through everyday interaction or with the help of Finnish television. Many did not consider it necessary to consciously or purposefully learn Finnish, referring to the close linguistic relations between it and Estonian. The majority of respondents have acquired Finnish in adulthood through verbal interaction while living in a Finnish-language environment. A few respondents have acquired Finnish outside of this setting by consciously learning the language.

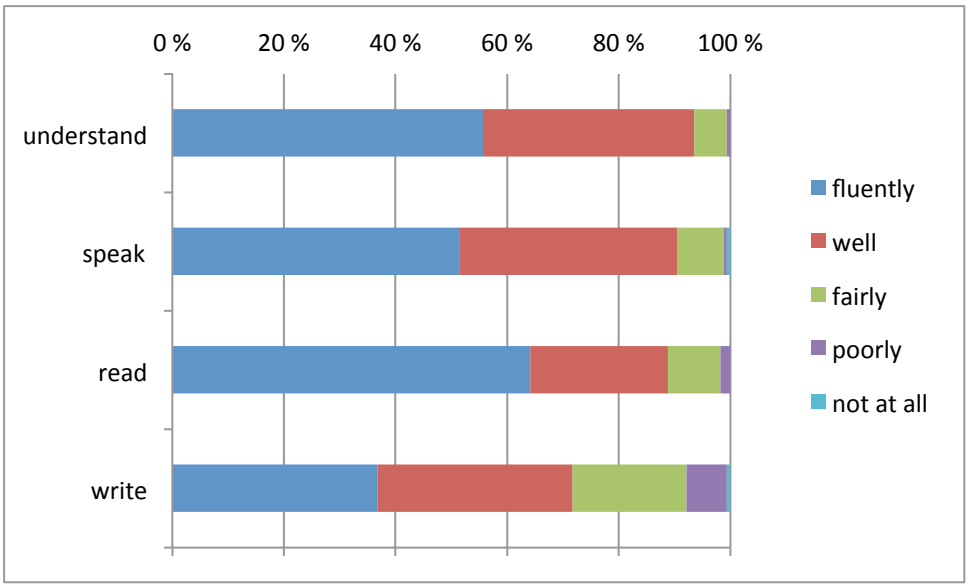

Figure 5. Self-reported competence in Finnish

Minority group respondents were also asked to assess their proficiency in other foreign languages: English, Russian, Swedish and German, and an optional language which respondents could specify themselves. The survey results revealed that the respondents have the best skills in Russian: half (54-58%) rated their understanding, speaking and reading

skills in Russian as excellent or good, while their written self-expression skills scores were somewhat lower: 43.2% of all respondents assessed their writing skills as excellent or at the native speaker level. A handful of respondents have an excellent command of Swedish or German: for Swedish, the figure is around ten respondents, while for German a couple more.

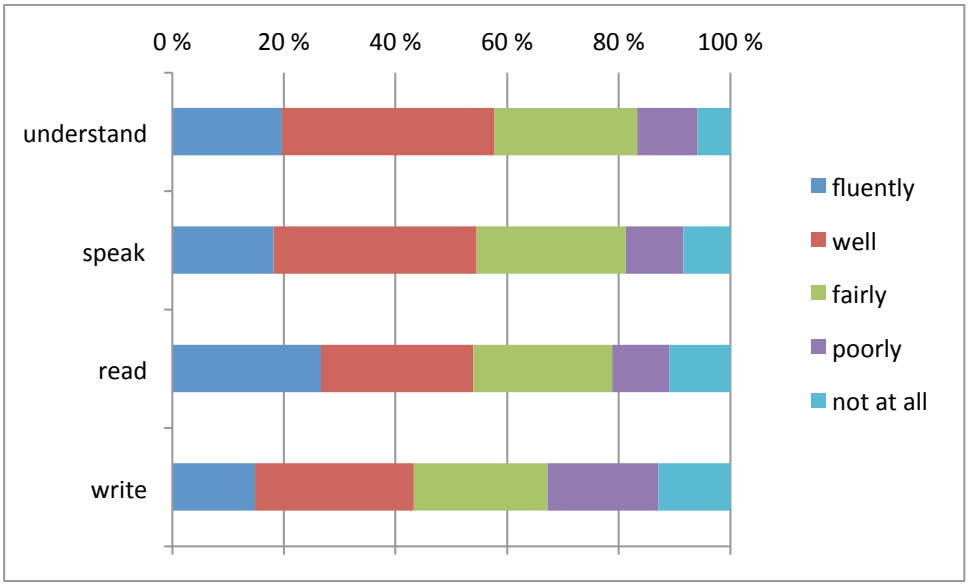

Figure 6. Self-reported competence in Russian

Although the level of English language proficiency varies considerably between respondents, it can be claimed that the majority are able to understand, read, speak and write English to a certain degree; 12.5% of the respondents rated their English language skills as excellent and around a quarter (25.7%) as good. 11-15% of the respondents do not have any English skills whatsoever.

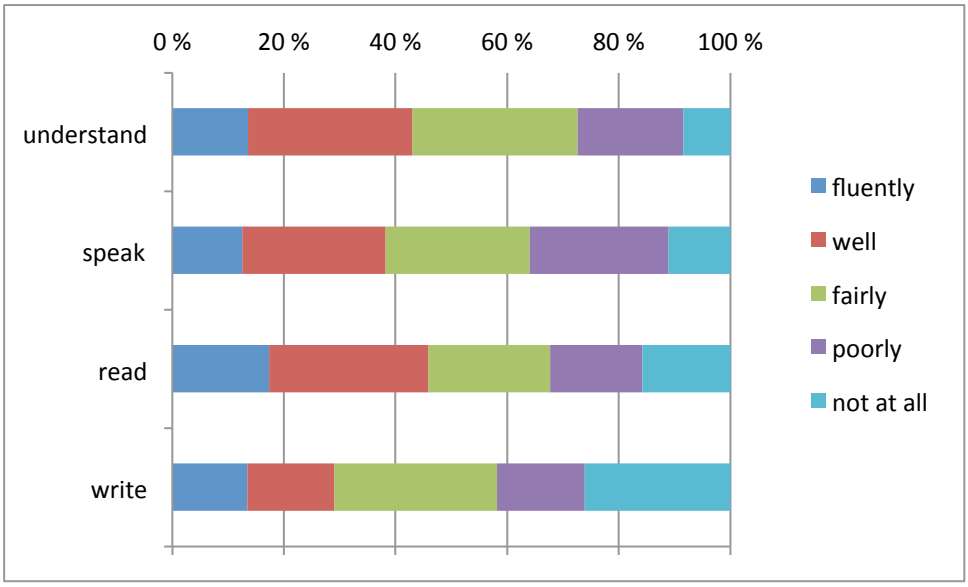

Figure 7. Self-reported competence in English

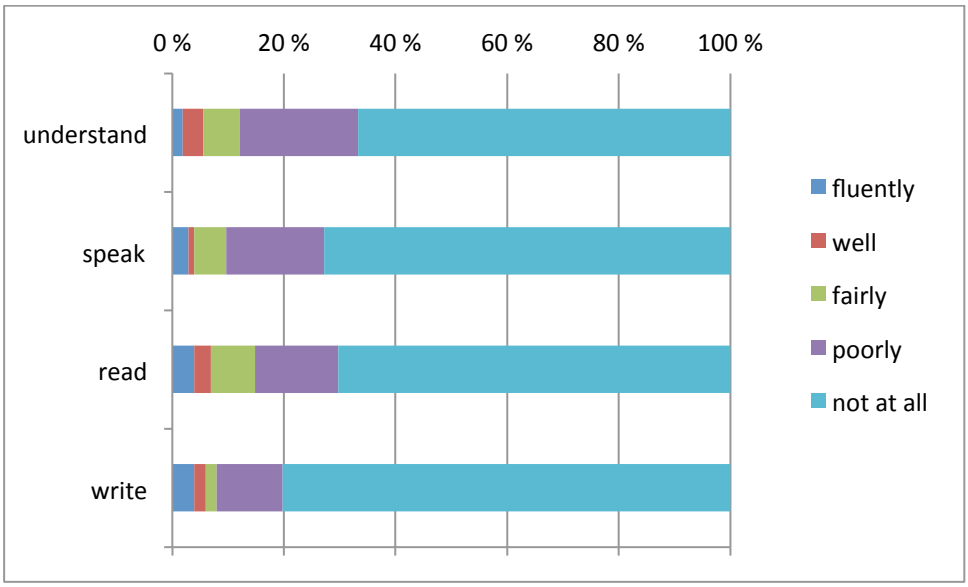

Figure 8. Self-reported competence in Swedish

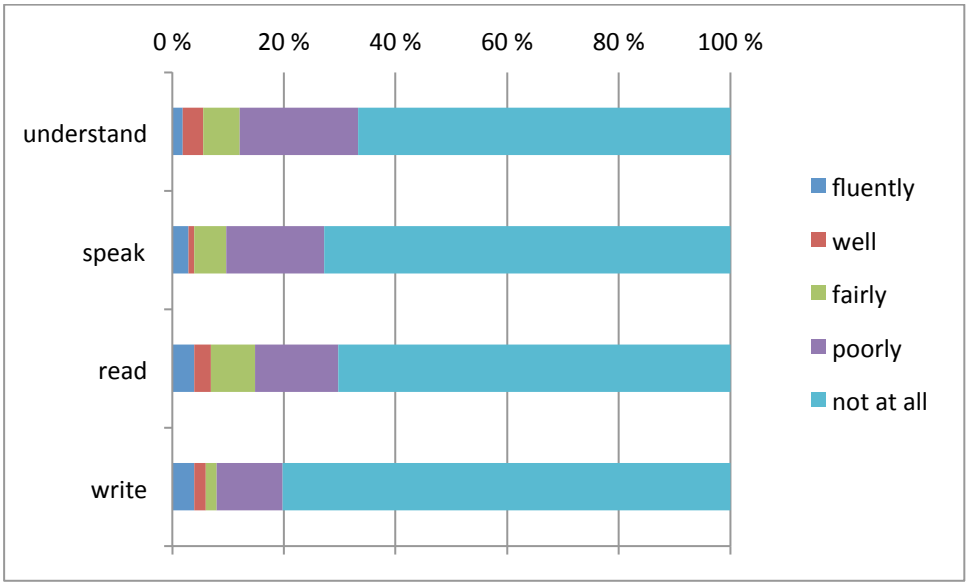

Figure 9. Self-reported competence in German

The results of the individual and focus groups interviews show that all informants communicate in several languages on a daily basis. The main area for the use of Estonian in Finland is informant's family and social networks. The vast majority of informants use Estonian daily: as the informant AG4f stresses, 'I live abroad, but to a large extent my life is dominated by Estonian'. [*Ma elan küll välismaal, aga väga suur osa minu elus on ülekaalukalt eesti keeles.*]

Control group. In terms of language skills, the control group respondents differ from the minority group respondents in that the former have a better knowledge of two foreign languages, i.e. English and Swedish. These results can be expected: Swedish is the second

official language of Finland and learning it in Finnish general education institutions (schools) is compulsory for everyone whose native language is Finnish. Better English language proficiency among the control group respondents can be explained by the fact that for most respondents English is, after Swedish, their second foreign language and is learnt at school from quite early on. Minority group respondents, in contrast, raised in (Soviet) Estonia, have often learnt Russian as their first foreign language and German or English as their second foreign language, depending on their place of residence.

Anticipated differences are also evident in Finnish language skills. Finnish is the native or second language (for Swedish-speaking Finns) for almost all of the control group members. To generalise the results for Finnish language skills, it could be said that almost all of the respondents (95.9-98.6%) have an excellent command of Finnish in all language areas and that there are no respondents who do not know any Finnish. Only a few respondents assessed their skills in Finnish in a certain area as less than excellent.

Nearly all respondents describe their capability to understand their mother tongue (either Swedish or Finnish) as “fluent” (97%). The remaining 3% selected the options “well” (2%) or “fairly” (1%).

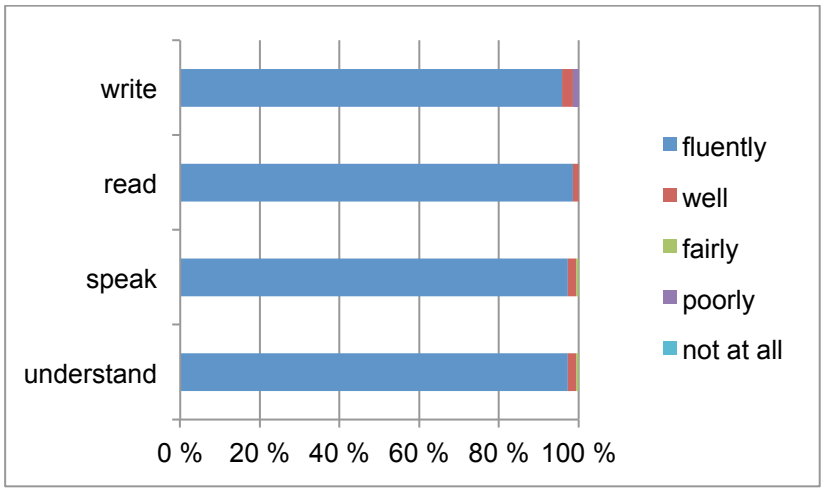

Figure 10. Self-reported competence in CG respondents’ mother tongues

A major difference can be observed between the English language skills of Estonians and of the control group respondents: while on average 14.5% of Estonian respondents have an excellent command of English, 34% of the control group respondents have excellent verbal and written English skills. In the control group, only very few do not know English at all.

Although Swedish is the second official language of Finland and the control group respondents are more widely exposed to Swedish than Estonians, the Swedish language skills among the control group respondents vary widely, and just a small share of

respondents (9.2-22.3% across various areas) have an excellent command of Swedish. The reading skills of Swedish were rated highest (as excellent by 22.3%) and writing skills lowest (as excellent by 9.2%). However, around half of the respondents rate their Swedish language proficiency as good or are able to read/speak/write/understand Swedish moderately. The share of respondents who do not speak any Swedish is quite small, and just 10.7% of respondents do not understand any Swedish. The share of respondents who understand Swedish (16.9-22.1% depending on the area of language use assessed) but have a critical opinion of their speaking, reading and writing skills, rating them as non-existent, is somewhat higher.

It is evident that German or French are not the main foreign languages among the respondents. Just a few control group respondents have an excellent or good command of German or French in all language use areas. The majority of respondents do not have any skills in the above-mentioned languages.

In addition to the previously indicated languages, the control group respondents were asked to assess their language skills in two other languages of their choice. The respondents mostly included Spanish and Italian, followed by Russian. Some respondents also know Estonian, Hebrew, Norwegian, Danish, Hungarian, Basque, Latin, Slovak, Portuguese and Japanese to a certain extent.

Summary. In terms of the language skills of minority and majority group respondents, it could be generalised that their history of learning foreign languages and language-learning traditions are different, due to their backgrounds, and these differences are reflected in the survey results. For the minority group respondents the most important foreign language is Russian, which they know significantly better than English or German. In comparison with the minority group, the control group respondents have a better command of Finnish, Swedish and English. The share of minority and majority group respondents who rated their Finnish, English, Swedish and German language skills across all language use areas as excellent is presented in Table 6.

Language and survey group	Under-standing (%)	Reading (%)	Speaking (%)	Writing (%)
Finnish				
MinGroup	55.6	64.1	51.5	36.8
MajGroup	**97.3**	**98.6**	**97.2**	**95.8**
English				
MinGroup	13.4	17.3	12.5	13.4
MajGroup	37.3	39.3	31.6	27.6
Swedish				
MinGroup	1.9	4	2.9	4
MajGroup	17.6	22.3	12.3	9.2
German				
MinGroup	2.6	4.4	2.6	0.9
MajGroup	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.5

Table 5. Self-reported "fluent" competence in Finnish, English, Swedish and German

4.3.4 Domain-specific language use

The next sub-section covers the respondents' language choices in various areas of life. The minority group was asked to rate their frequency of use of Estonian, Finnish and English and the majority group was asked to rate their frequency of use of Finnish and English. The results for both groups are reviewed for comparison.

As the results indicate, the opportunities that **the minority group** has to use Estonian in Finland are quite limited, but not completely absent. Analysis shows that Estonian is mainly used at home and/or in the family circle and among friends. However, there are respondents who only use Estonian as a language of communication in formal situations. In all areas of language use, the prevailing language of communication among the control group respondents (i.e. for 85% of them) is Finnish.

Language use at home. In general, the minority group respondents use Estonian at home. However, the home domain is the most heterogeneous of all language choice spheres, because other languages in addition to Estonian and Finnish are indicated as home languages. Still, the survey results show that the majority of respondents (69%) solely use Estonian as their home language, while around a quarter (27.2%) solely use Finnish. However, it could be claimed on the basis of the survey results that in reality the communication in many homes is multilingual, featuring parallel use of Finnish and Estonian or another third language. Although only a quarter of respondents indicated that they use Finnish at home, the results show that around 37% of them also use Finnish more or less frequently (multiple choice answer 'often'). Hence, it can be concluded that the actual sphere of use of Finnish is wider and that Finnish is more or less used in around 64% of the respondents' families. As for answers given on not using Estonian and Finnish, only one respondent indicated that they never use Estonian, while one tenth (9.5%) use Estonian rarely. Similarly, answers on not using Finnish reveal that 11.3% of respondents claim that they never use Finnish as their home language. Using other languages (primarily English or

another language) as a home language is rare: English is used to certain degree in just a few respondents' families. Three respondents use another language apart from Finnish or English as their basic language of communication; 12 respondents indicated using other languages apart from English and Finnish from time to time.

	Estonian (%)	Finnish (%)	English (%)
Always	69	27.2	3.4
Often	12.7	24.5	3.4
Sometimes	8.2	12.6	10.2
Seldom	9.5	24.5	25
Never	0.6	11.2	58

Table 6. Use of Estonian, Finnish and English at home

Estonian is the prevailing language used in communication with **close relatives**, while around a quarter of respondents "always" or "often" use Finnish to interact with close relatives.

The language use of the **control group** in the home domain is characterised by homogeneous use of Finnish: almost all respondents (93%) use only Finnish as their home language. As for other languages, two respondents (2.4%) use English as their regular home language and English is used as a home language alongside Finnish in the families of four respondents (4.9%).

Language use with friends. Similarly to the home domain, Estonian is also the primary language of communication with friends. The majority of respondents (72.4%) claim that they "always" (47.4%) or "often" (25%) use Estonian when interacting with friends; only four respondents indicate that they never use Estonian in this sphere of communication. The use of Finnish as a language of communication networks is unlimited, although answers given on the use of Finnish indicate (similarly to data on language use in the home domain) that both languages are actively used in interaction with friends. The data indicates that as many as 71% of the respondents use Finnish as their main or frequent language of communication with friends and around a third claim to use only Finnish when interacting with their friends. Less than a tenth of the respondents (7.1%) never use Finnish in their communication with friends. Apart from Finnish, English is the second most important language of interaction with friends: around 23% of the respondents use English as a language of communication every now and then and 3.3% of the respondents regularly use it as a language of interaction.

	Estonian (%)	Finnish (%)	English (%)
Always	47.4	30.3	3.3
Often	25	40.7	15.4
Sometimes	12.2	14.8	20.9
Seldom	12.8	7.1	23.1
Never	2.6	7.1	37.3

Table 7. Use of Estonian, Finnish and English with friends

The control group respondents mainly communicate with their friends in Finnish and around half (51.7%) indicate that they use English "often" or "sometimes"; around a quarter (23.4%) claim that they use other languages of communication besides Finnish and English "often" or "sometimes". Around a quarter (23%) of the respondents never use English when interacting with their friends.

As for interaction with neighbours, the prevailing language used by Estonians is Finnish, and in some cases English. However, using Estonian is not ruled out for Estonians: responses indicate that around a quarter (21%) "always" or "often" use Estonian in their interaction with neighbours. Using Estonian to such a degree in this sphere is probably possible for respondents living in Helsinki area. The control group respondents nearly "always" (92.8%) communicate with their neighbours in Finnish.

Language use at work. Finnish is the prevailing language used in the work setting for both minority and majority respondents (i.e. for 80.7% of the minority and for 82% of the control group). For both groups, another important language used in the work setting is English; a few respondents from the minority group can use Estonian at their place of work. Only five informants from the minority group claim that they never use Finnish. Almost 20% of minority group respondents use English as a regular or one working language and for 3.4% of them English is the main working language. Although the work setting of control group respondents is also predominantly Finnish-based, a third use English as their working language and for 3.5% of these English is the main working language. Five control group respondents (5.6%) use another language apart from Finnish and English as their regular language of communication in the work setting.

	Estonian (%)	Finnish (%)	English (%)
Always	8.9	80.7	3.4
Often	12.9	13.3	17.1
Sometimes	12.9	1.5	34.1
Seldom	33.9	0.7	19.3
Never	31.4	3.8	26.1

Table 8. Use of Estonian, Finnish and English at work

Language use in various public domains. Finnish is the predominant language of communication in other areas of life, used by the majority of the minority (70-81.2%) and majority group respondents (83.7-92.4%). Although in formal language use settings Finnish is the dominant language of interaction for both groups, language choices of the minority group vary to a larger degree and English as well as Estonian are used as other languages of communication. However, this specific result should be taken with a pinch of salt: it is possible that in describing their language choices in formal language use domains, respondents were referring to interaction in an Estonian-based language setting in Estonia. But if we assume that this data is reliable, 14.6–16.5% of the respondents only use Estonian when interacting with public servants, shopping, on the street, at church and at the library.

Frequency: always	Estonian (%)	Finnish (%)	English (%)
in shops	16.6	79.8	
in the street	15.9	69.9	
in the library	16.5	80.3	2.4
at church	14.7	68	
with public authorities	14.6	81.2	
in community events	13.1	71.4	1.2
in other domains	28	70	

Table 9. Domain-specific use of Estonian, Finnish and English

Language use at school. The answers given on language choices in the sphere of education are somewhat problematic. Around half of the minority group respondents ignored this question, which is understandable, because the majority of them acquired their education in Estonia, before migrating to Finland, thus regarding the question as irrelevant. Around 20% of the respondents claim that they “always” use Estonian in the sphere of education. 86.8% of the control group respondents use Finnish in the sphere of education.

	Estonian (%)	Finnish (%)	English (%)
Always	20	61.5	5.4
Often		12.8	8.1
Sometimes	2.4	1.3	24.3
Seldom	16.5	3.9	12.2
Never	61.1	20.5	50

Table 10. Use of Estonian, Finnish and English at school

Summary. Comparison of the domains of use of Estonian and Finnish confirms language choice patterns typical of immigrant groups, according to which the sphere of use of the native language is narrower the further away it is from the domestic sphere. In Finland, Estonian is primarily used at home and in communication networks and, in terms of respondents living in the capital and its surrounding areas, with neighbours. All forms of institutional interaction are predominantly Finnish-based, with only a few exceptions (see Figures 11 and 12).

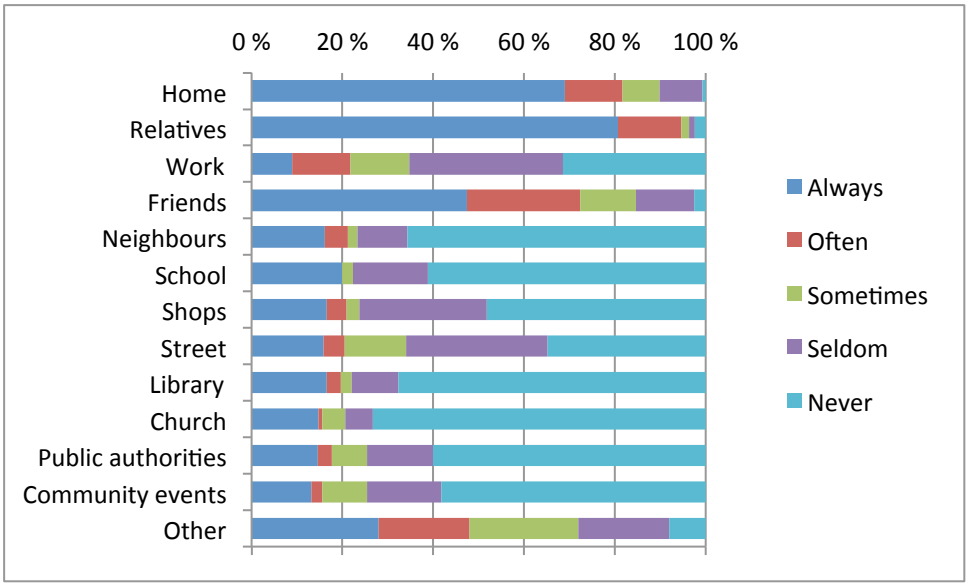

Figure 11. Use of Estonian in various domains

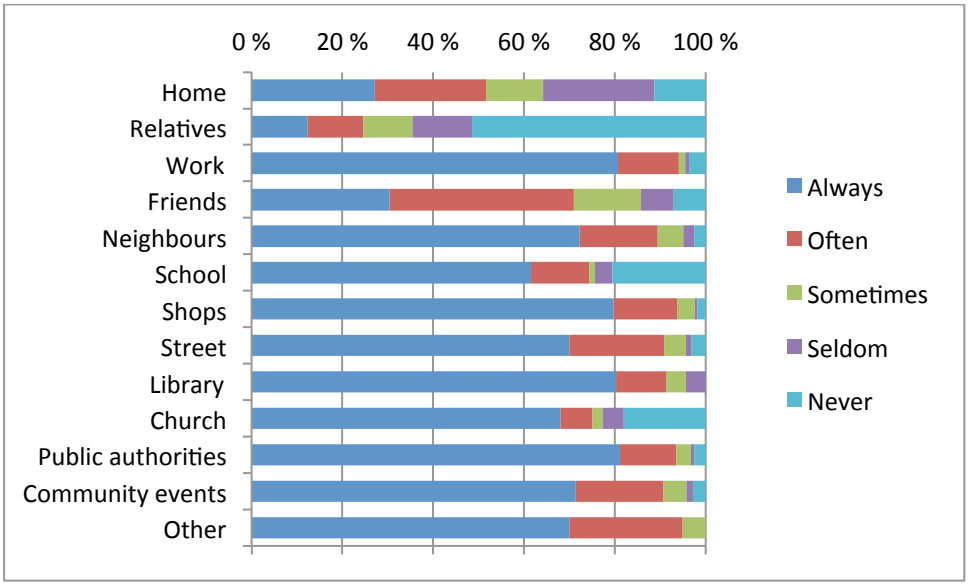

Figure 12. Use of Finnish in various domains

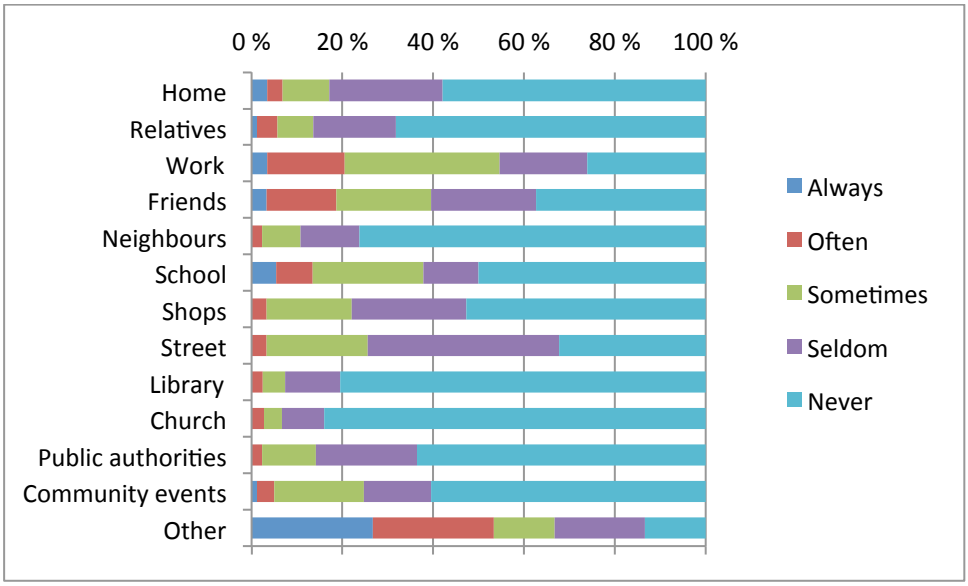

Figure 13. Use of English in various domains

Control Group. The overwhelming majority of control group respondents use only Finnish when interacting at home (93%), with relatives (89.1%), with friends (81.4%), with neighbours (92.8%), at school (86.6%), in shops (89.1%), on the street (83.7%), at the library (92.4%), at church (90.4%) and with public servants (90.2%). English is first and foremost used in the work setting and when communicating with friends; in other areas of life, English is used less frequently. For the control group, it is the work setting that is the most multilingual area of language use: around a third of the respondents (31.4%) "always" or "often" use English at work.

Opinions and knowledge about language use across domains

Use of Estonian in various public domains (Q39). Respondents were also asked to express their opinions on whether Estonian should be used in various public domains in Finland (i.e. on television, in police stations, parliament, hospitals, and court, on the Internet and in the education system), by indicating their endorsement (on a five-point scale from *I do not agree at all* to *I totally agree*) of the statements in the form *Estonian should be used in ...*.

Estonians' opinions on the need to use Estonian are negative, i.e. an overwhelming majority is clearly against the use of Estonian in public domains (i.e. selected the option *I do not agree at all* or *I do not quite agree).* Of the statements listed above, respondents are most in agreement with the statement that Estonian should be used in internet (45%) and in the education system (44.8%) while the fewest agreed with the statement that Estonian should be used in the Finnish parliament (66.1%) and police departments (54.6%). The responses are given in Figure 14 below.

Although the number of respondents who gave a negative answer is high, the answers to these questions should be interpreted in the light of the interview results. Thus, it can be said that using Estonian in these important domains is not viewed as necessary because respondents are knowledgeable of Finnish legislation, according to which they can use the services of interpreters speaking their native language when communicating with government agencies – which, in a sense, ensures that these public services are also available in Estonian.

The respondents' answers show that they rely heavily on the possibility to use the services of official interpreters, which, on the one hand, makes it less unnecessary to translate legislation, the websites of government agencies and other official information into Estonian, but, on the other hand, also reduces the need for respondents to learn Finnish and interact in the language. Several respondents are of the following opinion, referring to the number of Estonians in Finland and ongoing immigration: "Taking into account the size of the Estonian community in Finland, it should be possible to run errands in police departments, at the population register and in hospitals in Estonian to a greater extent."

The thinking of many respondents is aptly put by one of them: "No doubt it would be nice to come across more Estonian-speaking public servants. Sadly, it's hard to imagine that one day someone who doesn't speak Finnish will be able to manage in Finland with only Estonian. Our numbers here are too small for that and, what's more, such a development might provoke resentment among the locals."

In addition to the previously mentioned government agencies, around half of the respondents (44.8%) think that Estonian should be used in the Finnish education system. Such a highly positive attitude is to be expected, because intensive migration to Finland is an ongoing process and possibilities to obtain education in their native language are becoming more and more relevant to Estonians living in the country. The respondents also said that

against this background of intensive immigration, in future more attention will be paid to the Estonian community and the immigrants' needs in the education system.

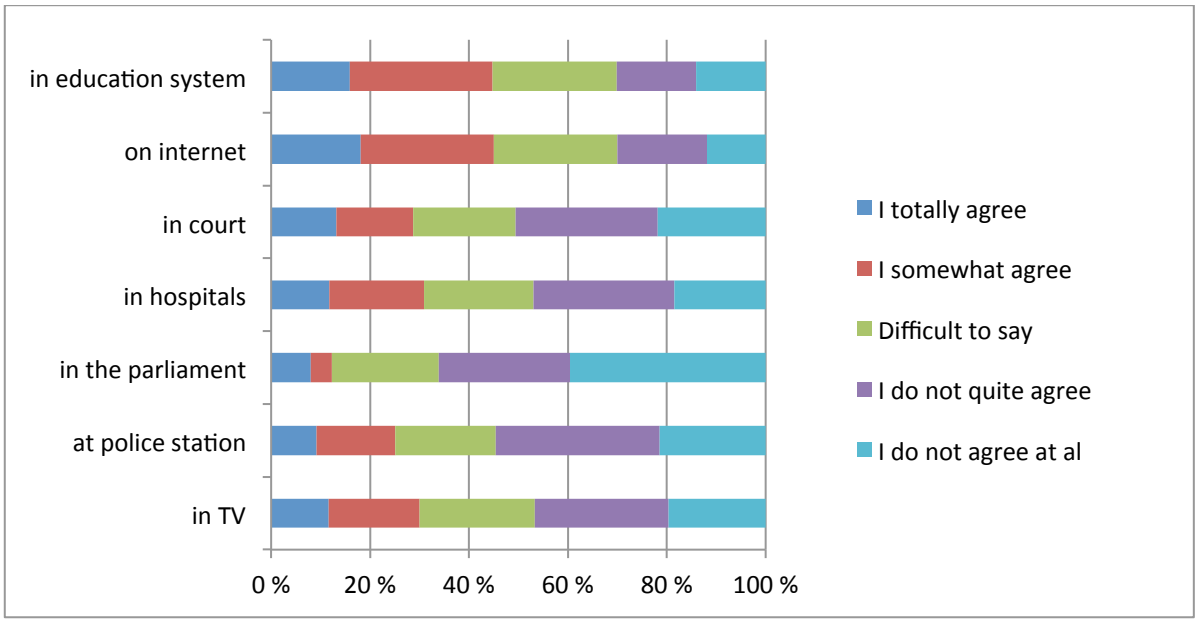

Figure 14. Respondents' opinions on whether Estonian should be used in certain public domains

The **control group** respondents' views of the necessity of use of Estonian in the Finnish public sphere do not generally differ from those of Estonians, and they tend to have a negative attitude towards the use of a foreign language in the public sphere. They agree most to the use of Estonian on television (21.1%), in hospitals (19.9%), in the education system (17.6%), in courts (14.4%) and in police departments (14.2%), agreeing least with its use in the parliament (5.7%).

Usability of Estonian (Q59). The respondents were also asked whether Estonian is easy to use in most everyday situations. (The question was meant to refer to the use of Estonian in a minority situation, in Finland. However, this was not explicitly mentioned, and not all respondents interpreted the question this way.) The majority of the respondents (63.4%) are of the opinion that Estonian is easy to use in most everyday situations while 36.6% answered the question in the negative.

This question has been commented on in different ways. In general it can be said that those respondents who have interpreted this question as referring to the situation in Finland almost unanimously think that in Finland (as in any other foreign country) using Estonian outside of one's home and family domain is simply impossible: one has to accept the terms and conditions of the majority country. Although most of the respondents state that in Finland it is not possible to use Estonian in public institutions, stores, service sector and at work, several respondents think it possible that "depending on the place, individuals, officials and colleagues, it is possible to live in Estonian in Finland" and "in Finland, you can

run errands in Estonian". It is only "at a doctor's who doesn't speak Estonian" that one cannot use Estonian.

In commenting on the question, several respondents have expressed their surprise that the question was asked in the first place. In their opinion, it is just self-evident that in Finland – as in any other country where Estonian is not an official language – one cannot expect to be able to use one's native language in public interaction ("I live abroad, in a country with another language"). The comments of several respondents clearly indicate that the speakers of a minority language have to accept the language and laws of the majority country and abide by them ("No, because one must speak Finnish (and Swedish and English) in Finland"; "No, because to live in Finland, immigrants should be able/have to speak Finnish"; "No, because one must accept the language of this state (Finland"). An overwhelming majority of the respondents believe that it is essential to speak Finnish and speaking it is a priority. Speaking Finnish is also seen as accepting the Finnish state and the Finnish people; for several respondents, knowing and speaking Finnish is like an "expression of gratitude" for being accepted as an immigrant in Finland.

Although in answering the question, most respondents have thought of Finland, there are also those who have proceeded from the situation in Estonia in their answers and comments (emphasising that in Eastern Virumaa in Estonia, where the majority of the population consists of Russian-speaking immigrants, it is not possible to speak Estonian in stores, public institutions, etc.).

The question has also been interpreted in terms of the expressive capacity of the Estonian language. For instance, in the opinion of several respondents, English is more suitable for expressing emotions than Estonian and there are things that are easier said in English than in Estonian (such as *I love you* or *Mom, I am pregnant*!).

Level of agreement	**(%)**
Yes	63.4
No	36.6

Table 11. Q59: Is Estonian easy to use in most everyday situations?

Knowledge about the use of Estonian in public domains (Q61). Respondents were also asked if, to their knowledge, Estonian is really used in various institutions (such as the parliament, police stations, tax offices, health insurance offices, and employment offices, etc.). According to the majority of the respondents (50.3-71.8%), Estonian is not used in these domains or they had no knowledge about it. The responses are given in Figure 15 below.

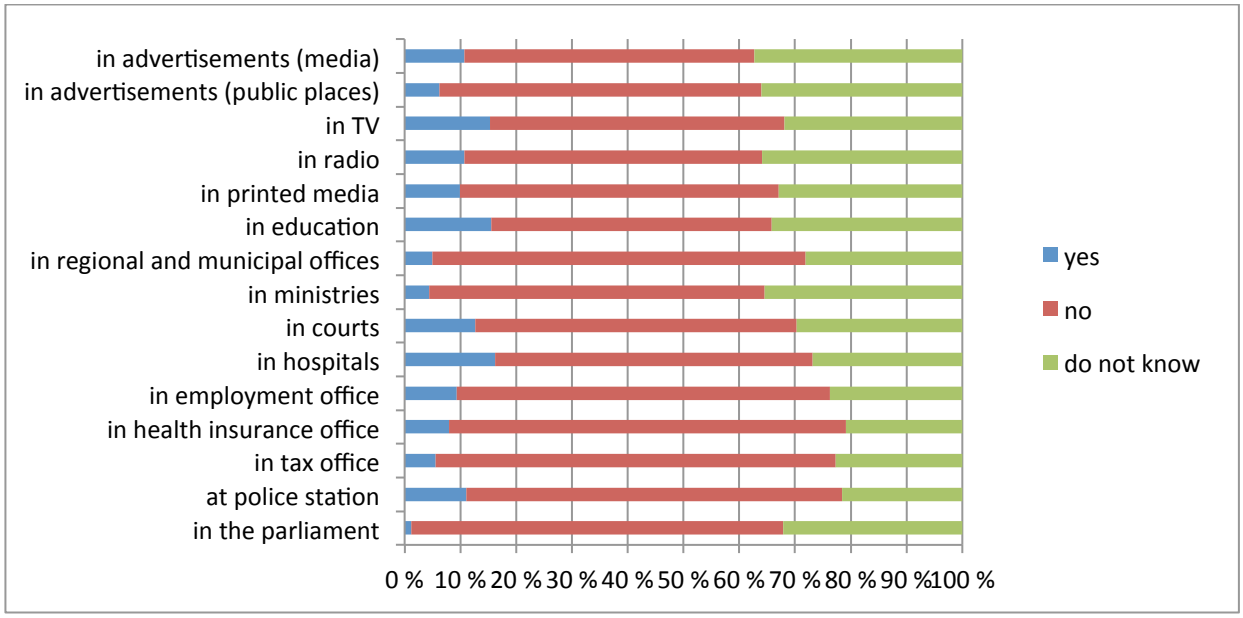

Figure 15. Reported use of Estonian in public domains

4.3.5 Languages and labour market

Respondents were asked to rate the following claims on a five-level scale (from *I do not agree at all* to *I totally agree*): proficiency in Estonian/Finnish/English helps in 1) finding one's first job, 2) earning a higher salary, 3) promotes career advancement and 4) facilitates changing jobs.

According to the minority group respondents, the most important language on the Finnish labour market is Finnish. As for the usefulness of foreign languages on the labour market, the highest value is attached to English, while Estonian is seen as the least valuable language after Finnish and English: more than half of the respondents (56.1-67.9% across various statements) disagreed with all of the statements, i.e. in their opinion Estonian has no value whatsoever in terms of the previously mentioned functions. The respondents agreed most (albeit still very few of them) with the statements that proficiency in Estonian might make it easier to get your first job (16%) or to move up the career ladder (14.6%), while they agreed least with the statement that Estonian language skills enable you to earn a higher salary (7.6%).

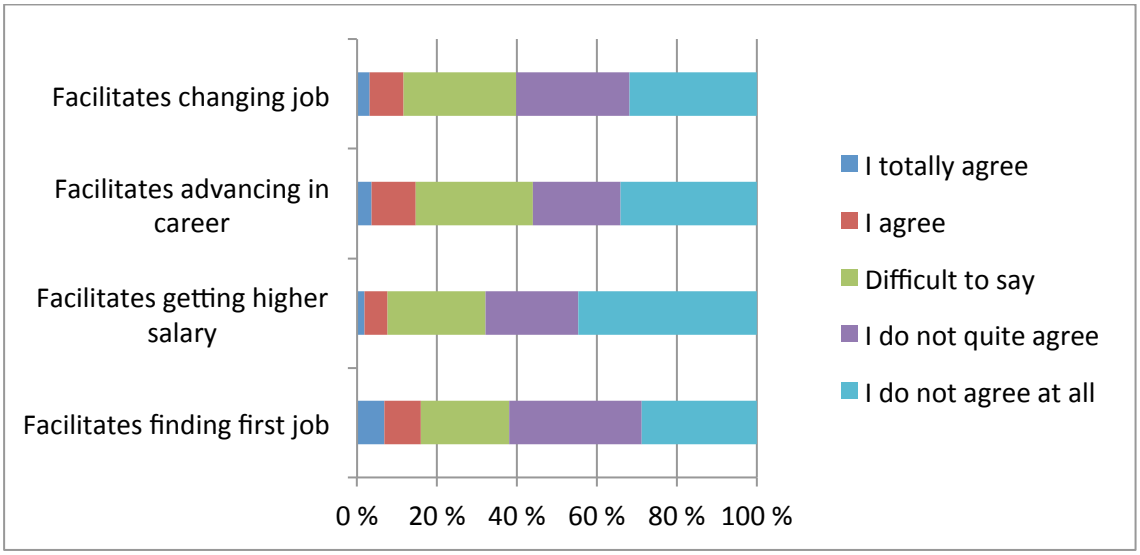

Figure 16. The perceived importance of Estonian competence on the labour market

What about the respondents' assessments of the importance of Finnish and English on the Finnish labour market? Almost all of the respondents agree with the statement that knowing Finnish makes it easier to get your first job (95.7%) and to change jobs (92.6%). This leads to the conclusion that respondents consider proficiency in Finnish invaluable when entering the Finnish labour market and see it as the most important language in this context. Just a few respondents questioned the importance of Finnish. Around 87.7% of respondents agree that knowing Finnish promotes career advancement. According to the respondents, the connection between proficiency in Finnish and higher pay is not that strong: only 60% were convinced that knowing Finnish enables you to earn a higher salary.

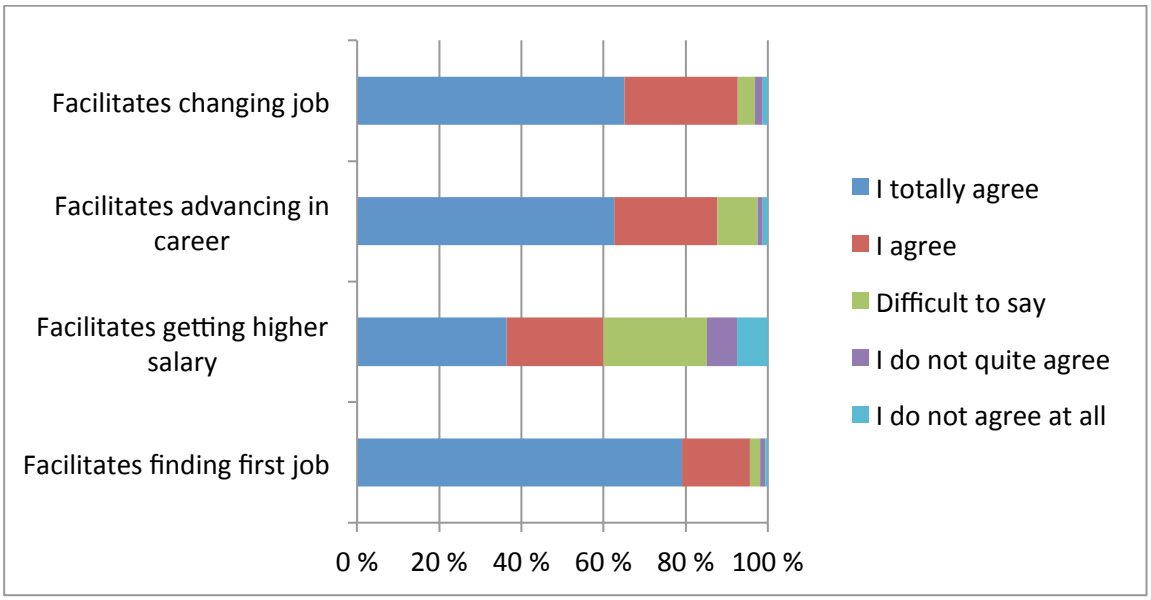

Figure 17. The perceived importance of Finnish competence on the labour market

Although the minority group respondents think that English language skills are also necessary on the Finnish labour market, they rate demand for English as secondary after Finnish. The respondents agree most with the statement that knowing English makes it easier to move up the career ladder (74.5%), change jobs (69.5%) and get your first job (68%), and least with the statement that it enables you to earn a higher salary (50%).

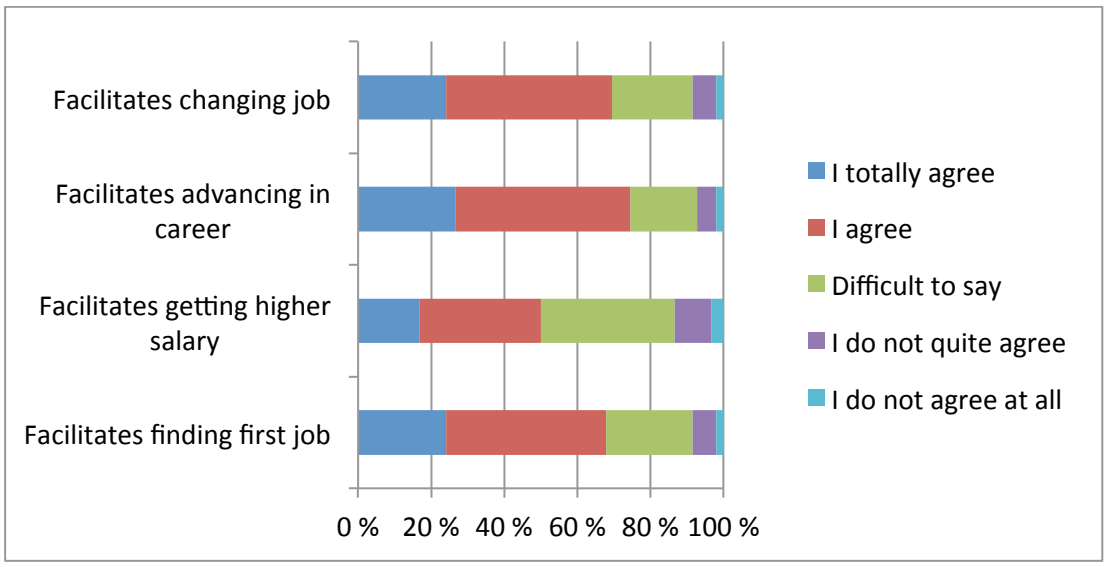

Figure 18. The perceived importance of English competence on the labour market

Interview data. Comparing these results with qualitative data (i.e. interview results), it can be said that excellent English skills are first and foremost seen as a means to move up the career ladder in a multinational company. However, for unskilled workers, knowledge of Russian is considered far more important than that of English. The fact that it is Russian that respondents consider the most important language in the Finnish context is also clearly revealed in answers to Question 40, where respondents were asked to name one language besides Estonian, Finnish, English and Swedish whose importance would increase over the next ten years in Finland. The results show that the majority of respondents (57) consider Russian the most important language in terms of the strengthening of its position in the coming ten years, followed by Chinese (17) and German (13). Or as one Estonian respondent put it very succinctly, reflecting the respondents' general opinion: "As the number of well-to-do Russians in Finland is growing from year to year, it is probable that more concessions will be made regarding them."

Control group. The answers of the control group respondents reveal analogous results: Finnish is considered the most important language on the Finnish labour market and English is seen as the most important foreign language in the given context. While in the opinion of the majority of respondents (93.15%) getting your first job is easier if you speak Finnish at native speaker level, no correlation is seen between knowing Finnish and earning a higher salary. However, the majority of control group respondents are convinced that knowing

Finnish at the native speaker level promotes career advancement (77.4%) and facilitates the changing of jobs (82.9%). The respondents' assessments of the importance of English are similar to those for Finnish: the majority are convinced that knowing English makes it easier to get your first job (87.5%), enables you to earn a higher salary (69.4%), promotes career advancement (91.7%) and facilitates the changing of jobs (90.3%). However, the majority of control group respondents (65.7%) were unable to indicate whether Finnish legislation supports knowledge of various languages on the labour market; according to around a quarter (23.8%), there are relevant legal regulations in place.

Comparing the importance of Estonian, Finnish and English on the labour market, Estonian is seen as a less significant language in this context: only a small share of the respondents think that Estonian plays an important role in getting your first job (19.5%), earning a higher salary (17.2%), moving up the career ladder (31.7%) and changing jobs (26.2%). At the same time, around half of the respondents did not have a clear-cut position in this respect or were unsure about the role of Estonian, choosing the option "difficult to say". The control group respondents agreed least with the statement that knowing Estonian enables you to earn a higher salary (38.6%) and makes it easier to get your first job (34.3%).

Interview data. Comparing the survey results with the interview data, it can be said that almost all respondents agree or fully agree that the command of the Finnish language is absolutely essential while living and working in Finland. As expected, the Finnish language is considered to be the most important language in the labour market in Finland. First of all, high competence in Finnish is seen as the first condition for entering labour market or facilitating it. Good command in Finnish is also seen as an advantage in the labour market. Our informants believe that all foreigners should have a good command of Finnish.

On the other hand, the importance of Russian skills is highly valued. According to informants, Estonians benefit of Russian skills in Finland and a good command of Russian expands their opportunities. One could also claim that among Estonians the Russian language is seen as a second "local" important language besides Finnish. Of course, the need for Russian skills depends largely on the type of work or tasks at the workplace but according to the informants, almost everyone of them communicates also in Russian at work or must be able to understand and talk in Russian in their professional life. Many jobs, for instance in the service sector, require communication skills in Russian (for instance, Estonians assist their Russian-speaking co-workers or Finnish-speaking colleagues in case the latter have Russian-speaking clients or patients in the hospitals. According to the informants´, the competences in English seems to be relatively rare in the Finnish labour market. (Only in the focus group FG-AG3 was the English language of more importance than among older age groups.)

Due to the nature of their work, most of the informants use multiple languages on a daily basis at work. The participants gave many examples of situations where strong command of languages has been of great benefit. Comments below describe informants' multilingual workplace or practices at work:

AG2m´s workplace in Helsinki is fully Estonian-Finnish bilingual, so he uses both Estonian and Finnish at work: "It only depends on the situation if you use Estonian or Finnish with a colleague. It is usual that you speak with the same colleague in part in Finnish, in part in Estonian during the day. Sometimes we mix Estonian and Finnish in the same sentence", the respondent described his language use at work.

At AG1m´s workplace in Helsinki, a couple of his colleagues come from Estonia, so he also speaks a little bit Estonian at work. "On average, 2-3 sentences every day", described the informant the frequency of use of his mother tongue.

AG1m mainly uses Finnish at work, but with one colleague from Serbia he speaks English. Sometimes, he has Finnish clients who can speak Estonian and who enjoy having the chance to communicate in Estonian with a native speaker.

AG3f mainly uses Finnish at work, sometimes Swedish with Swedish-speaking clients. Sometimes she communicates in Estonian and Russian with a client of Estonian or Russian origin.

AG4m mostly uses Finnish at work. Sometimes he is asked for help by his colleagues when there is a Russian-speaking patient who cannot speak any other language than Russian. He has seldom used Estonian with patients from Estonia.

One could claim that the daily language use in professional life of informants is very multilingual: many informants work in multiethnic contexts and therefore need to communicate in many languages. Most of the informants are able to communicate in their daily and professional life in Finnish, some respondents also in Swedish, the majority also in English. An excellent command of English is first and foremost seen as the option for making a career in an international company. On the other hand, in relation to the so-called unskilled work, Russian is regarded to be much more important in the Finnish context than English. The fact that in the Finnish context the respondents regard the Russian language the most important language is clearly indicated by the answers given to question 40.

4.3.6 Language planning and maintenance

The survey questions helped to map the respondents' awareness of institutions in Finland which are active in the fields of Estonian and Finnish language planning and maintenance. Minority group respondents were also asked whether there is a "pure" form of Estonian and by whom it is spoken. The survey results indicate that the awareness of Estonians as well as Finns of language planning issues, relevant institutions, associations, advocates and their activity is rather poor, i.e. most respondents have no knowledge whatsoever of matters related to language planning and maintenance. Still, the survey revealed some surprising results: for example, Finnish Estonians view the Tuglas Society and its activity as fulfilling the functions of a typical minority language society.

Institutions cultivating the Estonian language (Q55). The majority of minority group respondents (around 65.5%) are not aware of the existence of societies or institutions

engaged in the advancement of Estonian in Finland. However, the comments added to the question show that the respondents understand the word "institution" in varied ways. Interestingly, 21 out of all respondents who had answered this question positively named the Tuglas Society in Helsinki as the most important or as one of the institutions. This is unexpected, as the main objective of the Tuglas Society is the opposite: to acquaint Finns with Estonia and the Estonian language and culture. Yet, the comments to this question suggest that respondents residing in Helsinki attribute to the Tuglas Society all those tasks and functions that might be typical of any expatriate Estonian society in the Estonian western diaspora. The significance and role of the Tuglas Society is emphasised first and foremost by the so-called first-generation Estonian emigrants who have been living in Finland for a very short time. Many of them stress the importance of the Tuglas Society in relation to their first contact with the Finnish state and society ("In Helsinki, there is the Tuglas Society, which helps the Estonians who move to Finland to get on their feet"); in two questionnaires, the respondents have also clearly thanked the Tuglas Society. The comments indicate that the activities of the society are not associated with cultivating the Estonian language and culture only, but with supporting Estonians and Estonian identity in the broader sense. In contrast, the activities of the Union of Estonians in Finland *(Soome Eestlaste Liit)* or any other Estonian societies in Finland (some of them have been active for decades) have not been mentioned in any of the questionnaires, despite the fact that these societies have the explicit objective of supporting Estonians in Finland. Thus it can be said that in the understanding of Estonians in Finland, the Tuglas Society performs the tasks of a multifunctional society and the majority of the Estonians in Helsinki see the Tuglas Society as the most important link between minority and majority groups; for several respondents, the Tuglas Society is their first "springboard" to Finland and their first contact with the Finnish state and people.

Level of agreement	**(%)**
Do not know	65.5
No	7.9
Yes	26.6

Table 12. Q55: Are there institutions which cultivate the Estonian language?

The institutions explicitly named were

- the Tuglas Society *(Tuglase Selts / Tuglas-seura)*
- the Estonian Centre in Helsinki *(Eesti Maja / Viro-keskus)*
- the Estonian Institute in Helsinki (*Eesti Instituut / Viro-instituutti)*
- the Association of Estonian organisations in Finland *(Soome Eesti-seltside Liit / Suomen Viro-yhdistysten liitto)*
- the Estonian embassy in Helsinki
- language and culture courses offered by Finnish universities
- Estonian schools in general
- Finnish adult education centres (Fin *työväenopisto, kansalaisopisto*).

The importance of the Tuglas Society was highlighted both in individual and focus group interviews. The comments indicate that the informants highly value the role of the Tuglas Society and Estonian House in Helsinki. Many respondents mentioned the activities of the Tuglas Society as a positive example of cultivating and supporting the use of Estonian language in Helsinki. Some respondents expressed their gratitude to the Estophiles in Finland who have been promoting the Estonian language and culture in Finland during the Soviet period.

Institutions cultivating the Finnish language (Q56). The same question was also asked about the institutions cultivating the Finnish language. Answers indicate that although the level of awareness of respondents varies, around a third (36%) are familiar with the subject and able to name various Finnish societies. Although the vast majority of respondents do not know of any concrete institution, they assume that "in a country like Finland, societies and language cultivators like these definitely exist". The following "institutions" were mentioned:

- The Tuglas Society
- Finnish language courses, courses of Finnish for foreigners (all over Finland)
- Language institutes in Finland
- Finnish universities (especially: University of Helsinki, University of Jyväskylä)
- "language developers"
- The Finnish Literature Society (*www.finlit.fi)*
- The Institute for the Languages of Finland (*Kotimaisten kielten keskus, KOTUS; www.kotus.fi*)
- schools
- Public employment and business services *(TE-palvelut, työ- ja elinkeinotoimisto)*
- linguists/researchers
- the state of Finland.

Level of agreement	**(%)**
Do not know	36
Yes	64

Table 13. Q56: Are there institutions which cultivate the Finnish language?

Control group. The responses of the control group to the same questions reveal a similarly low level of awareness: the majority (83.2%) are not aware of the existence of societies or organisations actively engaged in promoting Estonian in Finland while 9.1% answered this question affirmatively. As concrete examples of institutions and persons, different Estonian-Finnish friendship societies were mentioned as well as the linguist Santeri Junttila and Tarja Halonen, the (former) president of Finland.

The existence of a pure/correct version of Estonian (Q57). The last question in the series on language preservation touched upon the minority group's notion of the "purity" of Estonian: whether there is a "pure" form of Estonian and by whom it is spoken. Regrettably, the wording of the question – first and foremost the term 'language form' – was difficult for the

respondents to interpret. Also, the question was rendered more complicated by the absence of a geographical specification. Thus, it is not surprising that more than half of the respondents chose the answer "do not know" (53.4%) or answered that a 'pure' language form of Estonian does not exist (12%). About 34.6% of respondents gave an affirmative answer, associating a "pure" form of Estonian with Estonian mainstream media, public broadcasting, language researchers and teachers, but also with public figures, writers and the President of the Republic.

Level of agreement	**(%)**
No	12
Do not know	34.6
Yes	53.4

Table 14. Q57: Is there a pure/correct version of the Estonian language?

The comments given to the question on the pure language variety of Estonian can be grouped into several categories. As expected, the use of "pure" Estonian is associated with mainstream Estonian media, national broadcasting, linguists and schoolteachers, but also with writers and public figures. Speaking "pure" Estonian is also associated with the institution of the President of the Republic, though not with the current president (hereby it should be mentioned that President Ilves grew up in the U.S.A. and speaks both Estonian and English as his native language). As speakers or users of the "pure" or "correct" Estonian, the following persons and institutions were mentioned:

- Estonian linguists and professors;
- The President of the Republic of Estonia, and the First Lady Evelin Ilves;
- The Estonian media and Estonian Public Broadcasting (ERR, ETV, Vikerraadio), daily newspapers in Estonia;
- The former president of the Republic of Estonia, Mr Lennart Meri;
- Written Estonian;
- Writers;
- A "well-educated" person/people/Estonians;
- Estonians living in Estonia;
- Newsreaders on TV in Estonia;
- Some prominent Estonians such as Marju Lauristin (scientist, professor), Heinz Valk (politician), Mari Tarand (writer), Jaak Allik (politician), Helju Valk (linguist).
- Teachers of Estonian language;
- Language researchers;
- Older generations of Estonians (grandfathers and grandmothers);
- Everyone in Estonia with a secondary education.

To question 58 – whether there is a need to develop the Estonian language to fit social and public needs – about a half of respondents (57.9%) answered "yes". At the same time the share of the respondents who do not have a clear opinion or who have not answered the

questions is relatively high (29.9%) as well. Only 12.2% of the respondents think that there is not any need whatsoever to develop Estonian.

Level of agreement	(%)
No	12.2
Do not know	29.9
Yes	57.9

Table 15. Q58: Is there a need to develop Estonian to fit social and public needs?

Attempts to save the Estonian language (Q60). The majority of Estonian respondents (73.2%) do not know whether and what kind of measures have been taken in Finland to protect Estonian or support its sustainability in Finland. Only 14 respondents out of 164 (8.5%) have answered the question positively and know that attempts have been made to activate the Estonian language. Because of its wording mainly, the question has seemed complicated to the respondents and left them several interpreting options. Therefore, there is no ground to believe that such a big share of respondents do not actually have their opinion in relation to the question. However, according to some respondents, different attempts were made, mostly related to teaching Estonian in Finland (in basic education, at the universities, at the Finnish Adult Education Centres ect.) and various activities by the Tuglas Society.

Level of agreement	(%)
No	18.3
Do not know	73.2
Yes	8.5

Table 16. Q60: Are there attempts to save the Estonian language?

4.3.7 Support and prohibition of language use: Should children learn Estonian?

The following sub-section analyses the respondents' attitudes toward supporting and obstructing the use of Estonian and Finnish. The questions asked of the respondents helped to map attitudes prevalent in the respondents' childhood (e.g. at home and at school) as well as their current attitudes toward using Estonian and Finnish and generational continuity. The questions for the control group respondents were somewhat different: their purpose was to find out how Finns view the 'incorrect' use of Finnish and whether it is necessary to know Finnish and teach a minority language (e.g. Estonian) at Finnish general education institutions. Therefore, the respondents were asked whether in their opinion (1) it is acceptable to speak Finnish incorrectly, (2) whether children should have the opportunity to learn their first or native language at school, (3) whether teaching Estonian in Finland is

necessary, and (4) whether the knowledge of Finnish is overrated (for example, on the labour market).

Support of parents for speaking Estonian. It must be admitted that the questions asked of the minority group on supporting and obstructing the use of Estonian in their childhood were irrelevant to the majority of respondents and/or appeared out of place to them. Almost all Estonian respondents were brought up in a naturally Estonian-speaking environment in which their parents had no need to encourage their use of Estonian. Still, the majority (89.2%) gave an affirmative answer to the question. The question received more detailed responses from informants of Ingrian-Finnish origin, who answered that their parents, who were native speakers of Finnish, supported them as much as possible, depending on the parents' command of the language. Several respondents described their domestic language choices in more detail, emphasising their parents' effort to avoid language-mixing at home and insisting on children speaking correct Estonian, so that it would become their native language. The results are summarized in table 18 below.

Level of agreement	**(%)**
No	10.8
Yes	89.2

Table 17. Parental support in using Estonian

Support of parents for speaking Finnish. Also, the question as to whether parents supported speaking Finnish or not did not make any sense to respondents who were born and brought up in Estonia: this was only natural, because the majority of respondents are first-generation immigrants who relocated from Estonia in adulthood and acquired Finnish independently. As to whether parents supported learning Finnish, the respondents pointed out their parents' moral support for migrating to Finland and not specific help with the language. Their comments reveal that most of the respondents have learned Finnish independently, with the help of language courses or by interacting with Finns in a natural language setting. Only three respondents gave more specific descriptions of their parents' support for acquiring Finnish (e.g. one father helping to write letters in Finnish; speaking Finnish when visiting Finnish friends in Finland; reading aloud the Finnish Bible to a relative).

Level of agreement	**(%)**
No	65
Yes	35

Table 18. Parental support in using Finnish

Finally, respondents were asked whether they themselves try to make their children learn and use Estonian (see table below). 95 out of 170 respondents answered the question, of whom 88.4% gave an affirmative answer, i.e. they consider it necessary for their child/ children to use Estonian while living in a Finnish-language environment and they support the use of Estonian. Their comments describe in detail various forms of support (different language learning methods and child-oriented activities at home and outside the home, reading Estonian books, watching Estonian children's television programmes and films). 11.6% of the respondents do not consider it important to teach their children Estonian, arguing that there is no need to use or know Estonian when living in Finland or that children are not interested in Estonian language and culture.

Level of agreement	**(%)**
No	11.6
Yes	88.4

Table 19. Respondents' support to their own children in learning Estonian

By comparing the results with the answers given during oral interviews, one could say that respondents in general have positive attitudes toward their children's heritage language maintenance. However, some parents do believe that acquiring a high level of proficiency in the Finnish language is more important for the children's future economic opportunities.

Control Group. The questions for the control group helped to map the attitude of Finns to speaking Finnish incorrectly and the necessity to learn a minority language. The majority of respondents (70.4%) are tolerant of the incorrect use of Finnish. An insignificant proportion (7.6%) thinks that very good command of Finnish is absolutely necessary.

While the control group respondents display a clear attitude to the incorrect use of Finnish, a large share (up to a quarter) of the respondents do not have a clear-cut position on supporting minority languages or did not express their opinion clearly. In conclusion, it can be stated that more than half of the respondents (57.6%) think that Finnish general education schools should offer Estonian-language education, provided that Estonian is used at home, while roughly a fifth (21%) are not in favour of providing Estonian-language education. However, half of the respondents (49.3%) do not think that Finnish language skills in the context of the Finnish labour market are overrated (e.g. when looking for a job), considering proficiency in Finnish important; around a quarter (27.2%) are of a different opinion, thinking that proficiency in Finnish is overrated when looking for a job.

However, attitudes prevalent among the Finnish public to languages used to interact with children at home remain unclear due to the problematic and too ambiguous wording of the respective question.

4.3.8 Language attitudes

This sub-section provides an overview of the respondents' attitudes to Estonian, the correct and 'pure' way of speaking the language, the use of Estonian among different groups (distribution by age and sex), social interaction (getting acquainted, making friends or spending time) with speakers of Estonian, the need to use Estonian in the Finnish public sphere and the future of various languages in Finland.

Who is expected to speak Estonian? In question 33, respondents were asked to indicate (on a five-point scale from *I do not agree at all* to *I totally agree*) whether they agreed with some statements about the "mixing of languages" and the "proper use of Estonian"; question 37 contained similar statements about whether the use of Estonian is expected of adults or young people, of females or males. The majority (79.2%) think that it is the older generation who speaks "correct" Estonian. On the basis of distribution of speakers by sex and age, the conclusion emerges that speaking Estonian in a multilingual setting is first and foremost expected of adult women; however, this tendency is not very clear, and a considerable part of the respondents selected the option "difficult to say".

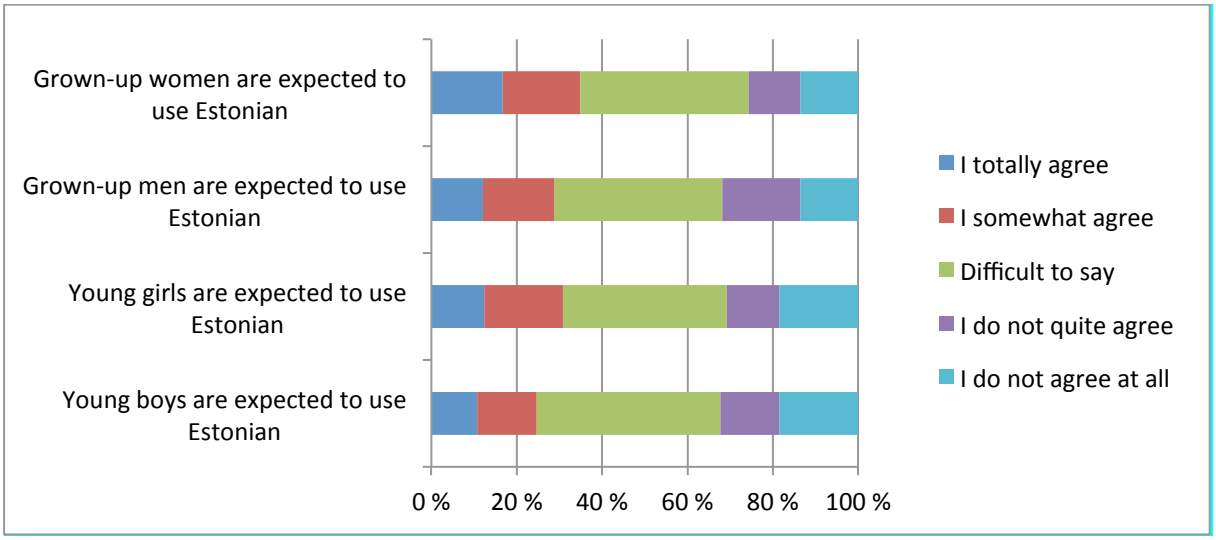

Figure 19. Expectations on language use by age and sex

In Q38, respondents were asked to express their opinion on the "easiness" of various social contacts with Estonian speakers. The results reveal that the majority of Estonian respondents (62.4-78.2% across various interaction forms) agree that it is easy to get

acquainted, become friends and spend time with fellow countrymen in Finland as well as to work together.

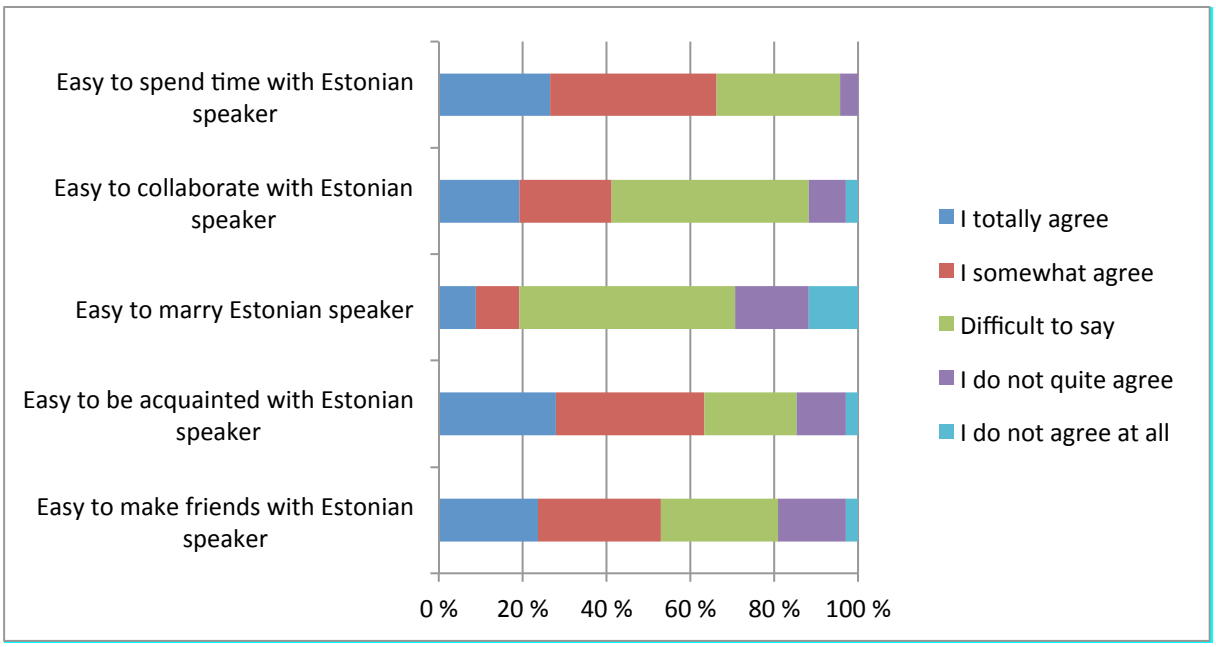

Figure 20. Statements about social contacts with speakers of Estonian

Control Group. The control group respondents' answers to the same questions indicate that they are not very familiar with the minority group or have had little contact with its representatives: the majority (62-87% across different statements) chose the answer "difficult to say". The respondents agree most with the statements that it is easy to get acquainted (31.7%), become friends (30.7%), spend time together (28.1%) and work together (21.7%) with speakers of Estonian.

4.3.9 Multilingualism issues

This section examines the conditions of and attitudes towards multilingualism and on the future of different languages.

Opinions on mixing languages (Q33). Respondents were asked to express their opinion on the statements concerning the "mixing of languages" on a scale from *totally agree—do not agree at all*. The majority of respondents (72.7%) agree that language-mixing is widespread among the Estonian community in Finland. However, the results do not clearly indicate whether mixing Estonian and Finnish is generally accepted among the Estonian community (according to 37.3% language-mixing is accepted among Estonians, while 33.5% are of a different opinion and 29% of the respondents remain neutral). Our interview data support the conclusion that attitudes towards code-switching are predominantly negative and characterised by monolingual purism, irrespective of the choice of language. ("Whichever language you speak, you need to speak it correctly."). As mentioned above, a clear majority

of the respondents thinks that it is the older generation who speaks 'correct' Estonian; in the context of this question, "correct" was probably understood as referring to "pure", "un-mixed" language. As for the respondents' perceptions of the language use of young people, no clear-cut tendencies emerge: although slightly more than half (55.5%) agree that it is primarily younger people who practise language-mixing, around 30% of the respondents do not have a clear opinion on this question. However, the answers clearly show that language-mixing is associated with neither the level of proficiency in the foreign language (55%) nor the speaker's level of education (44%): it is viewed as natural for all language users irrespective of their level of education.

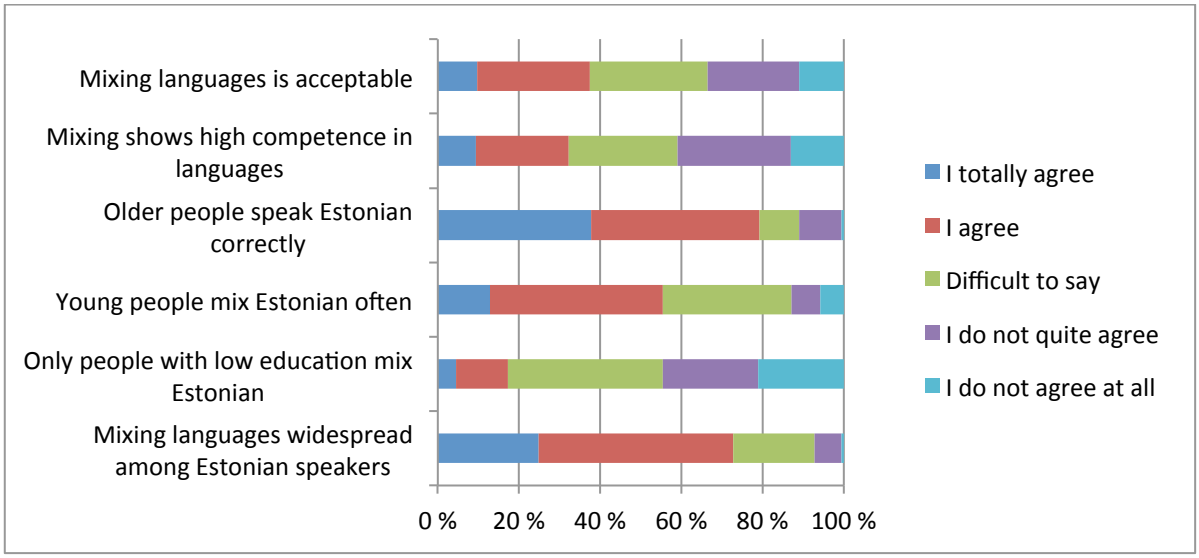

Figure 21. Attitudes towards mixing languages

Similar attitudes toward languages came up almost in every interview. Based on the interviews, one could say that the general attitude of informants toward the mixing of languages in conversation is rather negative ("You should make efforts to learn Finnish well then you won´t mix them", AG3f) and the majority of informants strongly disapproves of using mixed Estonian and Finnish. Some of respondents are also of opinion that older people speak Estonian correctly while younger people tend to use both languages during the conversation. Particularly, one should avoid code-switching while speaking with children.

The importance of the "pure" Estonian was intensively discussed by the informant AG1f. The key word of that interview was the correctness of the Estonian language. In terms of correctness, the informant criticized the language use of younger generations ("Older generations speak better Estonian"). She found that a language enjoys high prestige if native speakers use it correctly. Some informants had a highly negative attitude not only towards language mixing among Estonians living in Finland but also toward the use of English loanwords in Standard Estonian.

However, not everyone is against the bilingual language use or of the influences of English in their (professional) vocabulary. For instance, AG4m described how Finnish, Estonian and English are interwoven in his professional vocabulary. In his opinion, he masters the new medical vocabulary better in the Finnish language.

The future of various languages in Finland (Q40). Respondents from both groups were asked to rate how the importance of Estonian, Finnish, English, Swedish and one other language of their choice would change over the coming ten years. While around half of the minority group respondents were unsure whether the importance of Estonian, Swedish and Finnish would grow in future (answering 'not sure'), almost all of the respondents expect an increase in the importance of English. The results indicate that the growing importance of English is considered most probable (79.3%) and the growing importance of Swedish least probable (8.2%). Around half of the respondents (25.3%) are convinced that Estonian will gain more importance and 38.8% believe the same for Finnish.

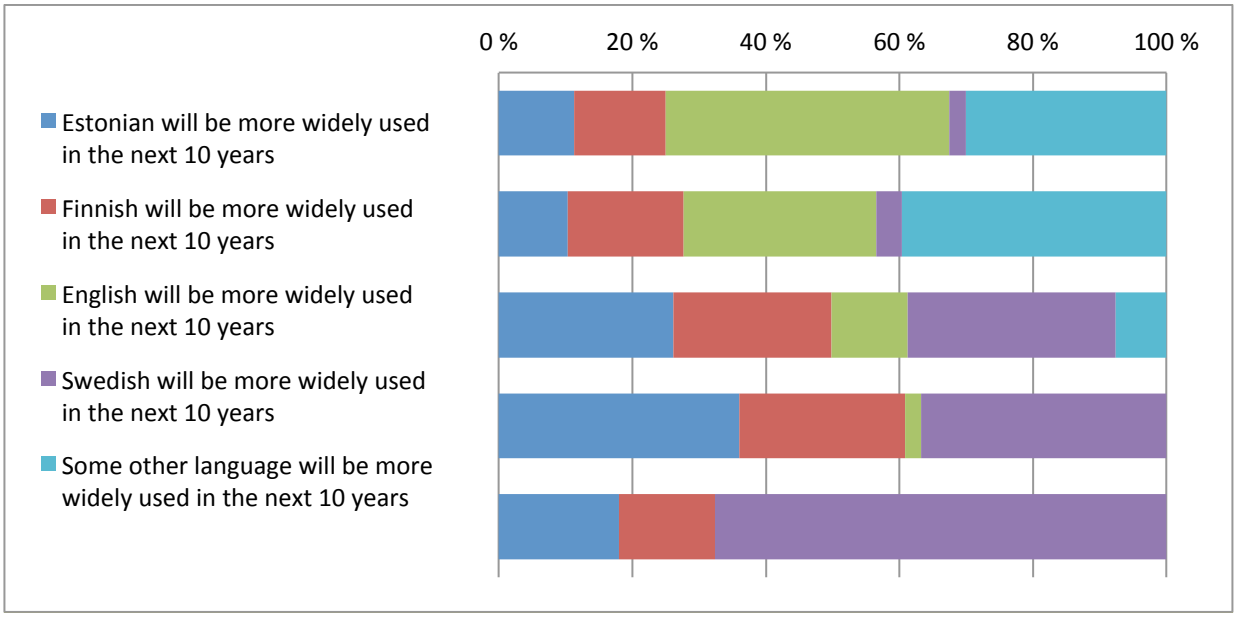

Figure 22. Statements about the future of diverse languages

Interview data. Informants both from individual and focus group interview have different opinions about the future and viability of the Estonian language in Finland. However, one could claim that the majority of informants were fairly optimistic about the future of Estonian in Finland, believing that Estonian will be a viable language in Finland and the importance of continuing emigration from Estonia and geographical closeness probably will keep the Estonian language alive (see in detail interviews with FG-AG3, AG2m, FG-AG1, AG5):

(1) *Praegu kolib Eestist kogu aeg eestlasi juurde, see hoiabki keele elus.*

['Nowadays more and more Estonians are immigrating from Estonia, this will keep the language alive.'] FG-AG1

The interviewees were also asked about their attitudes towards the maintenance of Estonian language and culture in Finland. The vast majority of informants is of the opinion that Estonians themselves, particularly the parents of their children are responsible for the maintenance of their children´s heritage language and culture:

(2) *Eestlased ise vastutavad oma emakeele säilimise eest.*
['Estonians themselves are responsible for the maintenance of their mother tongue.'] (FG-AG1)

(3) *Ei saa eeldada, et riik teeb kellegi eest midagi ära.*
['One should not assume that the state would do it for somebody.'] FG-AG3

(4) *Iga eestlane on vastutav oma emakeele ees.*
['Every Estonian is responsible for her or his mother tongue.'] AG1m

The interviewees see the attitude of the parents as the key factor for language maintenance which also (or first of all) means transmission of the Estonian identity. Particularly mothers play an important role for their children's language development and ethnolinguistic identity and especially in multilingual families they are usually held responsible for the transmission of the language to the next generation.

The interviewees also discussed the future of Estonian language in general. Some of them expressed their concern about the future of Estonian, believing that the original Estonian dialects will be ousted by slang, more loanwords will be taken into the Estonian language and that the written use of Estonian will become less correct over time. Particularly the global dominance of the English language is regarded as the most dangerous threat to all small languages.

Among the key threats to the future of Estonian, the low birth rates in Estonia were also mentioned.

Control Group. The majority of the control group (93.8%) are of the same opinion as the Estonian respondents: of all languages the importance of English will grow most. As for the two official languages of Finland, almost half of the respondents (47.2%) think that the importance of Finnish will grow in the near future, while only 21.9% believe the same for Swedish. The control group respondents were not very optimistic about the future of the two minority languages mentioned in the questionnaire, Estonian and Karelian: almost half of them (43.2%) think that the importance of Estonian in Finland will not increase over the coming ten years. Only a little more than a fifth (21.2%) believes that the importance of Estonian will grow; however, the control group's views on the future of Karelian were even more pessimistic.

Characteristics of languages (Q41–43). In the question set 41–43, respondents were asked to indicate their impressions of how Estonian, Finnish and English sound on five-point scales between diverse pairs of adjective antonyms (for instance: *very soft – soft – neither soft nor hard – hard – very hard*). When characterising Estonian, typically, positive qualities were selected (*close*, *pretty*, *reliable* etc.) Most of the respondents believed that the Estonian language is *very pretty* (73.1%), *very close* (70.1%), and *very reliable* (59.1%). The results are summarised in table 21 and the highest value is indicated with colour.

	very (1)	2	(3) neither	4	(5) very	
soft	42.5	35.3	11.8	1.3	17	**hard**
unsafe	3.7	5.2	14.2	21.6	55.2	**safe**
close	70.1	17.5	5.2	2	5.2	**remote**
reliable	59.2	22.5	12.7	3.5	2.1	**unreliable**
decisive	33.8	35.3	24.8	5.3	0.8	**indecisive**
modern	18.2	15.2	28.8	17.4	20.5	**traditional**
powerless	1.5	5.3	43.5	25.2	24.4	**powerful**
fun	34.8	37	23	3.7	1.5	**boring**
ugly	2.2	0.7	5.1	18.8	73.2	**pretty**
male	4.7	7.8	59.7	19.4	8.5	**female**
mean	2.4	3.9	32.3	34.7	26.8	**kind**
wealthy	36.5	24.8	29.9	5.8	2.9	**poor**
unsuccessful	4.7	3.9	45	23.3	23.3	**successful**
old	11.4	12.9	49.2	14.4	12.1	**young**
intelligent	32.8	34.4	29.8	2.3	0.8	**stupid**
considerate	29.2	30.8	35.4	3.9	0.8	**intrusive**
uneducated	2.3	3.	24.1	27.1	43.6	**educated**
passive	2.2	6	28.4	37.3	26.1	**active**

Table 20. Characteristics of Estonian

Finnish was also described as *very soft* (26.2%), *close* (33.8%), *reliable* (35%), *decisive* (35.1%), *intelligent* (32.3%) and *considerate* (32.0%). However, around a half of respondents selected the neutral (neither nor) option for the antonym pairs *male-female* (62%), *unsuccesful-succesful* (51,9%), *mean-kind* (51.5), *considerate-intrusive* (49.2%), *powerless-powerful* (46.2%), *ugly-pretty* (44.4%) and *modern-traditional* (40.9%). The results are given in the table below, the highest values are highlighted.

	very (1)	2	(3) neither	4	(5) very	
soft	26.2	20	18.6	20	15.2	**hard**
unsafe	3.0	9	33.1	26.3	28.6	**safe**
close	29.8	33.8	24.5	9.3	2.7	**remote**
reliable	27.9	35	27.9	7.1	2.1	**unreliable**
decisive	16	35.1	39.7	7.6	1.5	**indecisive**
modern	5.3	14.4	40.9	22.7	16.7	**traditional**
powerless	3.8	9.9	46.2	28	12.1	**powerful**
fun	15.3	27.5	30.5	19.1	7.6	**boring**
ugly	7.5	16.5	44.4	21.1	10.5	**pretty**
male	9.1	18.2	62.1	6.8	3.8	**female**
mean	2.3	2.3	51.5	34.1	9.9	**kind**
wealthy	20.7	24	43	7.4	4.4	**poor**
unsuccessful	2.3	5.4	51.9	28.7	11.6	**successful**
old	20.6	31.3	38.9	7.6	1.5	**young**
intelligent	9.5	32.3	48.8	6.3	3.2	**stupid**
considerate	11.7	32	49.2	5.5	1.6	**intrusive**
uneducated	2.4	7.9	46	29.4	14.3	**educated**
passive	4.7	10.9	55	18.6	10.9	**active**

Table 21. Characteristics of Finnish

English was described as *very modern* (42.9%), *intelligent* (34%), *wealthy* (27.9%). The results are given in the table below, the highest figures are highlighted.

	very (1)	2	(3) neither	4	(5) very	
soft	23	26.5	32.7	8.9	8.9	**hard**
unsafe	2.8	13.9	27.8	25	30.6	**safe**
close	10.8	18	33.3	21.6	16.2	**remote**
reliable	20.6	26.2	45.8	5.6	1.9	**unreliable**
decisive	21.1	33.9	33	7.3	4.6	**indecisive**
modern	42.9	20.5	18.8	8	9.8	**traditional**
powerless	1.8	4.6	34.9	29.4	29.4	**powerful**
fun	23.4	25.2	42.1	6.5	2.8	**boring**
ugly	0.9	3.7	35.2	37	23.2	**pretty**
male	3.7	13.9	67.6	13	1.9	**female**
mean	0.9	3.8	58.5	24.5	12.3	**kind**
wealthy	35.6	27.9	27.9	8.7		**poor**
unsuccessful	0.9		28.2	24.6	46.4	**successful**
old	19.4	12	44	12	12	**young**
intelligent	31.5	34.2	31.5	2.7		**stupid**
considerate	14	28	53.3	4.7		**intrusive**
uneducated	1.9	0.9	29	32.7	35.4	**educated**
passive	0.9	1.8	29.4	27.5	40.4	**active**

Table 22. Characteristics of English

Control Group. In the opinion of the control group (Q25-28 in the control group questionnaire), the Estonian language is seen as *traditional*, *fun, kind* and *old.* Slight tendencies are visible for *unsafe, close, unreliable, unsuccessful, stupid* and *active* while Finnish is associated with positive attributes such as "safe", "close", "reliable", "decisive", "powerful", "fun", "pretty", "kind", "wealthy", "successful", "intelligent", "educated" and "active". English, in turn, is associated with the following attributes: "soft", "safe", "close", "reliable", "decisive", "modern", "powerful", "fun", "pretty", "kind", "wealthy", "successful", "intelligent", "considerate", "educated" and "active". Again, for the antonym pair "old-young", the answers were evenly divided between either option or "neither".

4.4 Legislation

In general, the survey respondents seem to be very weakly informed of legal acts governing the activities of language minorities, educational and cultural life or language issues. On the other hand, extensive conclusions should not be drawn on the low awareness about legislation among the Estonians in Finland. The Estonian-speaking communities in Finland have come into being only recently, most of the respondents have been living in Finland for too short a time to know Finnish legislation in detail. As the participants in the survey repeatedly stated, for a person who has newly changed their country of residence, it is most essential to settle in this country, find a job and focus on learning Finnish.

In contrast, the interviewees in all age groups knew the Finnish laws very well and commented on and criticised them in great detail. On the basis of our interview data, it can be stated that the Estonians living in Finland are in fact very well aware of different laws, they know their rights and stand for them very actively. It should also be noted that there are several companies and entrepreneurs providing legal counselling and translation services specifically for Estonians. Information events for Estonians who work in Finland or are planning to migrate to Finland are organised and in recent years, the Estonian-language media has actively covered legal issues. Thus there is no reason to assume that the information on Finnish legislation is not readily available.

4.4.1 Support and prohibition of language use

More than a fifth of the respondents (21.1%) find that Finnish legislation does not support the use of many languages, while almost half of the respondents (41.6%) do not know whether Finnish legislation supports the knowledge and use of many languages in the area in which the respondent lives. By supporting the use of several languages the respondents mainly mean the fact that on the Finnish labour market, the command of different foreign languages is valued ("speakers of several languages are held in high regard by employers") and speaking several foreign languages gives the opportunity to get paid better ("my friend gets paid more, as she speaks Estonian and Russian"). Furthermore, "support" is understood to refer to educational opportunities (e.g. Estonian classes for Estonian children, the possibility to study Russian), to the right to use an interpreter in official communication with

the authorities or to the courses of Finnish and different training sessions which are offered free of charge.

Some respondents understand "supporting multilingualism" simply as referring to the fact that Finland is officially a multilingual country; in their opinion, this guarantees "their own space or place" to smaller languages and cultures. However, several respondents stated that the official bilingualism in Finland, which means that for many jobs the knowledge of both Finnish and Swedish is required, makes it difficult for Estonians to find a job. As Estonians usually do not speak Swedish, they are not treated equally on the Finnish labour market ("If they don't want to hire you, they can always say that you don't speak Swedish"), and especially Estonians with higher education are blocked from several career opportunities and cannot work as civil servants. This inequality was noted by nearly all respondents in the survey.

The issues of legislation were not treated in detail in the interviews. However, some interviewees are of the opinion that it is not possible to know all legal matters and that this kind of information is not available in Finland (see in detail FG-AG1). The informants mostly referred to the legal issues in the following context:

- Instruction in one's own native language: All pupils who speak a language other than Finnish as their mother tongue or at home may study their own native language or some other language used by their family during the entire period of schooling. The State of Finland has to provide immigrant pupils with the opportunity to study their own native language two hours per week (FG-AG2; FG-AG4)
- Preparatory instruction: Preparatory instruction is provided for those children and young people of immigrant origin, who do not know enough Finnish to be able to study in Finnish-speaking teaching groups.
- Participants from the older focus group (AG5) mentioned some legal aspects of the emigration process during the Soviet era and referred to the legal aspects while discussing the issue of citizenship.

Level of agreement	(%)
No	21.1
Yes	25.9
Partly	11.5
Do not know	41.6

Table 23. Does legislation support the use of many languages?

Control group. The majority of the control group respondents did not know whether the legislation in Finland supports the use of Karelian (65.3%) or Estonian (64.1%). 27.1% think that Karelian is not supported and 29.7% that legislation does not support the use of Estonian.

Treatment of different languages (Q50). Overall, 37.8% of the respondents believe that the speakers of different languages are treated equally (or partly equally) in Finland; nearly as many (34.8%) however, think the opposite. Interestingly, the share of the respondents

(27.4%) who do not have a clear opinion or do not know how to answer the question is considerably lower than in the other questions concerning legislation.

Level of agreement	(%)
No	34.8
Yes	17.1
Partly	20.7
Do not know	27.4

Table 24. Are the users of different languages treated in the same way in Finland?

In contrast to the questions about the educational system (which are probably only relevant for families with children), the question on whether speakers of different languages are treated equally in Finland could be expected to be of relevance for all respondents, as all of them have had some personal experiences of this issue. As anticipated, the question provoked many comments, some of them very emotional, and – reflecting the different experiences of the respondents – ranging from very positive to negative ones. Most of the comments added to the question concern the cultural differences between Estonians and Finns, stereotypes, mutual relations and interaction in a broader sense. Most of the respondents find that Finland is a tolerant country language-wise, where minorities can freely communicate in their native language and are not condemned for it. However, several respondents find that in terms of different languages, Estonians are still in a worse position, because "the command of Swedish and Russian is preferred". Some respondents compared the positions of the Estonian and Russian languages or Estonians and Russians in more detail. Some found that Russians are discriminated in Finland; some perceived that other ethnic groups are in a better position in Finland than Estonians ("Nobody dares to say anything about a black guy or a Somali" or "Finns and blacks are favoured in many public institutions, such as KELA, the police or public housing waiting lists").

Interview Data. Similarly, many different views on the equality of languages were brought up in the interviews. One informant explains that this problem has a lot to do with the fact that as the Estonian and Finnish languages and cultures are closely related, Finns do not see Estonians as a minority but rather as a smaller "relative"; they assume that Estonians speak Finnish anyway, can cope in Finland and do not need support differently from other minorities, and therefore Estonians are in an unequal position as compared to other minorities ("We cannot resolve everything by relying on being closely related"). On the other hand, one interviewee found that the society has been very supportive towards Estonians, as there is the Finnish-Estonian school in Latokartano. "It is fantastic… how supportive Finland is… they set up a school for Estonians…", an interviewee from focus group FG-AG1 said. When it came to Estonia, the respondents were as unsatisfied as with Finland. They

reproached the state of Estonia for never having had an interest in supporting the maintenance of Estonian in Finland. The interviewees also described their difficulties in getting any financial support from Estonia.

The participants went into depth on the role of the society in multilingualism. They discussed the subject from the Estonian perspective as well as from the Finnish perspective. In their opinion, the Finnish society respects the rights of minorities. The question about the attitudes towards multilingual persons caused rather a discussion about attitudes and prejudices towards Estonians. However, it seems that the interviewees themselves are rather open-minded in regard to other minoritites (see in detail FG-AG1) and they enjoy the multicultural and multilingual Helsinki ("Helsinki is the Babel of languages", FG-AG4). However, Finland in total is featured to be already as too multilingual/cultural (FG-AG3). For instance, in the focus group AG5, only one respondent supported the idea that Finland could be more multilingual/cultural. The rest of the participants were satisfied with the current situation.

The question whether multilingual persons are valued higher than monolinguals did not provoke very extensive comments ("We are not the right persons to judge it", FG-AG2). Thus, the respondents did not comment on all possible aspects of their attitude towards multilingualism in Finland. (Regarding multilingualism, they preferred to describe the situation in Estonia.)

Control Group. Almost half of the control group respondents (48.3%) are of the opinion that all languages and their speakers are not treated equally in Finland. Only 12.6% think that all languages are equal. Of the remaining respondents, 14.7% selected the option "partly", and 24.5% chose the option "don't know". The comments to this question were of two types: about one half of those who added their comments considered that speakers of different languages are treated equally in Finland, or at least, there are aspirations to do so (e. g. by providing interpreter services). Another half commented that only Finnish speaking citizens are able to fully interact in society, while others are disadvantaged e. g. in employment issues. One noted that there are admission quotas for Swedish speaking students in universities.

Legislation about languages on labour market (Q51). The last question on legislation concerned the respondents' knowledge of laws concerning different languages on the labour market. Similarly to other questions, the overwhelming majority of the respondents (71%) did not know whether such legal acts or regulations exist or not: 10.4% of the respondents think that such acts do not exist; 18.9% know that they do. The comments to this question show that the respondents have a positive view on multilingualism on the labour market. They see that the command of Estonian (and also Russian) is a merit that puts them in a better position than other minorities and allows them to get higher salaries or bonuses in some professional positions. Respondents stated almost unanimously that the command of different foreign languages is an advantage on the Finnish labour market but it is definitely

essential to speak Finnish. A big problem concerning the multilingualism on the labour market for Estonians is the fact that they do not speak Swedish, the second official language in Finland.

Level of agreement	**(%)**
Yes	18.9
No	10.4
Do not know	70.7

Table 25. Is there legislation supporting different languages on the labour market?

Control Group. In the control group as well, most respondents have no knowledge of whether there are laws or regulations which support the knowledge of different languages on the labour market: 65.7% chose the answer “don’t know”, 10.5% “no” and 23.8% ”yes”. All respondents commenting on this question mentioned either the language legislation confirming the status of Swedish alongside Finnish in general, or its applications such as the obligation for officials to have a certain command of Swedish, or the right to services in Swedish as well as Finnish.

Support to Estonian (Q44). In question 44, the respondents were asked specifically whether in their opinion Finnish legislation supports the use of Estonian. Only 30.1% of the respondents believe that Finnish legislation supports (or supports “partly”) the use of Estonian in Finland. Roughly as many respondents have answered the question negatively (36%) or do not know whether such laws exist (34%). The comments given to this question indicate that the respondents interpret “support” in many ways. Some mention the teaching of Estonian in Finnish general education schools and the legally guaranteed right to use an interpreter when communicating with public authorities. Several respondents have referred to the opportunity of taking exams and preliminary exams in Estonian at training courses in the case of insufficient command of Finnish and also to the opportunity of getting information and assistance in Estonian at different public authorities (e.g. KELA, the social insurance service). The fact that in some areas the web pages of several public institutions are available in Estonian and bonuses are paid for the command of Estonian in some positions was also seen as a way of supporting Estonian.

As anticipated, some respondents found that the Finnish state is not obliged to support the Estonian language: people who live in a foreign country should first and foremost learn the local language.

Level of knowledge	(%)
No	35.9
Yes	9.3
Partly	20.8
Do not know	34

Table 26. Does legislation support the use of Estonian?

Prevention of the use of Estonian (Q45). In the follow-up question which specifically asked the opposite (does legislation prevent the use of Estonian in Finland?), most of the respondents (53.7%) denied the existence of such systematic prevention. Around 10.5% of the respondents think the opposite; 35.8% did not have a clear opinion or did not know how to answer this question. Comments to this question were mostly given by those 10% of the respondents who found that the Finnish legislation inhibits the use of Estonian; these comments indicate that the word "prevent" has been understood in very different ways. In the opinion of many respondents, the mere fact that "the official languages in Finland are Finnish and Swedish" excludes the use of Estonian. The high administrative charges and stamp duties were also mentioned: "Finnish authorities require an insane amount of money for translating every Estonian document into Finnish", and because of this Estonians are forced to communicate with the authorities in Finnish. Furthermore, the fact that "public institutions do not have brochures in Estonian" was mentioned by several respondents as "preventing the use of Estonian". Two respondents have explained their negative answer by the fact that the Finnish state protects Finnish as the official language and "therefore demands everything in Finnish".

Level of knowledge	(%)
No	53.7
Yes	6.2
Partly	4.3
Do not know	35.8

Table 27. Does legislation prevent the use of Estonian?

Control group. The control group questionnaire included similar questions about the role of legislation in Finland for the two minority languages investigated within ELDIA, Karelian and Estonian. The majority of the control group did not know whether legislation in Finland prevents the use of Karelian (70.3%) or Estonian (72.4%), and most of the rest (24.8% of all respondents) explicitly denied that legislation would prevent the use of Estonian in Finland. As for Karelian, three respondents think that Finnish law prevents it use; two commented that "Karelian language has no official status", while the third one pointed out that no legislation has been published in Karelian. In the case of Estonian, only two respondents

answered "yes". One said that Estonian is not an official language in Finland, while another noted the lack of laws in Estonian.

4.4.2 Existence of law texts

In question 47, as a follow-up question to Q46, the respondents were asked whether such laws – i.e. laws supporting the use of many languages – are available in Estonian. One may claim that the survey respondents are very little (if at all) aware whether such legal acts have been translated into or available in Estonian. Only three respondents (1.8%) claimed to know that laws have been translated into Estonian; 11 respondents (6.8%) stated that the law texts are partly available in Estonian. Around 58.6% of the respondents have not answered the question; 33% thought that the acts in Estonian were not available. This question was commented on very little. The opinion that there is no need to translate the legislation into Estonian prevails, as "if necessary, one can hire a translator". One respondent suggests that the Finnish Traffic Act should be translated into Estonian.

Level of knowledge	(%)
Yes	1.8
No	32.9
Partly	6.7
Do not know	58.6

Table 28. Is legislation supporting multilingualism available in Estonian?

4.4.3 Education and law

In questions 48 and 49, the respondents were asked whether they knew of any legislation concerning instruction in Estonian or about Estonian in Finland.

Most of the respondents (62.7%) are not aware of whether there are legal acts regulating instruction in Estonian in schools in Finland. It may well be that the respondents have misunderstood or have not fully understood the question and thus it was easier for them to opt for "do not know".

Only 11.2% of the respondents claimed to know that such laws exist. In two comments added to clarify the answer, the respondents have also referred to the content of the Finnish language as a subject of study ("in classes of Finnish, other Finno-Ugric languages are also discussed"). One of the respondents notes that a detailed subject syllabus has been prepared for learning Estonian as the native language.

Level of agreement	(%)
No	18.6
Yes	11.2
Partly	7.5
Do not know	62.7

Table 29. Is there any legislation regulating the use of Estonian as a language of instruction in schools?

As for the teaching of Estonian as a subject or "offering information about Estonian"[10], similarly, the vast majority of respondents either do not know whether is is regulated by legislation (76.2) or explicitly claim that such legislation does not exist (14%).

When reading the respondents' comments on being familiar with different legal acts, it can be seen that the respondents are in fact very aware of the acts that govern the opportunities of immigrant children for studying their native language in general education schools in Finland. As the comments indicate, the respondents know the regulation on the teaching of minority children's mother tongues in all its subtleties and are aware of children's right to at least two hours per week of teaching in their native language if a minimum of five parents apply for this.

Level of agreement	(%)
No	14
Yes	5.5
Partly	4.3
Do not know	76.2

Table 30. Is there any legislation regulating instruction of/about Estonian in schools?

Control Group. The members of the control group do in general not know whether there is any legislation regulating the instruction about Estonian in schools in Finland (Q34/35). 77.8% of the respondents chose for Estonian the option "don't know" and 20.8% "no". These two questions were both commented upon by two respondents in similar ways. Both mentioned that pupils in elementary schools are supposed to receive at least some teaching in their mother tongue.

[10] Q49 in the Estonian-language questionnaire: *Kas Soomes on olemas seadusi, mis reguleerivad seda, kuidas koolides antakse teadmisi eesti keele kohta?* 'Are there laws in Finland which regulate how schools offer knowledge of/about the Estonian language?' This could be understood as referring to the teaching of Estonian as a subject as well as to teaching the history, background or relatedness of Estonian within, for instance, the classes of history, geography or the Finnish language.

4.5 Media

4.5.1 Consumption of media and cultural products

Both respondent groups were asked to assess their consumption of media and diverse cultural products – print media, audio-visual services (radio, television, music, films) and social media – in different languages: the minority group members in Estonian, Finnish and English, and the control group members in Finnish and English. For each type of media or cultural product, the respondents were requested to indicate the frequency of use on a seven-point scale (*every day, several times a week, once a week, once a month, less than once a month, never, not available in this language*).

Newspaper consumption. The use of Finnish-language print media dominates: around half of the Estonian respondents (58.5%) consume Finnish print media on a daily basis, while only a third of them (34.4%) reads Estonian papers every day. Combining these results with weekly consumption (i.e. once or several times a week) reveals that almost all respondents (i.e. 93.3%) read Finnish print media on a daily basis or at least once a week, while only around half of the respondents (49.1%) consume Estonian print media as often. The consumption of English print media is marginal (recall that a significant part of the respondents does not have a fluent command of English or does not use English regularly, cf. section 4.3.3): only around ten respondents read English-language newspapers on a daily basis or once or several times a week; around half (44.6%) do not consume any print media in English.

Frequency:	Estonian (%)	Finnish (%)	English (%)
Every day	34.4	58.5	3.6
Once or many times a week	21.7	34.8	8
Every month	10.2	3.7	9.8
More seldom	25.5	1.8	28.6
Never	3.8	1.2	44.6
Not available in this language	4.5		5.4

Table 31. Reading newspapers in Estonian, Finnish and English

As for the control group respondents, it is only natural that they consume the most Finnish language print media: the majority (77.8%) read Finnish media publications on a daily basis. 16.2% of the respondents read English-language newspapers at least once a week.

Audio-visual media consumption. In audio-visual media as well, Finnish-language media dominate. The overwhelming majority of minority group respondents watch Finnish

television (93.3%) and listen to Finnish radio stations (87%) on a daily basis or several times a week. Although only around ten respondents listen to English-language radio programmes at least once a week, around half of the respondents (45.1%) indicate watching English-language television at least once a week, 18% doing so on a daily basis. Such a high consumption percentage probably refers to the watching of English-language TV programmes and films[11] and/or international TV channels. Similarly, the most popular media consumed by the **control group** respondents are Finnish-language radio (87.6%) and television (93.1%), both consumed on a daily basis or several times a week.

Frequency:	**Estonian (%)**	**Finnish (%)**	**English (%)**
Every day	38	78.9	18.6
Once or many times a week	15.2	14.5	26.5
Every month	8.2	1.8	9.7
More seldom	23.4	4.2	15
Never	8.2		28.3
Not available in this language	7	0.6	1.8

Table 32. Watching TV programmes in Estonian, Finnish and English

Frequency:	**Estonian (%)**	**Finnish (%)**	**English (%)**
Every day	25.3	66.1	4.6
Once or many times a week	18.4	21	4.6
Every month	8.9	4.3	6.5
More seldom	25.3	7.4	27.8
Never	13.3	1.2	52.8
Not available in this language	8.9		3.7

Table 33. Listening to the radio in Estonian, Finnish and English

Minority group respondents actively listen to Finnish- and English-language **music** as well, while the frequency of consuming Estonian-language music ranks third. For example, the majority (87.5%) listen to music in Finnish, 63% to music in English and 57.3% to music in Estonian on a daily or weekly basis.

[11] Note that Finnish TV channels and cinemas normally distribute their foreign-language programmes and films in the original language, with Finnish subtitles.

Frequency:	Estonian (%)	Finnish (%)	English (%)
Every day	30.7	64.6	36
Once or many times a week	27	23	27
Every month	15.3	3.7	3.6
More seldom	22.7	6.8	9
Never	3.1	1.9	22.5
Not available in this language	1.2		1.8

Table 34. Listening to music in Estonian, Finnish and English

Similar results are displayed in the category of **films**, dominated by Finnish and English (76.8% and 56.2% respectively); 34.8% of respondents watch Estonian-language films on a daily or weekly basis.

Frequency:	Estonian (%)	Finnish (%)	English (%)
Every day	23.4	41.5	22.3
Once or many times a week	11.4	35.4	33.9
Every month	9.5	6.7	8.9
More seldom	41.7	14	10.7
Never	6.3	1.8	22.3
Not available in this language	7.6	0.6	1.8

Table 35. Watching films in Estonian, Finnish and English

Control Group. For control group respondents, Finnish is the main language of information and culture consumption: slightly more than half listen to Finnish-language music (65%) and watch Finnish-language films (62%) on a daily basis. It is also relevant that respondents watch English-language TV programmes (44.4%) and listen to English-language music (49.5%) on a daily basis; the majority of respondents (over 70%) watch English-language movies on a weekly basis.

Internet consumption. For the **minority group**, the Internet is the only medium which can be used more frequently in Estonian than in Finnish, although differences in preferring one language over the other in this respect are marginal or even non-existent. 78% visit Estonian-language websites and 76.8% visit Finnish-language sites on a daily or weekly basis (58.7% and 41.5% on a daily basis respectively). Internet use in English is less common than in the other two languages, but still popular among around half of the respondents (49.1%);

only slightly more than a third (35.7%) never visit English-language websites. For social media, language preferences are similar: on a daily or weekly basis, 39.2% of the respondents visit Estonian-language, 37.3% Finnish-language and around a quarter (23.8%) English-language social network sites.

Frequency:	**Estonian (%)**	**Finnish (%)**	**English (%)**
Every day	58.7	58.2	28.6
Once or many times a week	19.4	19	20.5
Every month	7.7	1.9	1.8
More seldom	5.8	10.8	10.7
Never	6.5	8.9	35.7
Not available in this language	1.9	1.3	2.7

Table 36. Internet use in Estonian, Finnish and English

The Internet use of **control group** respondents is prevailingly Finnish: the majority (79.2%) visit Finnish-language Internet sites on a daily or weekly basis; 24.5% visit English-language Internet sites on a daily basis. 66.7% of Finns use English-based computer software.

Reading books. The respondents were asked to assess the frequency of reading books in Estonian, Finnish and English. The results reveal that reading literature in general is relatively unpopular (for example, 49% of minority group respondents claim to read Estonian-language books less than once a month), and thus no reliable conclusions on language preferences can be drawn, although the survey results indicate that books are read somewhat more often in Finnish than in Estonian (33.2% of the respondents read books in Finnish and 27.7% in Estonian daily or many times a week). The number of readers of English-language literature is even smaller: only around ten respondents read English-language books once a week or more often. In the control group, the results as concerns English are similar, 9.1% of respondents reading English-language books on a weekly basis.

Frequency:	**Estonian (%)**	**Finnish (%)**	**English (%)**
Every day	11.3	11.3	7
Once or many times a week	16.4	21.9	8.5
Every month	13.8	12.5	7.9
More seldom	49.1	43.1	30.7
Never	7.5	11.3	50

Table 37. Reading books in Estonian, Finnish and English

Culture consumption. As for the consumption of cultural products and services, theatre and concert attendance are of marginal importance in both the majority and minority groups. Among the Estonian respondents, a clear majority never goes to theatre performances or concerts or attends them more seldom than once a month: 51.6% seldom or never see Estonian-language theatre performances and 58.3% seldom or never attend Estonian-language concerts, and for other languages, the corresponding shares are even larger (Finnish-language theatre: 68.7%, concerts: 69.9%; English-language theatre: 70.9%, concerts: 87.2%).

Similarly, the majority of **control group** respondents attend Finnish-language theatre performances less than once a month (70.9%) and only a few respondents indicate that they visit the theatre more often (14.2% at least once a month). Similar results are revealed in respect of concert attendance: the overwhelming majority of respondents (72%) attend Finnish-language concerts less than once a month, with just a few (11.4%) attending more often than once a month. Likewise, attending English-language theatre performances and concerts is of marginal importance: the majority (over 89%) never go to English-language theatre performances or concerts.

Electronic communication in written form. In e-mail and text message communication, the shares of Estonian and Finnish are equal, i.e. around a half of the respondents write e-mails in Estonian (54.8%) and Finnish (47.4%) on a daily and/or weekly basis; 58.2% write text messages in Estonian and 58.5% in Finnish. Writing English-language e-mails and text messages is not widespread among Estonians, with the exception of those whose professional duties require using English or who work in an English-language setting.

Interactive games and blogging are not attractive activities for the survey respondents: the majority in both groups have had no contact with these fields. As just a few respondents mentioned these activities (for example, 4.7% play games in Estonian, 2.7% in Finnish and 3.7% in English on a daily basis; a few have a blog in Estonian, Finnish or English), it is not possible to analyse language preferences in this context. Answers on the use of computer software indicate that around half of the minority group respondents (45.2%) use computer software in Finnish, 32% in Estonian and around a third (30.6%) in English on a daily basis.

The survey results about the use of media and cultural products in Estonian and Finnish are summarised in the following figures.

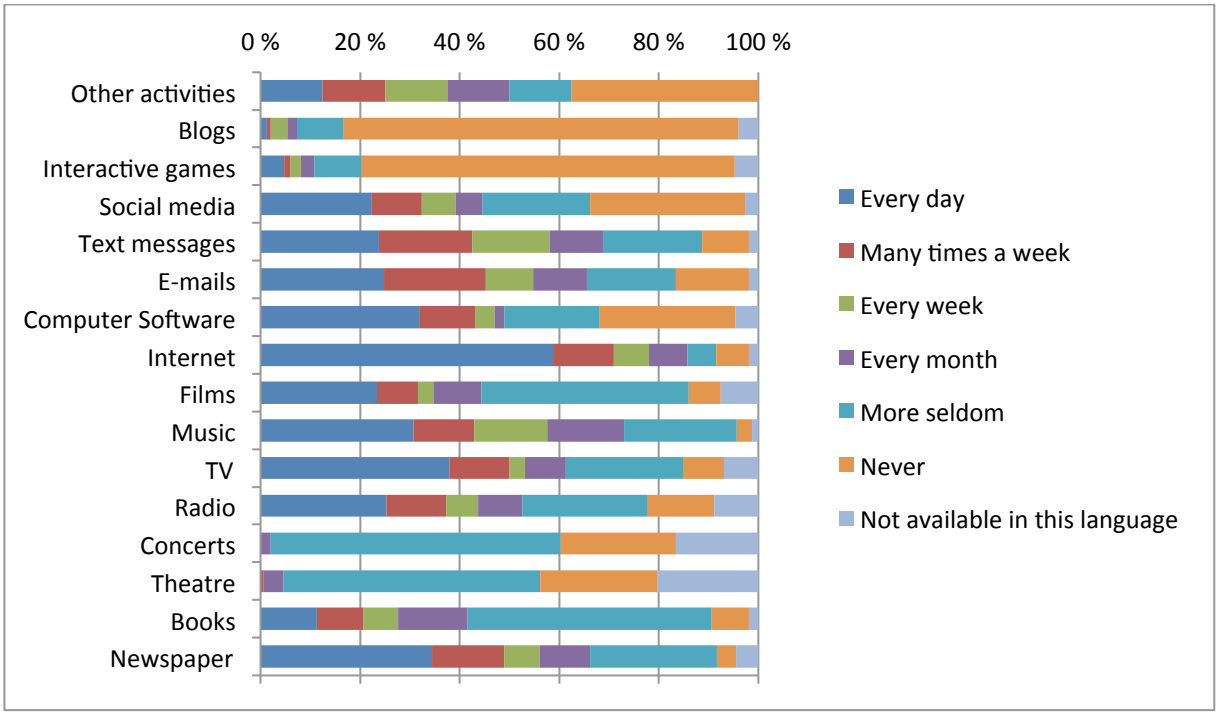

Figure 23. Consumption of media and cultural products in Estonian

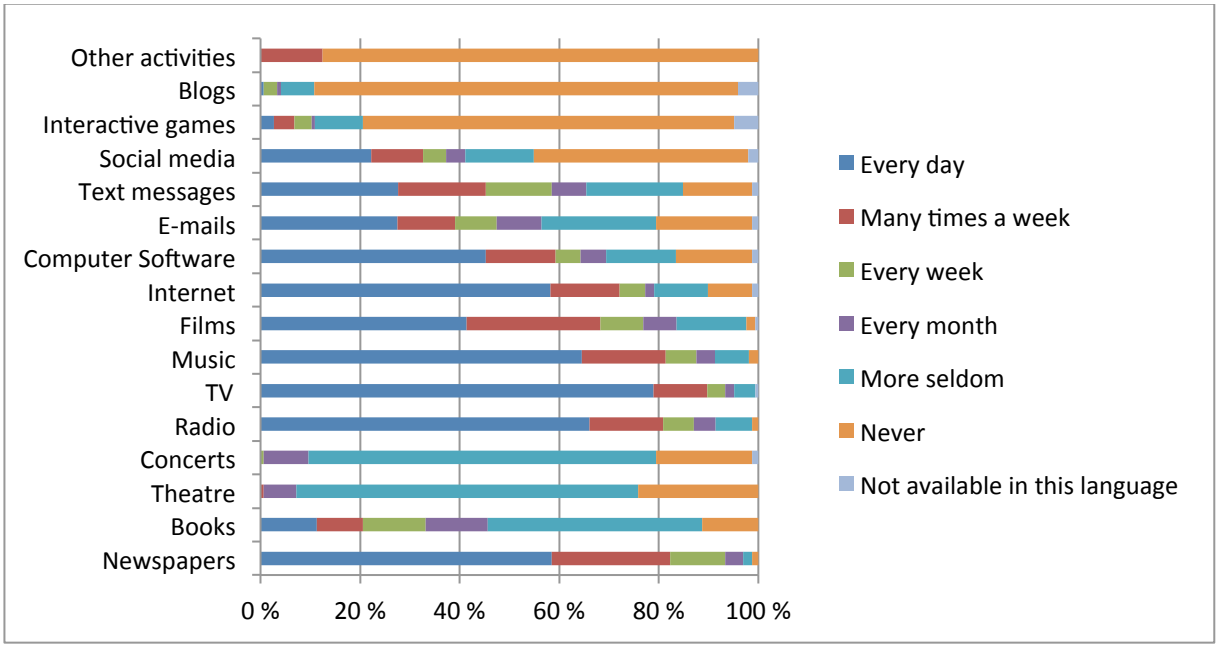

Figure 24. Consumption of media and cultural products in Finnish

Control Group. The majority of the control group uses the following (electronic) media in their mother tongue every day: newspapers (77.8%), radio (71%), TV (80.7%), CDs (65%), internet content (57.6%), computer software (62.5%) and e-mails (52.8%). The responses are given in the figure 25 below.

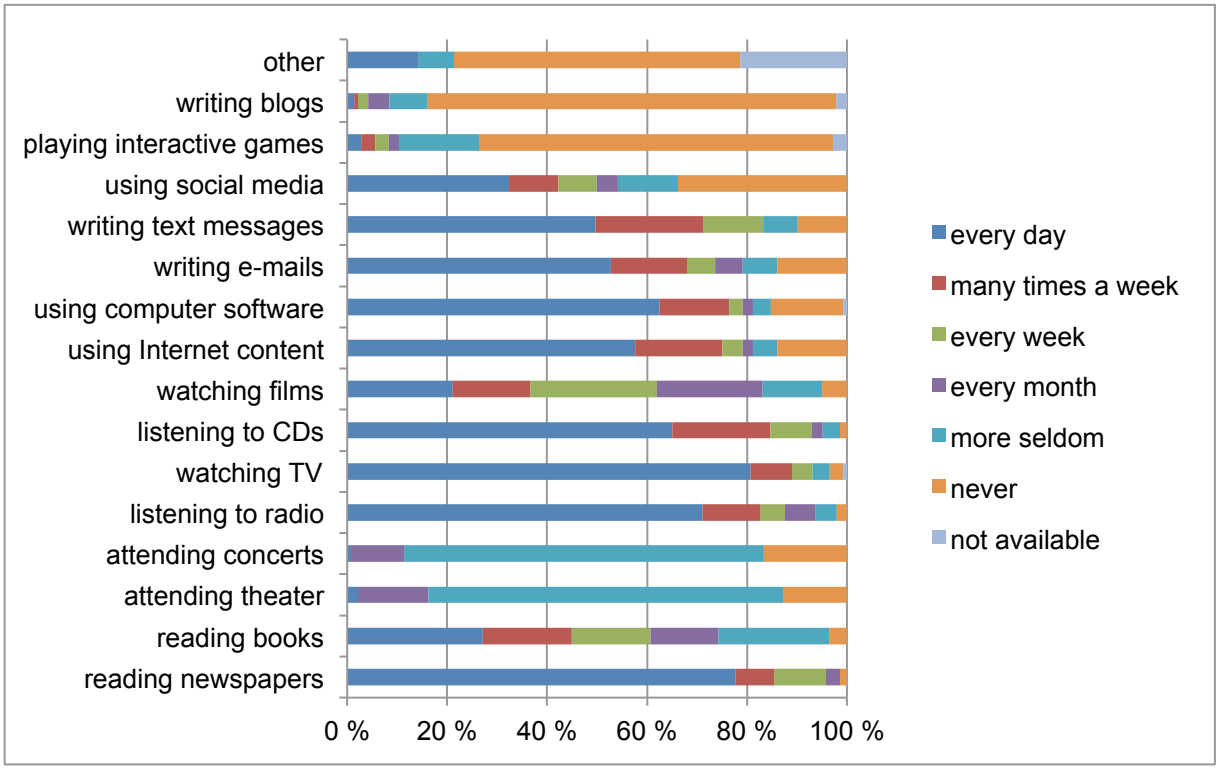

Figure 25. Control Group: Consumption of media and cultural products in Finnish

4.5.2 Active use of Estonian, Finnish and English in text production and cultural activities

In question 63, the minority group's engagement in creative activities in different languages was analysed, i.e. how frequently respondents engage in various forms of self-expression in Estonian, Finnish and English, such as writing letters, diary and texts, composing songs, singing, reciting poetry and performing in theatre.

One could say that the active use of Estonian in text production and other cultural practices is rare. Only about quarter (28.4%) of respondents writes letters in Estonian every week while most of respondents write letters in Estonian only seldom (less than once a month: 48.1%) or never (6.1%). However, writing a diary in Estonian is more common: 33 respondents (i.e. 21.3%) write a diary in Estonian every week, while 21 respondents (i.e. 13.6%) do it every day. The composition of literary texts (stories, poems etc.) in Estonian is also rare: almost all respondents (94.7%) reported that they never do or write only seldom (i.e less than once a month). Out of all respondents, only five reported that they write texts in Estonian every day (one person) or many times a week (4 persons). On the other hand, writing texts in Finnish, English or other languages is rare as well. A clear majority of the respondents never or only seldom (i.e. less than once a months) writes letters in Finnish (64.6%), keeps a diary in Finnish (61.8%) or writes literary texts in Finnish (92.1%). Similarly, the overwhelming majority of respondents never writes any texts in English or writes only

seldom (less than once a month): 79.12 use English never or only seldom when writing letters; 88.76% when writing diary, 94.31% when writing texts.

The use of Estonian in oral cultural activities is rare as well. Only about 13.7% of the respondents sing songs in Estonian, three respondents recite poetry, one person performs in Estonian on stage. Similarly, practically no respondents write songs of their own in Finnish (99.3%: never), 82.2% never sing songs in Finnish or do so very seldom (less often than once a month), 97.4% never recite poetry in Finnish or do so very seldom; 98.7% never play theatre in Finnish.

The use of English in above mentioned activities is very marginal: practically none of the respondents is involved with these activities in English. The results for Estonian and Finnish are illustrated in figures 26 and 27 below.

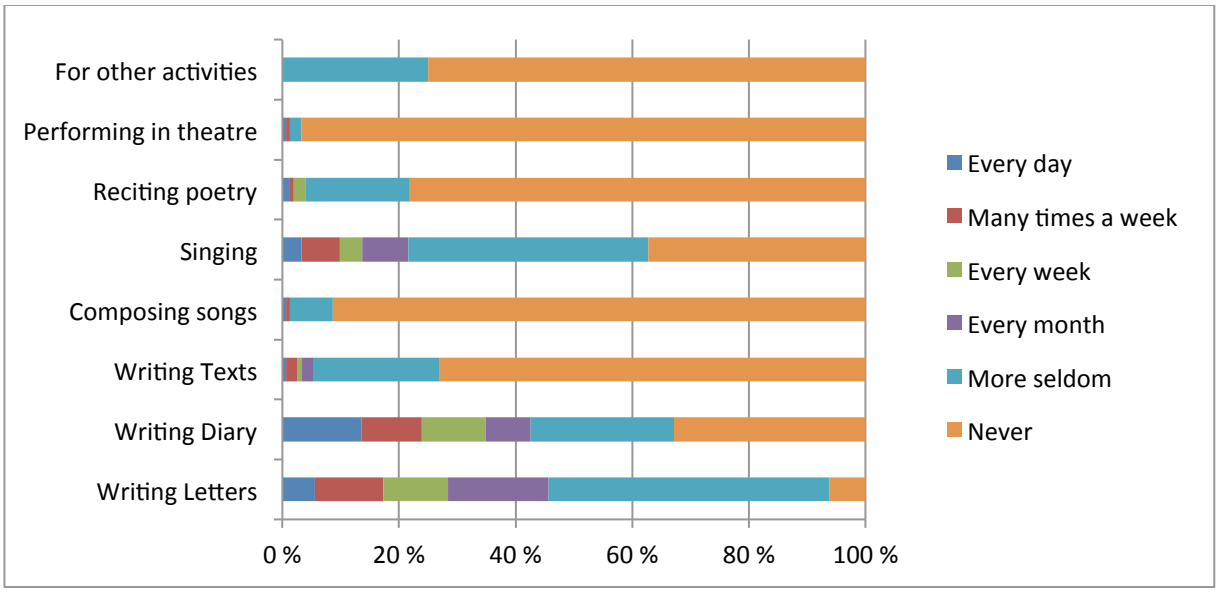

Figure 26. Active use of Estonian for text production and cultural activities

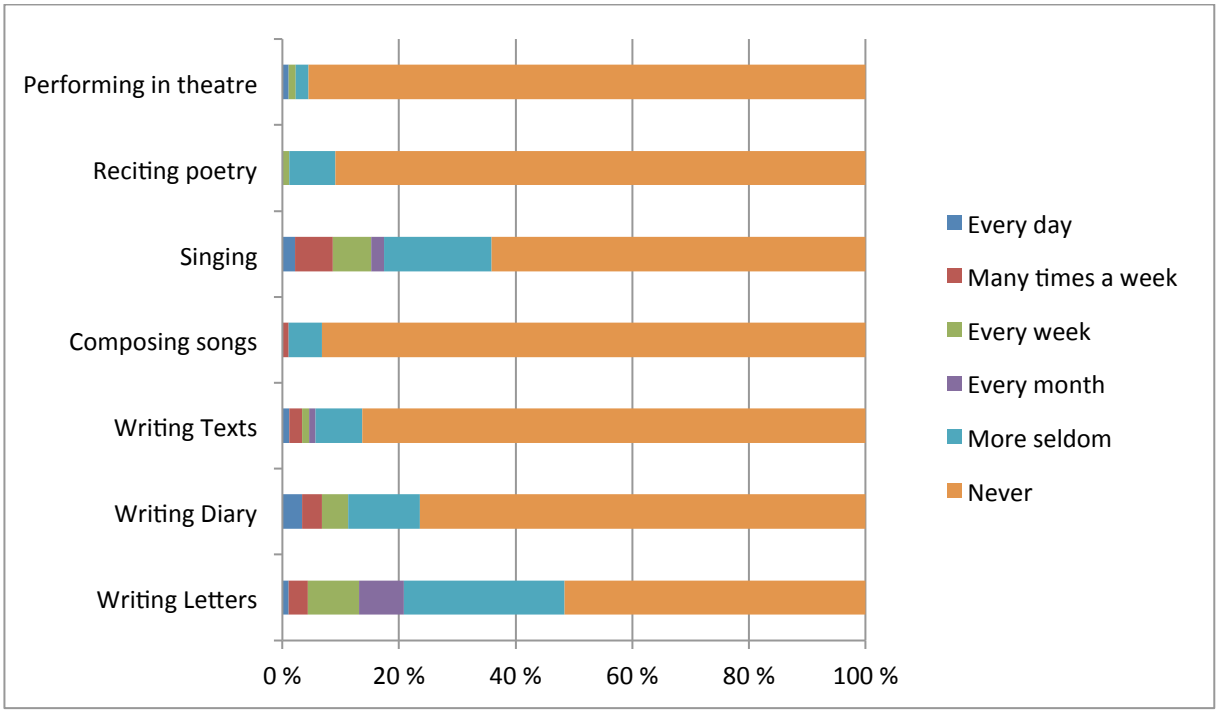

Figure 27. Active use of Finnish for text production and cultural activities

4.6 Language acquisition and learning

4.6.1 Language learning: Estonian and Finnish

Acquisition of Estonian. The vast majority of the respondents (155, or 84%) consider Estonian their mother tongue. These respondents, born and raised in Estonia in an Estonian-language environment, have acquired the Estonian language in their early childhood from their parents and their surroundings.

16 respondents out of 170 who consider Finnish or Ingrian Finnish to be their sole mother tongue or one of their mother tongues besides Estonian or Russian, have acquired Estonian after resettling to Estonia in early childhood. These respondents grew up and were educated in Estonian in Estonia; many of them have also attained higher education in Estonia. One can state that they speak Estonian as a second language.

Learning Finnish. To the question about where and from whom the respondents had learnt Finnish, different answers were given. In brief, one can state that almost all respondents speak Finnish as a second or foreign language. Slightly more than half of respondents (58%) have studied Finnish either in language courses (both in Estonia and Finland) or at language schools (mainly in Finland) or have acquired Finnish in a natural Finnish-language environment in Finland. Many respondents have acquired Finnish in their families, from their Finnish spouse or partner.

Because Estonian and Finnish are closely related, almost half (41%) of the respondents stated that they have acquired Finnish "informally", by themselves, without any formal teaching: by watching TV, listening to the radio, reading books or newspapers, or simply by speaking with Finns, at work etc.

Only one respondent out of 170 has never studied Finnish and claimed not to speak Finnish at all.

4.6.2 Languages at school

Most respondents, born and raised in Estonia, had emigrated to Finland only in their adulthood. Presumably, these people have acquired their primary and secondary education at Estonian-language educational institutions in Estonia, and many may also have a degree from an Estonian-language institution of higher education in Estonia. This is confirmed by the answers to the survey: The vast majority of respondents (85.9%) were taught only in one language at school: most of them (83%) in Estonian. The majority of respondents stated that Estonian was used as the teaching language also in other subjects than languages both at pre-school, primary school and in secondary school.

As most respondents had been educated in Estonia, Estonian had been the teaching medium in their education: for 88.5% in pre-school, 90.3% in primary school and 84.5% in secondary school.

5 Case-Specific Language Vitality Barometer

The final product of the ELDIA project, the *European Language Vitality Barometer (EuLaViBar),* is based on the case-specific reports and analyses. For this purpose, the vitality of the language at issue in each case study is illustrated with a radar chart. The idea and design of the barometer and the radar chart are the result of a continuous discussion and collective effort involving many members of the ELDIA consortium. (The barometer planning was initiated by Jarmo Lainio, the radar chart design was first suggested and sketched by Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark, and the radar charts in their present form, in particular, the quantification of the questionnaire survey results, are largely based on the data analysis design developed by Anneli Sarhimaa and Eva Kühhirt.)

The following radar chart, created by Kari Djerf and Eva Kühhirt on the basis of the questionnaire results, illustrates the vitality of Estonian in Finland in terms of the four focus areas – **Capacity**, **Opportunity**, **Desire**, and **Language Products** – and the four dimensions: **Language Use**, **Education**, **Legislation**, and **Media**. Each relevant question of the questionnaire was assigned to one or more focus areas and dimensions and the answers were given a value on the vitality scale from 0 to 4 (cf. Chapter 3.5.3):

0. **Language maintenance is severely and critically endangered**. The language is "remembered" but not used spontaneously or in active communication. Its use and transmission are not protected or supported institutionally. Children and young people are not encouraged to learn or use the language. →Urgent and effective revitalisation measures are needed to prevent the complete extinction of the language and to restore its use.
1. **Language maintenance is acutely endangered**. The language is used in active communication at least in some contexts, but there are serious problems with its use, support and/or transmission, to such an extent that the use of the language can be expected to cease completely in the foreseeable future. →**Immediate** effective measures to support and promote the language in its maintenance and revitalization are needed.
2. **Language maintenance is threatened**. Language use and transmission are diminishing or seem to be ceasing at least in some contexts or with some speaker groups. If this trend continues, the use of the language may cease completely in the more distant future.
   →Effective measures to support and encourage the use and transmission of the language must be taken.
3. **Language maintenance is achieved to some extent**. The language is supported institutionally and used in various contexts and functions (also beyond its ultimate core area such as the family sphere). It is often transmitted to the next generation, and many of its speakers seem to be able and willing to develop sustainable patterns of multilingualism.

→The measures to support language maintenance appear to have been successful and must be upheld and continued.

4. **The language is maintained at the moment.** The language is used and promoted in a wide range of contexts. The language does not appear to be threatened: nothing indicates that (significant amounts of) speakers would give up using the language and transmitting it to the next generation, as long as its social and institutional support remains at the present level.
   → The language needs to be monitored and supported in a long-term perspective.

On the basis of these values, the mean scores as shown in the chart were calculated.

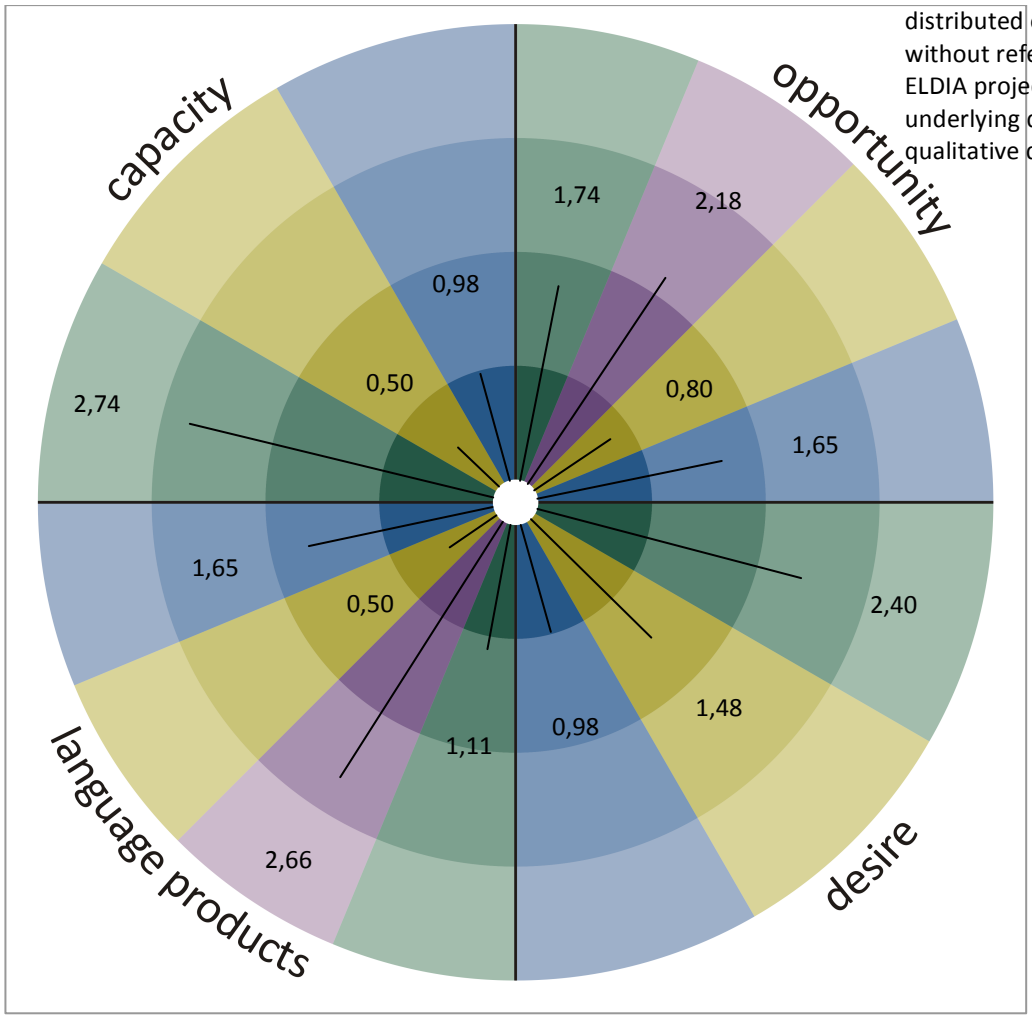

Figure 28. Radar chart illustrating the vitality of Estonian in Finland in the light of ELDIA survey results

The quadrants of the chart represent the four focus areas, divided into four colour-coded dimensions: language use & interaction, education, legislation, media. Note that in the quadrants of capacity and desire you will find only three focus areas (no education). The colour codes are explained in the following legend; the lighter the shade, the better the language is maintained.

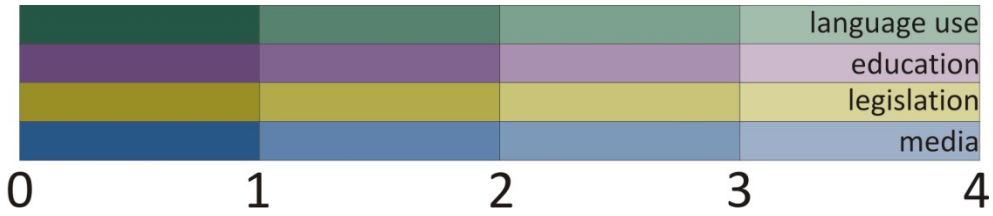

Figure 29. Colour codes for the EuLaViBar diagram

5.1 Capacity

Capacity as a Focus Area of the EuLaViBar (European Language Diversity Barometer) is defined as a speaker's subjective capacity to use the language in question and refers to their self-confidence in using the language. The focus area Capacity displays diverse results in the dimensions of language use (score: 2.74), legislation (score: 0.5) and media (score: 0.98). The questions taken into account were the question about the mother tongue (Q7), cross-generational (Q10, Q11, Q15–18, Q21) and intra-generational language use (Q14, Q19, Q20) as well as the questions regarding self-reported language competence (Q28A–31A) and the question about the use of Estonian in different (public and private) domains (Q32A) as well as the questions Q34–Q36 (whether the parents supported the use of Estonian or encouraged their children to learn Estonian), Q47 (availability of legislation in Estonian), Q59 (usability of Estonian in diverse situations), Q62 (media consumption) and Q63 (active use of media).

The relatively high overall grade for capacity, 2.46, indicates the speakers' high linguistic capacity to use Estonian in different situations if opportunities to do so are created. In what follows, the barometer results for the dimensions of capacity are explained in more detail.

Language use and interaction (2.74). The language use and interaction dimension and the variables therein (mother tongue, cross-generational language use, intra-generational language use, self-reported competence, domain-specific language use and support for/prohibition of language use) incorporate a range of aspects of language use.

The overall grade for language use and interaction in this focus area is relatively high (2.74). However, these results do not reflect all relevant aspects of the situation of the Estonian language in Finland. Firstly, most of the respondents (84%) defined Estonian as their mother tongue; born and raised in Estonia, they had acquired Estonian from their Estonian-speaking parents in an Estonian-language environment, and thus their language proficiency does not directly reflect the circumstances under which the Estonian language is spoken in Finland. Secondly, the respondents' self-reported language competence was very high, even higher than the overall grade for capacity would suggest. According to their own evaluation, the vast majority of respondents (89–92%) understood, spoke and read in Estonian fluently, while 82% also wrote in the language fluently. Based on the level of Estonian language skills,

the respondents had all of the prerequisites they needed to communicate in Estonian and to make use of the language in any communication situation.

Most of the respondents used the Estonian language every day. However, in their families, especially in everyday communication between spouses, different strategies and patterns of multilingual language use were practised. Almost half of the respondents (42%) spoke only Finnish with their spouses or partners, while 43% of the respondents used more than one language for communication, in most cases Finnish and Estonian. According to our results, in the language choices in the families there were obvious signs of a potential language shift and of the families' willingness and readiness to also use Finnish at home.

The respondents in general had a positive attitude toward their children's heritage language maintenance. The vast majority of respondents (88%) thought it was necessary that their children speak Estonian while living in Finland and supported them in this effort. About 11.6% of the respondents did not think it was necessary that their children speak Estonian or that the Estonian language be supported; they said that, while living in Finland, there was absolutely no need to use or speak Estonian, or referred to their children's lack of interest in the Estonian language and culture.

About half of the respondents (63.4%) were of the opinion that Estonian was easy to use in most situations. However, they felt there were generally no opportunities to use the language in domains outside of the home. The Estonians who took part in the study had very limited opportunities to use Estonian outside of their homes. The Estonian language was mostly used at home (69% responded "always"), with relatives (80.7% responded "always") and with friends (47.4% responded "always"). In social networks (communication with friends), both languages were used.

Legislation (score: 0.5). Legislation as a dimension of the EuLaViBar refers to the existence or non-existence of legislation (supporting or inhibiting language use and language diversity) and to people's knowledge of and attitudes towards such legislation. The mean score for Legislation was very low (0.5). It was based on the existence of legal texts in the Estonian language. The survey respondents were very little (or not at all) aware of whether Finnish legal acts had been translated into or were available in Estonian. Only a few respondents claimed that the acts had been translated into or were partly available in Estonian.

Media (score: 0.97). Media as a dimension of the EuLaViBar refers to all issues connected to the media (including media use, existence of minority media, language in media production and language in media consumption). The dimension Media was also rated very low (0.97). This result is indicative of the low subjective capacity of the Estonian community to consume and produce media and culture in the Estonian language, even though Estonians´ self-reported language competence in their mother tongue is very high. Although Estonian media are available in Finland via satellite and the Internet, the results of the study show that the use of Finnish was dominant in almost all measured fields of media and culture (e.g. reading newspapers, listening to radio and watching TV). Finnish was also prevalent in cultural

practices at home (reading books, watching films, listening to music etc.). Attending theatre and concerts was of very marginal importance, irrespective of the language.

5.2 Opportunity

Opportunity as a Focus Area of the EuLaViBar refers to institutional arrangements (legislation, education etc.) that allow for, support or inhibit the use of languages. The term refers to existing regulations and thus does not cover the wish for such.

The opportunities open to Estonian speakers to use their mother tongue were measured in four dimensions: 1) *language use and interaction;* 2) *education;* 3) *legislation;* and 4) *media*. These dimensions form the variables which together are referred to as 'opportunities' to use and support the Estonian language. The focus area Opportunity entails the dimensions of language use (mean score: 1.74), education (mean score: 2.18), legislation (mean score: 0.80), and media (mean score: 1.65). The questions taken into account were the questions about language acquisition (Q8–9), support and prohibition of language use (Q22–23), Q25–27 (languages of education and language instruction), Q55, 58, 60 (language planning and institutional support), Q44–45, 47–49 (legislation) and Q59, 61, 62A (easiness and opportunities of using Estonian in diverse situations and domains).

For the focus area of Opportunity, the overall EuLaViBar grade is low, 1.89. This reflects a lack of opportunities which may threaten the sustainability of the Estonian language in Finland.

As expected, opportunities to use Estonian were better in the *Language use and interaction* dimension (with a rating of 1.74), whereas there were only limited opportunities or none at all in legislation (0.80) and consumption of media (1.65). These measurement results were as expected in general, with the exception of the dimension Education (2.17).

Language use and interaction (1.74): The low mean score (1.74) for the dimension *Language use and interaction* is in accordance with our qualitative data. Although the majority of respondents attach great value to the use of the Estonian language, there were generally no opportunities for the respondents to use Estonian in domains outside of the home (as described in more detail in chapter 4.3.4, in question 61 about the use of Estonian in a number of public domains, percentages of respondents who claimed that Estonian is *not* used ranged between 50.3–71.8%, depending on the domain). According to the respondents, the use of the Estonian language in Finland was considered most possible in hospitals, educational settings and courts.

Education (2.17): Although the barometer score for the dimension of education is relatively high, this result does not reflect the situation in Finland. Nearly all of the respondents had received their education in the Estonian language (88.5% in pre-school, 90.3% in primary school, and 84.5% in secondary school; many had also earned a degree from an Estonian institution of higher education in Estonia), but in Estonia prior to their immigration, not in

Finland. In fact, Estonians living in Finland have very few opportunities to use their mother tongue within the education system. The only exception is the opportunity granted by Finnish law for migrant children to study their mother tongue at least two hours per week, provided that there are at least four pupils studying the same language (for more details, see chapter 2.4.2).

Legislation (0.80): The barometer score in the dimension Legislation (0.8) was very low. Estonians living in Finland in general (except of "activists") were not aware of the laws governing the activities of language minorities, educational and cultural life or language issues. Estonians were very little (or not at all) aware of whether such legal acts had been translated into or were available in Estonian.

Media (1.65): For the dimension Media the EuLaViBar score (1.65) was relatively low as well. Estonians in Finland do not have radio and TV channels of their own, no radio broadcasts, TV programmes, children's programmes or press in their own language.[12] However, media services from Estonia – for instance, Estonian TV channels and radio stations – are available in Finland via Internet of satellite. Most of the Estonian-language media consumption of the Estonians in Finland is presumably Internet-based.

5.3 Desire

Desire as a focus area of the EuLaViBar refers to the will and willingness of people to use the language in question. Desire is also reflected in attitudes and emotional responses to the use of a given language.

The questions included in the calculations pertained to self-reported mother tongue (Q7), cross-generational language use (Q10–11, 15–18, 21), intra-generational language use (Q14, 19–20), support and prevention of language use (Q21–24, 34, 36B, 44–45, 60), self-reported language skills (Q28–31), self-reported language use in diverse domains (Q32A, 62A, 63A), attitudes towards speakers (Q38) and use and usefulness of Estonian in public domains (Q39, 52, 58, 59, 61). For the dimension of language use, the mean score was fairly high (score: 2.25) showing willingness among the speakers to use their language in different dimensions.

The EuLaViBar overall score for Desire, 2.25, indicates only limited willingness to use the language in different dimensions. The mean score for the first dimension, *Language use and interaction,* was the highest (2.4). The mean score for the dimension *Legislation* was 1.48, while the mean score for the dimension *Media* was the lowest (0.98).

Language use and interaction (2.4): Although the majority of respondents considered Estonian simple to use in most life situations, they generally did not think that using the lan-

[12] Recall that the Estonian-language commercial radio channel *Finest FM* was only launched after the ELDIA study was conducted.

guage outside Estonia would be possible or even necessary. According to the respondents, the ability to speak Estonian played no role in the Finnish labour market. In comparison with Finnish and English, Estonian was, as expected, deemed to have less potential in the Finnish labour market. The majority of our respondents also believed that the importance of the Estonian language would not grow in the country in future (e.g. within the next decade). The results of the survey show that the respondents regarded the growth of English as most likely in Finland. However, some respondents were fairly positive about the future of Estonian in Finland, believing that Estonian would be a viable language in Finland and the importance of continuing emigration from Estonia and geographical closeness would probably keep the Estonian language alive.

Respondents in general had a positive attitude toward the Estonian language, especially toward their children's heritage language maintenance. The vast majority of respondents (88%) thought it was necessary that their child/children speak Estonian while living in Finland and supported them in this effort. However, in their families, especially in everyday communication between spouses, different strategies and patterns of multilingual language use were practised.

Legislation (1.48): The EuLaViBar score in the dimension Legislation was low (1.48). In general, the Estonians were not well informed or they did not know whether Finnish legislation supported or prevented the use of Estonian in Finland. The responses given to this question indicate that the respondents interpreted supporting the Estonian language in various ways: as forms of support, they mentioned the teaching of Estonian offered in Finnish general education schools as well as the opportunity to use an interpreter in communication with authorities. Furthermore, about 37% of the respondents thought that Finnish legislation supports the use of several languages. By this, they mainly meant that, in the Finnish labour market, the command of different foreign languages is valued and speaking several foreign languages provides the opportunity to get paid better. 37.8% of the respondents also believed that speakers of different languages are treated equally in Finland.

Media (0.98): The EuLaViBar score in the dimension Media was very low (0.98). This seems to indicate a lack of desire to consume or produce media and culture in their own language. However, it should be noted that in the questions used for the calculations of this score, the respondents were not directly asked about their desire to use Estonian-language media.

5.4 Language products

Language Products as a Focus Area of the EuLaViBar refers to the presence or the demand of language products (printed, electronic, "experiential", e.g., concerts, plays, performances, etc.) as well as to the wish of having products and services in and through the language at issue.

The questions used in the calculations pertained to education (Q25–27), use of Estonian in public domains (Q39, Q61), availability of legislation in Estonian (Q47) and media consumption in Estonian (Q62A).

For all dimensions, the scores were low: language use and interaction (1.11), legislation (0.5), media (score: 1.65) and education (score: 2.66), i.e. there is a lack of Estonian-language "products" in these dimensions. Finnish law is not available in Estonian and there is no Estonian-language print media or radio/television series. At the same time, there are limited opportunities in Finland for use of Estonian outside of the home. Although the barometer score for the dimension of Education was relatively high, this result does not describe the situation in Finland as the majority of respondents had in reality obtained their education in Estonia.

Language use and interaction (score 1.11). The mean score for *Language use and Interaction* was low (1.11). There are limited opportunities in Finland for use of Estonian outside the home. In the opinion of most respondents, it was not possible to use the Estonian language in public domains in Finland. In terms of different institutions, the respondents thought it was most essential that, while living in Finland, Estonian could be used in hospitals (30%), courts of law (28%) and police departments (25%).

Legislation (score 0.5): The mean score for *Legislation* was very low (0.5). According to the study, respondents were very little (or not at all) aware of whether Finnish legal acts had been translated into or were available in Estonian. Only a few respondents knew that the acts had been translated into or were partly available in Estonian.

Media (score 1.65): The mean score for *Media* was low (1.65), reflecting the same lack of Estonian-language media in Finland as mentioned above under 5.2.

Education (score 2.66): Compared with the other dimensions, the mean score for *Education* was very high (2.66). As already stated above (under 5.2), this, however, does not truthfully reflect the situation in Finland, as the majority of respondents obtained their education in Estonia.

5.5 The vitality of the Estonian language in Finland

In the light of the EuLaViBar overall scores, speakers of Estonian in Finland are characterised by linguistic capacity (2.46) and desire (2.25) to use their language, but by fewer opportunities to use the language (1.57). There is also a lack of significant "Estonian language products" in Finland (1.71), especially in legislation, media and education.

Summary of EuLaViBar results: The overall EuLaViBar scores were very low in all dimensions, ranging between 1.57 and 2.46. This indicates that the sustainability of Estonian in Finland is endangered and that there are factors which promote a language shift to Finnish.

In no dimension of any of the measured variables did the barometer give the state of Estonian the highest rating (4), which would indicate a situation of stability in the linguistic situation. Of all of the dimensions, EuLaViBar gave the highest rating (2.74) to Estonian speakers' linguistic capacity to communicate in their mother tongue; the lowest ratings were given to the speakers' opportunities to use the Estonian language (esp. in legislation, 0.8) and the existence of Estonian-language products in Finland (esp. in legislation, 0.5).

Overall, Estonians living in Finland are characterised by the linguistic capacity to communicate in Estonian at the level of a native speaker. At the same time, there are limited opportunities in Finland for the use of Estonian outside of the home. There is also a lack of Estonian-language "products" in media, culture and legislation.

The ELDIA consortium stresses that the language vitality barometer must never be used to conclude that some language is not "worth" institutional and/or financial support. The barometer cannot and should not be used for predicting the fate of an individual language. The barometer helps policy-makers and stakeholders in identifying conditions that threaten the maintenance of a given language, those that promote its maintenance, and those that need to be improved in order to support the maintenance of language diversity. With the help of the barometer, special support can be directed to areas indicated by low vitality scores.

6 Summary and conclusion

The Estonian-speaking communities in Finland represent a more recent allochthonous minority group that arose mostly as a result of intensive waves of emigration after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, and Estonia's entry into the European Union in 2004. Estonians are the second-largest recent migrant group in Finland, after the Russian-speaking minority. The statistical data also indicate that the Estonian population in Finland is evolving into the largest Estonian community in the Western Diaspora. Most of the Estonians in Finland are concentrated in the vicinity of the capital Helsinki and other larger cities (such as Tampere, Turku and Oulu).

Most of the respondents (84%) define Estonian as their mother tongue and speak it on a high level of proficiency. For most of the Estonians, Finnish is a foreign language which generally has been acquired in adulthood after emigrating to Finland. According to their own evaluation, more than half of the respondents can read (64%), speak (51%) and understand (55%) Finnish fluently, while 36.8% can write Finnish "fluently".

Estonians in Finland generally have a positive attitude toward multilingualism. In their families, especially in everyday communication between spouses, different strategies and patterns of multilingual language use are practised. The vast majority of the respondents (88.4%) thought it was necessary that their children speak Estonian while living in Finland and supported them in this effort; however, about 11.6% of the respondents did not consider it necessary to maintain their children's Estonian language skills. Almost half of the respondents (42%) spoke exclusively Finnish with their spouses or partners, while 43% of the respondents used more than one language for communication, the most usual language combination being Finnish and Estonian.

Estonians in Finland have few opportunities to use Estonian outside the home. However, in social networks (communication with friends) both languages are used. Most of the respondents believed that Estonian was not required in any public domain.

The use of Finnish was dominant in almost all measured fields of media and culture (e.g. reading newspapers, listening to radio and watching TV). Finnish was also prevalent in cultural practices at home (reading books, watching movies, listening to music etc.).

Estonians living in Finland in general were not aware (except for activists) of the laws regulating the activities of language minorities, educational and cultural life, or of language issues. Estonians were also very little (or not at all) aware of whether such legal acts had been translated into Estonian.

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Attachment 1: Policy recommendations

- Estonian speakers in Finland have rapidly formed the largest Estonian-speaking community outside Estonia. As most of them were born and raised in an Estonian-language environment and have only immigrated fairly recently, they are fluent and confident users of the Estonian language. The key issue, therefore, is whether and how the Estonian language will be transmitted to their children and what kind of relationship with the heritage language will develop among the youngest generation. It is important to raise the parents' awareness about the significance of the mother tongue for the identity and to broaden their knowledge about the benefits of multilingualism, in order to motivate them to use their mother tongue with their children. Parents who choose to use Finnish or another language with their children instead of their heritage language may believe that their children "will be able to decide themselves which language they want to speak"; in reality, they have already made the choice on behalf of their children.

- Therefore, more attention should be paid to organising Estonian language studies and developmental activities, but also informing the Estonian communities about those opportunities.

- Estonian speakers in Finland lack a distinct central organisation. When planning any language and cultural activities, policy planners have to take into account the fact that Estonian speakers in Finland belong to different communities in different regions (incl. cities, city districts, village communities), they have different spheres of activity and different preferences in their consumption of cultural products.

- Until recently, the public activity of Estonian speakers in Finland has been mainly restricted to issues of language learning and education. In other minority issues (legislation, rights and protection of the minority, etc.), Estonians in Finland have hardly voiced their opinions in Finnish public discourse. This passiveness is surprising considering the fact that the Estonian speakers in Finland (approximately 50,000) form the second largest immigrant group, second only to the Russian-speaking immigrant community. Therefore, it is necessary to find opportunities for better involvement of the Estonian speakers and their participation in the society and comprehensive cooperation both with the majority and with other minority groups.

- Citizens' initiatives and advocacy for expressing, developing and preserving the Estonian language and culture in Finland need to be continuously supported. In planning the support measures, decision-makers should understand that the local activists are often also the best experts in such issues.

Attachment 2: Questionnaires

The minority and majority (control-group) questionnaires of the ELDIA survey were developed jointly for the whole ELDIA project and translated from the master versions into the minority and majority languages of each case study (with some further modifications for the questionnaires used in the multilingual Northern Calotte area, i.e. the case studies on Meänkieli, Kven, and North Sámi). This central research design required the use of the same questionnaire across all the ELDIA case studies, despite the fact that not all questions were equally meaningful for all target groups; some questions may have seemed strange or irrelevant to the respondents of a certain target group, although the same questions have retrieved important information in some other ELDIA case study.

As already mentioned in chapter 3.1.3, the planning of the ELDIA fieldwork suffered from various problems which finally led to the partner in charge, the University of Stockholm, withdrawing from the project. The planning of the questionnaire was severely delayed due to problems in the organisation and leadership of this work phase and in the information flow between project partners; the pilot versions of the questionnaires could not be properly tested, and both the master questionnaire and its translations had to be finalised under extreme time pressure. Thus, the final versions of the questionnaires, while excessively long and generally experienced as complicated and challenging, still contained some flaws, errors and misleading formulations.

Learning from these experiences, the ELDIA consortium has created a new, amended version of the master questionnaire. The new questionnaire is included in the *EuLaViBar Toolkit*, which can be downloaded from the ELDIA project website *(www.eldia-project.org)* or directly at http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:301101.

The following questionnaires are translations of the English or Finnish master versions of the MinLg and CG questionnaires. The final layout was created by Katharina Zeller (University of Mainz).