



Governing Urban Diversity: Creating Social Cohesion, Social Mobility and Economic Performance in Today's Hyper-diversified Cities

Urban Policies on Diversity in Tallinn, Estonia

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1. Introduction

Tallinn is by far the largest municipality of Estonia, housing about 430,000 registered inhabitants of the total of 1.3 people living in Estonia as at 1 January 2014 (Tallinn, 2014). Ethnic Estonians form a half and all other ethnic groups another half of the city's population (Statistics Estonia, 2014). Estonia experienced in-migration *en masse* during the Soviet period in 1944–1991 (Tammaru and Kulu, 2003). The resulting high proportion of ethnic minorities in Estonia's population—about one third of the population and about a half of the population in Tallinn according to the Census 2011—adds an important layer to the urban diversity compared to most other East European countries. Minorities can be found in other East European countries, too, but nowhere is their share comparable to Estonia, except for Latvia.

Ecologically and politically, Tallinn consists of the upper-city (Parliament and the Prime Minister's office on Toompea Hill) and the lower-city, where the real life unfolds: here the city as a municipality is governed; business is made and diverse population groups encounter on a daily basis. A more value-based policy dominates on the national level and pragmatic approaches on the city level when it comes to handling diversity. Based on national and municipal policy documents and expert interviews, this chapter outlines the main governance structures in Estonia and Tallinn (chapter 2), and presents a critical discourse analysis of how urban diversity is conceptualised by different actors participating in the urban governance process (chapter 3). The total of 16 interviews were conducted with experts from governmental and non-governmental organisations (see Appendix 1). We use direct translated quotations from the interviews to illustrate the main findings.

Based on analyses, we have found that present policy discourses both at national and city levels do pay some attention to diversity, but the concept is vaguely elaborated in the policy documents. The most important dimension of diversity pertains to *ethnic diversity*, and to the need to improve the social inclusion of minorities into Estonian society. Following the classification by Syrett and Sepulveda (2012), generally a-spatial people-based *integrationist discourse* has emerged at the national level, as stated most explicitly in Estonian integration strategies. This discourse increasingly highlights social cohesion and equality of opportunities by focusing on those minority subgroups who face specific structural integration problems, such as a lack of citizenship. The state policy has also some *assimilationist* underpinnings in the way of stressing greater uniformity in many important fields, such as schools that are important for contributing to the equality opportunities for all population groups regardless of their background. However, a more *pluralist discourse* can be found at the city level, for example, when it comes to the schools, where ethnic encounters and interactions occur on a daily basis. The minority voice is stronger and better represented in Tallinn where they form a higher share compared to the whole country. Ethnic minorities are represented in the city government of Tallinn but not in the national government of Estonia.

Other important aspects of diversity highlighted in the policy documents and by our experts pertain to *neighbourhood diversity* and *housing diversity*, as well as *social diversity*. The framework of Fincher and Iveson (2012) of recognition, encounter and redistribution can be best applied to these discourses of diversity in Tallinn. We found that Tallinn recognises and clearly defines the vulnerable groups and has actively developed social programmes in the city to address social problems. For example, the city increasingly allocates resources to municipal housing construction to take better care of vulnerable groups. This resource redistribution often aims at achieving higher social mix in neighbourhoods. Another important discourse of encounter that surfaces in relation to vulnerable groups in Tallinn pertains to *connectivity*. Good connectivity is seen as an important vehicle for tackling local level poverty lock-in effects. Enhancing connectivity is backed by priority funding from the EU (infrastructure construction), as well as by

the city government, for example, by providing public transport free of charge to its dwellers. *Age diversity* and *lifestyle diversity* surface rarely in the more general policy documents, but these dimensions are not fully ignored either.

2. Governance structures and national diversity policy

2.1. Governance structures

The formal governmental system of the Republic of Estonia includes central government, 15 county governments and other specialised regional state offices (regional arms of central government), and 215 municipalities. Parliament sets the legal framework for their activities as well as the framework for resource allocation (i.e. the distribution of tax revenue between central government and municipalities). Municipalities are allowed to set local small-scale taxes on top of the national taxes. In general, the largest municipalities/cities are financially less dependent on the central government and its redistributions compared to smaller municipalities.

Figure 1 presents the logic how the decisions related to urban diversity are made in the City of Tallinn. State-level decisions are made and framework for policies is set in the ministries, specialised state-level regional boards as well as in the county governments. The City of Tallinn, being the most powerful municipality in the country, often evaluates state-level policies critically and develops its parallel positions. On all governmental levels, NGO-sector has acquired an essential role. The arising networks of urban governance are multi-directional, reaching from consultancy with policy target groups and elaborating common urban policies to service delivery.

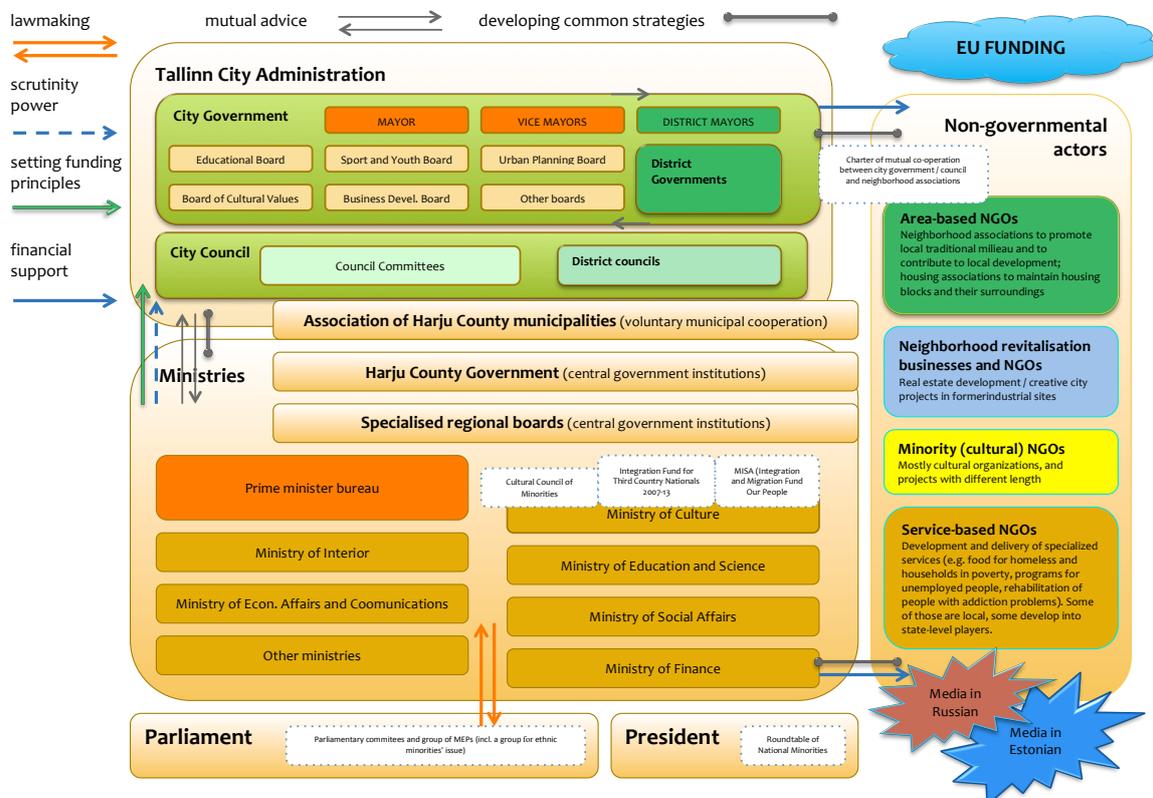


Figure 1. The system of governance for managing urban diversities in the city of Tallinn

Within the central government, the direct coordination of local government affairs and urban planning is under the administration of the Estonian Ministry of the Interior. During the periods 1990-1995 and 1997-2009, the Bureau of the Population Minister coordinated population policies and integration issues. Later these tasks were distributed among different ministries. Today the Ministry of Culture sets the framework for the activities related to ethnic diversity issues in Estonia. The Ministry is responsible for compiling, implementing and monitoring Estonian integration strategies, and it co-ordinates the activities of other ministries and NGOs, such as Cultural Council of Minorities in the field of ethnic diversity (Kultuuriministeerium, 2011) (Figure 1). There is no other policy field in Estonia that includes so many governmental as well as non-governmental actors (Palo, 2011). It is important to note that the ethnic *diversity* discourse pertains to ethno-cultural diversity on the one hand (<http://www.etnoweb.ee/>), and minority groups with specific integration challenges (such as lack of citizenship) on the other.

The city of Tallinn is governed by the Tallinn City Council (an elected legislative body) and the Tallinn City Government (appointed by the council). Tallinn city government itself consists of 13 specialised boards (well-staffed administrative bodies, consisting of several departments and their sub-divisions), coordinated by a mayor and six vice-mayors. The key players in the diversity field are the Educational Board, the Board of Cultural Values, the Urban Planning Board, Social and Health Care Board, City Property Board, and the Sport and Youth Board. Although none of them has elaborated a clear policy towards diversity, their daily activities have an impact on it.

Tallinn's governance structure can be characterised as semi-decentralised. The city is divided into eight districts. These districts also serve as electoral areas; this motivates the candidates of the city council to provide district- and neighbourhood-based promises. Furthermore, area-based promises intersect to a degree with ethnic issues, since ethnic groups are unevenly distributed across the city (Kährik and Tammaru, 2010). District governments are managed by district elders who are appointed by and who are subordinate to the city government.

Both the number of people employed in district governments and their budget size is much smaller compared to the city boards (all eight district administrations receive only five percent of the budget of the city). Main decisions are made on the central city level. City districts do have the freedom to decide on some issues, such as allocation of social housing locally. The districts also provide and coordinate many daily local activities, such as social care, social housing allocation, child protection, maintaining districts' public areas, and other issues where local knowledge is inevitable.

Participation of nongovernmental actors in urban governance is on the rise in Estonia (Pehk, 2013). We distinguish three types of actors in Tallinn that have bigger role in urban governance: neighbourhood associations; minority associations; and businesses.

Neighbourhood associations are quite visible in the policy-making process. These classical area-based NGOs have been mostly formed in low-density areas in the inner and outer city (but not in areas with blocks of flats) (Pehk, 2013). They have become more active in the 2010s. This has resulted in drafting a Charter of mutual co-operation (still in progress) between the associations and city government /Interview 14/. It should be noted, however, that the neighbourhood associations do not aim to represent all residents of the neighbourhood. The population composition of neighbourhoods is very diverse when it comes to age, social status, ethnicity and way of thinking. This makes it difficult to agree on commonly shared agenda about the future of the neighbourhood /Interview 14/. The relations between neighbourhood associations and the city government is sometimes ambivalent, for the city is not fully convinced how representative the associations are /Interview 8,9/.

Minority associations are less visible in the policy-making process. However, they are formally able to voice themselves as well, for example, through the Board of Cultural Values in Tallinn City Government, the Cultural Council of Minorities at the Ministry of Culture, and the Roundtable of National Minorities at the office of the President of Estonia. According to the mayor, the urban riots in 2007 were an important turning point when systematic activities in the field of ethnic diversity and inclusion were initiated in Tallinn (Savisaar, 2009).

Another form of NGOs having impact on urban governance is *NGOs specialised on the delivery of specific services*. Mostly it concerns various social and labour market services. Municipalities and governmental offices often prefer outsourcing service delivery and offering specialised public services via NGOs. The latter have the required expertise and long-term experience in working with these target groups (people with disabilities, victims of domestic violence, long term unemployed people, homeless people, etc.). Mostly public offices have well-established co-operation networks with these specialised NGOs.

Businesses, especially those oriented towards real-estate development, are important players in urban diversity, too. Some businesses (and some NGOs) are specialised for valorisation real estate in former industrial quarters (especially on the coastal plots) with creative industries and other revitalisation activities. More than 90 per cent of the housing in Estonia is owner-occupied. The neoliberal agenda and the power of private developing companies are common across East European cities. Van Assche and Salukvadze (2012) use the term investor-led urbanism. It means a move away from the masterplan-led framework towards the development-led framework in urban planning (Golubchikov and Phelps, 2011), and it contributes to the fragmentation of the city-space and micro-scale diversification of the housing stock (Temelova et al, 2011). An important process within development-led framework pertains to gentrification. Housing change initiated by the private developing companies goes hand-in-hand with population change. Usually the minorities are moving/pushed out and Estonians are moving into the newly built and renovated houses and areas / in large-scale housing dominated neighbourhoods /Interview 2/. The process thus initially increases intra-neighbourhood diversity but leads to subsequent homogenisation of local populations.

2.2. Key shifts in national approaches to policy over migration, citizenship and diversity

Contemporary ethnic diversity in Estonia mainly formed when Estonia was a part of the Soviet Union between 1944 and 1991. In-migration originated mainly from Russia but also from other Soviet Republics. Contrary to the egalitarian social ideology, the policy towards ethnic diversity was highly complex and highly institutionalised in the Soviet Union. The Soviet state not only passively tolerated, but also actively institutionalised the existence of different ethnic groups as the constitutive elements of the society (Brubaker, 1994). Echoing the ethnic institutionalism and doing so contrary to post-War Western Europe, ethnic belonging was the fundamental statistical category in social accounting (Brubaker, 1994). Although the Soviet Union was not explicitly organised as a Russian nation-state, Russians who formed half of the population of the Soviet Union (Silver and Andersson, 1973) were the dominant ethnic group, effectively controlling key party and state institutions (Brubaker, 1994). Assimilationist policy took place in the form of Russianisation of other Soviet Republics (Aspaturian, 1968) (Table 1). This policy included the state-organised migration of Russians to the other member states of the Soviet Union and promoting the status of Russian language as a *lingua franca* all across the Republics of the Soviet Union (Andersson and Silver, 1989; Pavlenko, 2006).

Table 1. Main shifts in Estonian migration and ethnic diversity policy since the 1980s.

	Soviet assimilationism 1980s	Estonian assimilationism 1988-1999	Pluralism 2000-2013	Integrationism 2014-
<i>Migration</i>	Immigration <i>en masse</i>	Return migration of Russians back to Russia <i>en masse</i>	Emigration	Emigration
<i>Approach to diversity</i>	Russianisation, Russian <i>lingua franca</i>	Estonianisation, restoration of Estonian statehood for ethnic Estonians	Multicultural society focusing on Estonian language proficiency and social inclusion	Diversity is acknowledged, but the emphasis is on equality of opportunity
<i>Ethnic labelling</i>	Ethnicity, a very important individual marker (documented in passport) and a statistical category	Minorities labelled exclusionary: non-Estonians, immigrants and aliens etc	Minorities labelled less exclusionarily: Russian-speakers, Estonian Russians etc	Ethnic labelling giving way to recognition of non-integrated groups based on their specific structural integration problems
<i>Normative perspective</i>	Shared Soviet identity, <i>Homo Sovieticus</i>	Estonia as a nation-state for ethnic Estonians	Estonia as a multicultural society with strong state identity	Estonia as a socially cohesive society with equality of opportunity for everyone

As a Soviet legacy, *ethno-linguistic divisions* still pertain to all important spheres of society, including places of residence (Tammaru and Kontuly, 2011), housing conditions (Kährlik and Tammaru, 2010), family formation (van Ham and Tammaru, 2011), schools (Lindemann and Saar, 2012), and labour market (Lindemann and Kogan, 2013). However, the social disruption following the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the restoration of the Estonian statehood completely changed *ethnic relations* in Estonia. The reversal: from Soviet to Estonian assimilationism took place. About a quarter of the minorities returned back to Russia (Tammaru and Kulu, 2003). The political and public discourse emphasised the importance of restoring the nation-state for ethnic Estonians (Lindemann, 2009). Ethnic Russians used to be the dominant ethnic group in the Soviet Union but now they became a minority group in Estonia.

Following the strong national sentiments that formed in the course of the “Singing Revolution” (1988-1991), the founding elections in 1992 brought national-conservative parties to power (Muuli, 2012). These parties argued that statehood should be restored based on the historic continuity principle with the pre-World War II Republic of Estonia, meaning that only the citizens of the Pre-WW II Republic of Estonia and their descendants can automatically be granted Estonian citizenship. Two important elements of this policy pertained to language policy and citizenship policy (Hallik, 2002; Rannut, 2008). Already in 1989, two years before the demise of the Soviet Union, the language law set Estonian as the only official language of Estonia. The 1938 Citizenship Law was re-enacted in 1992. The law sets an annual immigration quota of 0.1 per cent of Estonia’s population¹ and defines citizenship based on *ius sanguinis* principle.

The national discourse on ethnic diversity has gone hand-in-hand with a steady increase in party nationalisation/ethnification in Estonia over the past two decades (Lagerspetz and Vogt, 2013;

¹ This mainly relates to labour migration from third countries.

Sikk and Bochsler, 2008). Centre Party on power in Tallinn has always been more sympathetic towards Russian-speaking voters (Ladynskaya, 2011), especially since the 2007 urban riots. The riots started as a response to the relocation of the “Bronze Soldier” monument (a symbol of the victory in WWII for Russians and a symbol of Soviet occupation for Estonians) from the city centre to the War cemetery (Ehala, 2009). The rioters were predominantly Russian-speakers; also in this situation the party distanced itself from the central government activities in relocating the monument. As a consequence, Centre Party has secured an absolute majority of the seats in the City Council on two last municipal elections in 2008 and 2013, and does not need coalition partners to govern Tallinn. The Estonian-speakers, in turn, have consolidated behind the parties on power nationally, the Reform Party and Pro Patria & Res Publica Union. While integration has made a good progress in many fields, Metlev (2014) has called such party ethnification as the last important hurdle in the minority integration process.

The policy discourse on ethnic diversity in Estonia has mainly revolved around the minorities’ Estonian language proficiency and Estonian citizenship over the last two decades. Only 15% of minorities were fluent in Estonian at the time of the restoration of Estonian statehood (EIS 2000). Out of 600,000 members of the minority population, 80,000 acquired Estonian citizenship with the 1992 citizenship law. According to the 2011 census, 203,000 or 53% of ethnic minorities had obtained Estonian citizenship (up from 40% in 2000), 23% were Russian citizens (19%), 21% were stateless (39%), and the rest were the citizens of other countries. Citizenship status among the minority population has a direct implication on their political rights. Only Estonian citizens are eligible to participate in national elections, while all officially registered residents are eligible for participating in local (municipality) elections. The difference in electorates leads different parties on power nationally and in the city of Tallinn, which is an important obstacle for the co-operation between them /Interview 7/.

Estonia joined the European Union (EU) in 2004. Both the pressure from EU during the accession talks as well as “normalisation” of the society after the disruption of the 1990s brought increasing attention to the need for a better integration of ethnic minorities. The main documents in the field of diversity are Estonian integration strategies (EIS). The first of them, “Estonian integration strategy 2000–2007” (EIS 2000), highlighted the need to better integrate the Soviet time migrants into Estonian society. Following Syrett and Sepulveda (2012), the document took a pluralist rather than assimilationist view that prevailed in the 1990s (EIS 2000, pp. 4-5)²:

‘The changed internal and external situation requires that Estonia’s integration policy would take a new step forward ... Estonia is treated as a society in which in addition to the common traits linking people there is also linguistic and cultural diversity ... The outcome of the integration process is the Estonian model of a multicultural society, which is characterised by the principles of cultural pluralism, a strong common core and the preservation and development of the Estonian cultural domain.’

The main emphasis of the integration programme was on the promotion of linguistic-communicative integration in society. Consequently, most of the resources were allocated for increasing Estonian language proficiency among minorities, both among children and adults. Being proficient in Estonian was seen as an important tool for promoting equality-of-opportunity in social mobility for ethnic groups. The pluralist framework and focus on facilitating Estonian language proficiency among minorities carried on to the “Estonian integration strategy 2008–2013”, with the main shift in the policy being a stronger targeted focus on improving language

² All quotes in this document are translations from policy documents or interviews.

proficiency among children, as well as the qualification of teachers and quality of teaching materials (EIS 2008, p. 3 and p. 8):

‘The process of integration of the population of Estonia is a long-term one and its ultimate goal is a culturally diverse society with a strong Estonian state identity, sharing common democratic values in which, in the public sector, permanent residents communicate in Estonian (p. 3) ... One of the most important factors in advancing the knowledge of the language is availability of appropriately trained teachers knowing Estonian as well as suitable up-to-date Estonian language teaching materials. This is valid for pre-school childcare facilities, general education schools as well as adult language training.’ (p. 8)

Another policy shift in EIS 2008 pertained to a broader understanding of the need for the social inclusion of minorities, for example, through the labour market, shared media field (Russians-speakers follow mainly Russia’s media) etc. The new “Estonian integration strategy 2014–2020” is still under construction, but its draft version shifts the policy focus away from ethnic diversity *per se*. Instead, the new aim is socially cohesive society where everyone has an equal opportunity for social mobility regardless of their ethnic background or other population characteristics. It recognises new immigrants and those minorities with specific structural integration problems (poor Estonian language proficiency, lack of Estonian citizenship) as the main target groups for policy. So, the terms *plurality* and *multiculturalism* are replaced with *social cohesion* and *equality of opportunity*. This is a part of the wider discourse change society that focuses on equality and antidiscrimination rather than ethnic issues. An important milestone in this discourse change was the adoption of Equal Treatment Act in 2008. The new integration strategy also aims at facilitating grass-root level initiatives that would promote inter-ethnic encounter through small scale joint activities /Interview 1/.

In conclusion, Estonian migration and diversity debate has undergone marked shifts from Soviet-time complex integrationist-assimilationist-pluralist policies through Estonian assimilationism through pluralism towards integrationism over the last three decades (Table 1). According to MIPEX³, the overall integration score of Estonia is “halfway favourable”. The progress in integration is worst when it comes to access to citizenship (score 16 out of 100) and best when it comes to labour market participation (65). Following the classification of Syrett and Sepulveda (2012), Estonian diversity policy could be characterised as “integrationist/intercultural”: migrants are seen as permanent, diversity is accepted but not encouraged, and there is a support to various integration activities across diverse communities. We may also conclude that during more than two decades, Estonian integration policy has dealt mostly with minorities and less with the role of Estonians in this process.

³ Migrant Integration Policy Index, see www.mipex.eu.

3. Critical analysis of policy strategies and resource allocations

Some of the policy documents and targeted policy objectives affecting diversity in Tallinn are summarized in Table 2 (Iveson and Fincher, 2010; see also Ahmadi et al. 2014). The discourse on diversity in Tallinn revolves very much around ethnicity as related to the Estonian language proficiency, citizenship, Russian school reform, ethnic segmentation of the electorate, discrimination and stereotypes, residential segregation, ethnic differences in social mobility and labour market, as well as whether a glass ceiling exists for minorities in the society (Lauristin et al, 2013). The national policy has been shifting towards integrationism in Estonia, a policy that stresses social cohesion and equality of opportunity for everyone. The evolution of a more integrationist view in Estonia is supported by the positive trends when it comes to various dimensions of minority integration into Estonian society (Lauristin et al, 2013). The integration discourse strongly intersects with security issues and ethnic threat due to the fact that Russians form the biggest minority group in Estonia (“Fundamental of Estonian Security Policy 2009”). In other words, increased social cohesion in general and the integration of the minority population in particular are instrumentally seen as important tools that would help to prevent national safety hazards (EIS 2014):

In order to prevent and cope with national safety hazards, the goal is to improve 1) cohesion of society by improved employment rate and inclusion into the community's life; 2) psychological protection, which includes developing and maintaining common values and increases trust towards society and the state. Psychological protection will be developed in cooperation of all members of civil society; 3) integration, which goal is to form culturally diverse Estonian society that has strong identity and common values. The state continues with activities that predispose integration of different groups in society in order to develop opportunities for participating actively in community's life.'

Although the integrationist view on diversity prevails both on the national and city level, its aims and practices vary between the parties in power nationally (Reform Party and Pro Patria & Res Publica Union) and in Tallinn (Centre Party). The governmental views are more value based and universalistic, increasingly focussing on equality of opportunity and fighting against all forms of discrimination. This has, interestingly, broadened the discourse on diversity from ethnic diversity towards other forms of diversity, such as gender. For example, the Equal Treatment Act (2008) dedicates most of its attention to the equal opportunities of men and women, rather than ethnic groups, in the Estonian society. Little sensitivity on minority issues is one of the reasons behind the increased ethnic segmentation in the electorate more generally, and the urban riots in 2007 more specifically.

The views in the city are more pluralist and pragmatic, understanding that the electorate in Tallinn is not homogeneous and minorities should be well included into urban governance. The Centre Party on power in Tallinn works thus much more systematically with the minority electorate (Ladynskaya, 2011). Centre Party has been more active in embracing minorities into the Party and in building strong networks in the minority community. An example of such systematic activities pertains to communication; i.e. the communication with ethnic groups should be sensitive to group-specific issues. The shortcoming of this view is that ethnically segmented media field is practiced in Tallinn. Good examples are municipal newspapers, the Estonian-language *Pealinn* (<http://www.pealinn.ee/>) and Russian-language *Stolitsa* (<http://www.stolitsa.ee/>) that often write about different topics. For example, on 05 February 2014, *Pealinn* writes about Nõmme (an area over-represented by Estonians) while *Stolitsa* writes about Narva and Kiviõli (areas where Russian-speakers are locally in majority). Although this

approach could meet the expectation of the readers, the outcome is little overlap in the media consumption of ethnic groups.

Table 2. Category of diversity related policies and targeted policy objectives.

Category of policies	Examples of Policy documents	Targeted objective(s)
Policies for diversity/recognition of multiple voices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Estonian Integration Strategy 2000 • Estonian Integration Strategy 2007 • Estonian Integration Strategy 2014 • Development Plan for Children and Families 2012–2020 • Development Plan of Disabled 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social cohesion (primarily) • Socio-economic opportunities and social mobility (primarily) • Economic performance (as a consequence)
Policies to create spaces of encounter and spaces of democratic deliberation <i>between</i> groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development Plan of Primary and Secondary Schools in Tallinn 2009-2014 • The Preventive City Security Plan 2011-2015 • Development Plan of Public Children Playgrounds in Tallinn 2011-2016 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social cohesion (primarily) • Socio-economic opportunities and social mobility (primarily) • Economic performance (as a consequence)
Policies for equity/(re)distribution of resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tallinn Development Plan • The Second Housing Construction Programme of Tallinn • The Development Plan for Small Enterprises in Tallinn 2010-2013 • The Criteria of Social Services • The Public Transport Development Plan 2011-2020 • The Health Development Programme of Tallinn 2008-2015 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socio-economic opportunities and social mobility (primarily) • Economic performance (primarily) • Social cohesion (as a consequence)

3.1. Dominant governmental discourses of urban policy and diversity

In this chapter, we critically examine how urban diversity is conceptualised in current debates based on national, regional, city and district level document analysis and interviews with experts from these different governance levels. Eighty eight documents were scanned in order to find out whether and how the concept of “diversity” has been used in urban policy (see Appendix 2). It should be noted the term diversity appears only episodically and it is often used in a declarative way; it is not the key word in the documents. Although there is a general integration strategy of minorities in Estonia in the form of a series of EIS documents, there is no single urban policy or urban diversity policy document in Estonia (that could also formulate dominant positions on how ethnic diversity should be conceptualised and handled in cities), either on the national or city level. Such a non-policy at the urban level can be explained as follows:

“There has been no active urban policy or urban diversity policy in Estonia. Estonian cities are relatively small and Estonian policy has been very liberal over the past two decades, being very cautious when it comes to policy intervention in whatever field of society, including cities or diversity, and resources for implementing such policies are small, too ... Many East European countries do not have explicit urban policies. Estonia is no exception in this regard. However, the situation is changing now and urban policy is becoming increasingly important in Estonia, especially in the OECD and EU policy contexts.” /Interview 4/

“Diversity” is thus mentioned in the documents episodically, in different contexts and with various connotations. Our analysis will focus on more general documents that are still in force and cut across several subject fields. At times these documents provide evidence that the term “diversity” is a must-to-be-used word (possibly taken over from EU policies) in key-sentences of the documents, and it is mainly instrumentally used in the context of making the city more attractive; it is treated pragmatically as a commodity, as a factor that can potentially promote the economic performance of the city, as is often the case in other cities, too (cf. Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012; Raco et al, 2013). Using the term “multicultural city”, diversity is a part of the vision of Tallinn (“Tallinn Strategy 2010–2030”):

‘Tallinn is the capital city of Estonia, a coastal multicultural city of hard-working and creative people, unique cultural landmark and a gateway to the past and future. Tallinn is an internationally attractive destination for guests and a forerunner of the competitive new economy valuing innovative, balanced, green and safe urban environment.’

It should also be noted that the use and conceptualisation of the word “diversity” varies systematically between documents and the people we interviewed. We will focus on ethnic, social and neighbourhood diversity since these dimensions prevail in the diversity discourse in Tallinn.

Ethnic diversity and social mobility

As discussed above (Chapter 2.2), an important policy shift towards ethnic diversity is taking place in Estonia, with integration being seen within the larger framework of facilitating social cohesion, equality of opportunity and fighting against all forms of discrimination in society. The success of ethnic integration is seen as an increasingly important tool for enhancing social stability and economic development in the country. Interethnic encounter helps to achieve these aims (EIS 2014):

'The increase of social cohesion and the inclusion of people from different language and cultural backgrounds into the social life is increasingly important for the stability of society, for the economic potential and for general social welfare of the country. It is important for the society to reduce inequalities and discrimination, and to facilitate social interaction between various population groups. The outcome of the integration process is a socially cohesive society that positively supports the development of Estonia.'

The policy of recognition has become more straightforward as well. Instead of focusing on minority population in general, the focus is increasingly on the social mobility and economic performance of only those minorities who are facing specific structural constraints that do not allow them to equally take part of the opportunities in Estonian society. Estonian language proficiency is thus instrumentally related to social mobility; being proficient in Estonian is a prerequisite for getting Estonian citizenship, which, in turn, relates to career opportunities on the labour market. For example, Estonian language proficiency and Estonian citizenship are required for working in many public sector jobs. One of the important changes in the labour market in the course of restoring the Estonian statehood was a significant drop of minorities working in the public sector (Tammaru and Kulu, 2003). The differences increased further through the end of 2000s. According to the 2012 census, nine per cent of Estonians and three percent of minorities now work in the public sector. The new Estonian integration strategy aims to break this trend (EIS 2014):

'To provide a coherent society and the success of ethnic minorities in the labour market it is continually important to support the use of official language actively and on the high level, with the aim that also the targeted ethnic minorities could be employed more in the public sector. There is a need for extending the language learning methodology that would help to fix the achieved language skills.'

However, the problems of social mobility of minorities do not pertain to language and citizenship alone. The social background of the minority population forms another part of the story. The social disruptions in the 1990s further downgraded the social position of minorities due to the fact that they were over-represented in those industries that suffered more from employment losses under new market conditions (Tammaru and Kulu, 2003). For example, many of the once mighty all-Union industrial enterprises of the Soviet time where minorities used to work were closed down in the 1990s. Their skill composition was thus less favourable for taking up new opportunities for social mobility in Estonia. As a consequence, the unemployment rate among minorities has been about twice as high as among Estonians since the mid-1990s (Raitviir et al, 2009), and higher though among those with poor Estonian proficiency and without Estonian citizenship (Krusell, 2011).

Recognising the problems related to the social mobility of minorities even for the emerging third generation of migrants, the national policy discourse highlights the importance of early-life socialisation (EIS 2000; EIS 2007), shifting schools into the centre of the discourse on minority

integration. The main debate revolves around Russian-language schools. The Russian-language school reform that was prepared for more than a decade was enacted in 2011, setting a target to teach 60% of the subjects in Estonian during the three last years of secondary education (grades 10–12) (Lindemann, 2013). However, minority parents increasingly opt for Estonian-language kindergartens and schools rather than the Russian-speaking schools (Raitviir et al, 2009), a process sometimes labelled as ‘normal assimilation’ /Interview 7/. The new EIS 2014 also emphasises the central role of schools in the process of minority integration, highlighting its importance for cultural learning as well as the transmission of values and attitudes:

“Although the school reform has been sometimes a bit more rapid than all parts of the society have been able to accept, it is a very important way for improving the social inclusion of minorities in Estonia. Especially important is the culture learning through the transmission of values that takes place in the schools.” /Interview 1/

All EIS documents are closely related to resource allocation and monitoring of the effectiveness of the activities. For example, the overall budget for implementing the integration related activities in 2010 (stemming from EIS 2007) was 7.5 MEUR, including 4.2 MEUR from the state budget (incl. 0.8 MEUR as a self-financing in EU projects) and 3.3 MEUR from the EU (Kultuuriministeerium, 2011). The fact that third generation migrants and schools have become the main focus of integration is reflected in the contribution of different ministries to the implementation of the diversity policy. Namely, the Ministry of Education and Science contributes the most (4.1 MEUR), closely followed by the Ministry of Culture (2.9 MEUR) with others such and Unemployment Board (0.4 MEUR) contributing already much less. Also, by the field of activity, the lion’s share of the resources were allocated to educational and cultural integration (53%), followed by social and economic integration (21%), and legal and political integration (10%). In fact, many other programmes not directly addressed to minorities also indirectly deal with some aspects of integration (social programmes etc.)

There is no single ethnic policy document in Tallinn, which makes it hard to evaluate the city’s exact policy towards ethnic diversity. The issue of ethnic diversity is touched upon in many policy documents though. In order to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of the conceptualisation of the term, we focus on documents that cross over several fields and topics, such as “Centre Party Manifest” and “Tallinn Strategy 2010–2030”. In these documents, diversity is conceptualised in two ways—as an area-based diversity and as a people-based diversity—with the ethnic dimension being the most dominant in the latter. Thus, while the national documents generally have a spatial view on ethnic integration (apart from large macro-regions of the country), ethnic diversity intersects with a local area-based diversity in Tallinn. The area-based diversity is often at the district level (i.e. the voting areas). Two of the city districts, Lasnamäe and Northern Tallinn, pay specific attention to ethnic issues. For example, the district of Northern Tallinn—our case study area—characterises itself as follows (Northern Tallinn Webpage, 2014):

‘Northern Tallinn is a district of the Tallinn most widely opened to the sea—20 km long seashore and 11 ports. The district has an ethnically diverse population (68 different minority groups are represented) and a diversity of neighbourhoods (ranging from the oldest suburbs through industrial sites of the past century).’

At the beginning of the 2000s, Tallinn temporarily established an Integration Board. After the 2007 riots, the “Forum for Domestic Peace” and the “Programme of Peaceful Co-living in Tallinn” were initiated and the statistical book “Rahvuste Tallinn” (“Ethnic Groups in Tallinn”) (2009) was compiled in order to provide a comprehensive portrait of ethnic issues in the city. The city of Tallinn also started to plan many initiatives to support the culture of minority groups. For

example, the House for Minorities in the Pelgulinna neighbourhood (in Northern Tallinn) was established. More recently, a new orthodox church in the largest Soviet-era housing estate area has been built to Lasnamäe. Estonia is well known for the Choir Singing mega-events (under UNESCO heritage protection), and the city of Tallinn supports the analogous Russian singing festival “Slavic Wreath” to demonstrate that Estonia is a multicultural European country. This way, the positive aspects related to ethnic diversity are highlighted, too (“Tallinn Strategy 2010–2030”).

‘Ethnic diversity of city inhabitants means that the city has to be able to create conditions for different ethnic groups for developing and consuming their culture. On the other hand, multi-ethnicity is a resource that should be put to use more effectively for creating diverse opportunities for culture consumption and recreational activities, as well as for developing tourism.’

Different views on ethnic diversity exist between the national city in Tallinn, and it relates most clearly to the school reform (Korts, 2002). Although, the vice mayor of Tallinn on ethnic relations generally agrees with the national initiatives in the field of ethnic integration in Estonia, he also points to some differences in the visions of the future of Russian schools in Estonia when it comes to more detailed issues /Interview 7/. First, one of the arguments emphasised also by the Russian schools relates to the shortcomings in the preparation of study materials and teachers for teaching in Estonian. Bigger differences pertain to the view that some Russian-language schools could be maintained as important carriers of Russian identity and (sub)culture in Estonia, and minorities would welcome if Estonians would know more about minorities, too:

‘I agree that improved Estonian language proficiency among minorities is important in Estonia and a Russian language school reform is needed in order to facilitate the inclusion of minorities into Estonian society. Furthermore, there is a clear ongoing trend that ethnic minority children go to Estonian language kindergartens and Estonian language schools. This is part of the “normal assimilation” process. However, language is a part of the way people think, how we perceive the world, and being also proficient in Russian is very important for preserving the richness of Russian culture in Estonia. And Estonia can gain from this richness. Educational system forms the backbone for preserving the culture. Also, integration is a two-way process rather than one-way process which implies that the culture learning of Estonians about the multicultural nature of the Estonian society.’ /Interview 7/

Central government clearly rejects any ideas to withdraw from the main principles of the Russian-language school reform. Since the Ministry of Education is in charge of the school curricula in Estonia, the power of the central government is stronger in this matter compared to the city government. It should be noted that the debate on the school reform does not take place in vacuum, but it does relate to issue of Russia’s influence on Estonia. Russian ambassadors to Estonia have entered into this debate by supporting Russian-language schools (Raitviir, 2009, p. 326; Kaitsepolitsei Aastaraamat, 2011, p. 10).

The Russian-language school reform illustrates thus very nicely the tensions around the ethnic diversity discourse in Estonia and the more value-based approach of the central government and a more pragmatic approach of the city. The debate goes further into important details, such as how should teachers and pupils adopt in the multi-ethnic school as minorities enter Estonian-language schools and what are the impacts of the reforms on learning outcomes. The latter issue is not straightforward (see also Pulver et al, 2011). Still, a large share of the minority population today accepts the need for being well included into the Estonian society and that the school reform plays an important role in it (Lauristin et al, 2013). Furthermore, the understanding is that

learning in Estonian-language school is a more fruitful track for social mobility than learning in the reformed Russian-language school (Kazulja et al, 2013). Despite such positive developments, more tolerant discussions on ethnic issues by Estonians, in Estonian schools and Estonian-language media that go beyond the “Russia’s threat” discourse (Lauristin, 2013)—even if Russia does make actively comments on the ethnic policies in Estonia—would make no harm to the facilitation of inclusion of minorities into Estonian society.

Social diversity and social mobility

Although EIS 2014 focuses on social mobility and economic performance of minorities with structural integration problems, in international comparison, the situation in Estonia is better than average. According to Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), integration is least problematic in Estonia when it comes to minority labour market participation. However, ethnicity does intersect with labour market outcomes as discussed above. Due to socioeconomic differentiation, social inequalities accumulate into differences in housing (Kährrik and Tammaru, 2010). In its Manifesto, the Centre Party in power in Tallinn highlights thus the relevance of helping to improve the housing situation of the more vulnerable social groups who have suffered from the neoliberal economic policies; the Manifesto aims at showing that the city of Tallinn cares more than the national government.

There is very little municipal housing in Estonia due to the mass privatisation of housing in the 1990s, but unlike other municipalities in the country, Tallinn is actively moving forward with a public housing policy. The policy’s aim is to increase the overall share of rental housing in the city through the construction of new housing by the city. The housing policy aims also at improving the housing situation for those living in substandard housing conditions and avoiding the spreading of social problems related to homelessness, violence, drug-addiction, poor education, and to counter segregation processes in the city (“Tallinn Strategy 2010–2030”):

For tackling social inequalities, city government is increasingly investing into municipal housing and takes care of the balanced development in the city both when it comes to population groups but also districts and neighbourhoods of the city. During the mass privatisation of housing in the 1990s, about 95% of dwellings got private owners. Now, the city aims to become a more important player in the housing market by providing municipal housing for lower income people and households.’

The policy is also put into practice, both by recognising and clearly defining the vulnerable groups in need of help when it comes to housing and by allocating resources into housing construction. The Manifesto specifies the “traditional” vulnerable groups such as unemployed, homeless, disabled people, etc. The more concrete policy document, “The Second Dwelling Construction Programme of Tallinn” now in operation, specifies two main low-income target groups for public rental housing: public sector workers and young families. Young families living in Tallinn have especially great difficulties in starting their housing career due to the high property prices and private sector rents. We recall that the ownership rate of housing is more than 90 per cent in Tallinn (Kährrik and Tammaru, 2010).

In addition to facilitating the social inclusion of the most vulnerable groups by improving their housing situation, the document also has an instrumental dimension—it states that these public workers are considered to be a valuable labour force for the city and their housing situation should be secured not so much for the economic performance of Tallinn but for solving the recruitment and retention problem in public sector, which is severely undermining service

delivery. Similar strategies have been used elsewhere in large European cities such as London (Raco, 2008, p. 741 for London). Tallinn goes as far as to explicitly define the target groups for new housing. Young families are families or lone parents with at least one child aged under 16. Socially vulnerable key workers for Tallinn include (Tallinna Linnavalitsus, 2014) employees working in educational sector, in welfare and for public transportation companies, assisting healthcare personnel, police officers and rescue workers and employees of museums, libraries and theatres.

Thus, salaries and housing are important tools for tackling the social problems of vulnerable social groups. Furthermore, Tallinn systematically facilitates the parallel social mobility and housing mobility of the most vulnerable groups (not only by just defining the groups). In essence, once a person has entered on the radar of social workers, an individualised development plan is compiled for the person/family with the aim to help them to climb higher up in the social ladder, also in the public housing ladder, and finally exit it /Interview 3/. The development plan includes strategies to enter and improve one's position on the labour market. In other words, limited public resources have contributed to the building of such a system that aims at promoting people to return to "a normal housing situation"—i.e. private housing sector in the context of Tallinn—either as a renter or an owner-occupier.

Neighbourhood diversity, spaces of encounter and social inclusion

Along with people, a very significant part of the diversity discussion pertains thus to housing and the diversity of urban neighbourhoods, i.e. the people-based policies are strongly related to area-based policies. As a background, research evidence supports such discourse—census 2000 and 2011 data showed that social stratification increased in the 1990s, and social inequalities have been increasingly projected into space in the 2000s. In Tallinn, residential neighbourhoods are seen as important places of mixing and encounter. This way, Tallinn is no exception in the wider discussions on mixing and negative neighbourhood effects in European cities (Wilson, 1987; Friedrichs, 2002; van Ham et al, 2013). Research generally indicates that personal characteristics are more important for social mobility than the characteristics of the neighbourhood, at least in European cities (Tasan-Kok et al, 2013). However, the policy debates in Tallinn demonstrate that it is not a good idea to isolate one effect from the other, for they are simply too strongly linked to each other, and they have to be therefore addressed together. Due to this reason, diversity-through-mixing is highlighted in many policy documents ("Tallinn Strategy 2010–2030"):

'Diversity and multi-functionality is valued in the city. The conceptual basis of the Master Plan is a sustainable use and development of the urban space and to facilitate social mixing and cohesion both in the city as a whole, as well as in each districts.'

Similarly to debates in other European cities, neighbourhood diversity in Tallinn is often seen in instrumental terms by emphasising the attractiveness of Tallinn for various actors, including city dwellers, potential in-migrants, tourists and entrepreneurs. In this discourse, the word is often used as a verb, i.e. "diversification" instead of "diversity". For example, housing stock and neighbourhoods should be diversified in order to attract people with different needs, life course stages, preferences and life-styles. Given the nature of the document "Tallinn Strategy 2010–2030" that sets out to envision city development in the coming two decades, in many contexts the word "diversity" also captures envisioned outcome, and desire, rather the current situation.

Interestingly, the discourse on the nexus between diversity and attractiveness overlaps with the discourse of tension with the surrounding municipalities of Tallinn. For example, young families

and key workers will not be able to get municipal rental housing if they have some kind of properties in the surrounding Harju County (Tallinna Linnavalitsus, 2014). No such restrictions apply in case people have properties elsewhere in Estonia. The importance of diversifying urban neighbourhoods to increase the attractiveness of Tallinn for dwellers can be summarised as follows (“Tallinn Strategy 2010–2030”):

‘To achieve competitive advantage compared to neighbouring municipalities, it is important to diversify and improve the urban environment. It first of all means a flexible housing policy, more diverse services with higher quality and an urban space on human scale and with many choices. For example, besides apartment houses the opportunities to build also single-family, twin- and row-houses close to the city centre should be provided, and to enable also the residential construction that enable larger contemporary dwellings in apartment houses for families with children. In some urban districts densification is a practical solution.’

When it comes to neighbourhood diversity and mixing, both the desire for diversity and potential problems that are related to diversity, such as segregation and negative neighbourhood effects, surfaced in the interviews /Interviews 3, 8, 9, 11/. Therefore, planners are somewhat cautious in planning neighbourhoods for some specific groups by age, socioeconomic status or ethnicity. In other words, residential neighbourhood diversity in urban discourse relates to local level mixing and socio-spatial cohesion. But the debate on socio-spatial diversity goes beyond mixing, and it includes many other aspects of neighbourhood diversity, such as nice architecture, availability of workplaces, sufficient level of services, good connectivity with the rest of the city, etc. /Interview 7/. The overall aim is to plan a cohesive and just city, and to facilitate the encounter of different population groups. This is, however, sometimes difficult to achieve in practice, because a more dispersed housing construction that contributes to social mixing in neighbourhoods increases construction costs /Interview 3/.

“Spatial Development Propositions in Tallinn”, as well as district-level development plans, such as “Northern Tallinn Development Plan 2014–2018”, recognise that many aspects of spatial diversity are very important for urban development, e.g. for creating local identity through architectural qualities and protecting historical areas or the multifunctional use of urban space. In addition to mixing, another measure for countering the negative effects of segregation relates to policies that promote connectivity. Especially for areas with a higher share of vulnerable groups, improved connectivity would counter the negative lock-in tendencies, downward spiral of socio-spatial development and related negative neighbourhood effects:

“Attention goes also to connecting potential problem areas better with the rest of the city, with the city centre, since downgrading takes place locally, when people locked-in into their neighbourhoods. Better connectivity can help to intervene into such negative processes.”
/Interview 7/

Free public transport in Tallinn falls into this category of urban policies of encounter. Another end of the idea of connectivity falls under the policies to bring opportunities closer to the people. This is a part of the policy to diversify neighbourhoods and decentralise the city, including the governance, by strengthening the role of districts as the foci of daily life of people. For example, the “Tallinn Master Plan” highlights the need of creating district or neighbourhood level sub-centres to counterbalance the dominance of the city centre. Thus, diversifying urban space, understood in many different ways, is considered a very important tool for making the city more liveable for its dwellers of different ethnic and social background.

However, dispersing and diversifying urban neighbourhoods is not always easy as we know from the experience of other European cities (Musterd et al, 2005; Tasan-Kok et al, 2013). For example, the politicians and officials making general planning decisions in the city may like to disperse much more public housing across the city but the classic problem that rises, in addition to costs, is that many local inhabitants in areas where public housing is envisioned are protesting against such location choices /Interview 7/. Still, the planners prefer mixing since clustering public housing into specific neighbourhoods has led to clustering of social problems. One of such examples is the Raadiku neighbourhood with municipal housing where typical negative neighbourhood effects have emerged. Apartments in that area are mainly allocated to young low-income families with children. Parents in this neighbourhood have a low motivation to go to work since neighbours share a similar background; it carries on to their children who have modest educational aspirations /Interview 3/. Therefore, more mixing is needed (“Second Housing Construction Programme of Tallinn”):

‘Social, economic and demographic development and changes in the city are strongly intertwined [...], therefore, it is necessary to assess the impact of each of them on urban development. Social well-being and equality in opportunity should be achieved by gender, age, ethnic and cultural background of the inhabitants. Likewise, the aim is the convergence of quality of life across the city districts and neighbourhoods.’

In addition to facilitating social cohesion, debates about the diversity of neighbourhoods depart from the ideas of the creative city as well. In other words, in case of positive neighbourhood effects, the social and spatial dimensions become strongly correlated to each other. Members of the creative class need an interesting and inspiring environment as well as being close to other similar people, i.e. the force of homophily (cf. McPherson et al, 2001) triggers this process:

“The creative class needs interesting and inspiring space for their activities that starts to act as a magnet for them. They also need a critical mass of similar people. The environment that they look for needs to be diverse ... Northern Tallinn is the most attractive district for them where the creative enterprises mushroom the most, as small clusters, all over the district.”
/Interview 2/

These positive and negative neighbourhood effects are inherently related. Urban regeneration in the inner city and the in-migration of mainly Estonian members of the creative class push out minorities and more vulnerable social groups, i.e. housing change goes hand in hand with population change /Interview 2/. Furthermore, the communities that emerge are often very cohesive internally but not so much externally (Ranne, 2014), contributing to the fragmentation of the city-space. For example, the members of the creative class settling in gentrified areas establish their own-group consumption and interaction patterns that are exclusive for outsiders. Important foci of their consumption and interaction behaviour are the “gentrifier pubs” and other free time activity sites /Interview 2, 13/.

Diversity and Economic Performance

Although diversity can have several positive effects, urban diversity is most often related to the economic competitiveness of cities, a vital resource for the prosperity and a potential catalyst for socio-economic development in many cities (Florida, 2004; Fainstein, 2005; Tasan-Kok et al, 2013). This is the main line of urban policy discourse in Tallinn as well, as both our expert interviews and analysis of the policy documents showed. “The Spatial Plan Estonia 2030+” argues that public space in cities plays a key role in how attractive the urban environment is for international and innovative business and higher order services. Again, diversity and connectivity are related to each other. Connectivity is crucial for Tallinn since it is one of the smallest capital cities in Europe with its 430,000 registered inhabitants. Furthermore, the connectivity, diversity and economic success of Tallinn are related to the positive externalities to the rest of the country, e.g. Tallinn is seen as an escalator region (cf. Fielding, 1992) for the rest of the country:

“Diversity is important for improving the economic competitiveness of the cities and country as a whole. Tallinn as the capital city should “bring home” as much world diversity as possible; she needs to be well connected with the rest of the world, and act as an engine of the “economic” development for the rest of Estonia. Tallinn should provide diverse opportunities to all people living in Estonia, both when it comes to work opportunities or leisure time activities. ... Ministry of Interior helps to facilitate “good diversity” in two important ways, by bringing in the diverse competencies we find abroad, especially through OECD, and through funding of various initiatives that support urban competitiveness.” /Interview 4/

As noted above, in addition to frictions between the national government and Tallinn, there is also a friction between Tallinn and the suburban municipalities in Harju County. This is because they compete for people, i.e. for taxes or redistribution of resources. When it comes to economic performance, synergies surface into the debates, too. “Harju County Development Strategy 2025” takes a positive the metropolitan-level view on diversity and connectivity. Residential diversity is set into a larger metropolitan framework there, in the meaning of a wider choice set for different population groups, especially families, across the whole urban region. Connectivity in this context is seen as function for linking residential areas, workplaces and sites for spending the free time that, taken together, would contribute both to the social mobility of people (e.g. workplaces are better accessible) and to the improved economic performance of the Tallinn urban region as a whole. Therefore, a lot of attention in the documents is paid to the building of infrastructure to facilitate good connections:

“The coordination of the infrastructure development at the county/metropolitan level is very important and usually the municipalities understand its importance, too. We do not think of diversity per se in our planning activities but a balanced network of settlements well connected to each other is an important cornerstone for compiling the new metropolitan level Master Plan in Harju Country.” /Interview 5/

It should be noted that while county governments themselves have limited resources for financing infrastructure related investments, they do seek actively external funding, mainly from various EU funds /Interview 5/. It should also be noted that the frictions between the national government and Tallinn as well as between Tallinn and suburban municipalities are confined to politics only. When it comes to everyday practicalities, many joint activities do take place, especially when it comes to finding resources for large-scale projects such as those related to connectivity /Interview 4/. A good example is the construction of light traffic network connecting Tallinn and other municipalities in Harju County /Interview 5/ or cooperation in organising regional public transport.

Another line of discourse on diversity and economic performance focuses on the performance of enterprises. The key shift in national diversity policies towards equality of opportunity and antidiscrimination have very recently also led to the explicit diversity management policies at workplaces. Based on the initiative of the Ministry of Culture, the Estonian Diversity Charter was launched in November 2012⁴ in Tallinn (Interview 1). The charter highlights the potential economic benefits of diversity for enterprises and organisations, and the companies have agreed on the following:

'(1) within our company we shall value mutual respect, diversity and the principle of equal treatment; (2) in the management of the company we shall place emphasis on consideration for diversity, ensuring that this is reflected in every aspect of the company's operations; (3) we shall pursue a staffing policy, which ensures the optimum use and equal treatment of all employees, eschewing discrimination on the basis of gender, ethnic background, skin colour, age, disability, sexual orientation and religious or political views.'

So far, 17 companies have signed up for the Charter, including some of the biggest and best-known companies of Estonia, as well as some small and medium-sized enterprises. However, it remains to be seen, what is the actual effect of the Charter on the diversity in the workplaces.

3.2. Non-governmental views on diversity policy

The Law of “Nongovernmental Organisations” (NGO) was adopted in 1996 by the Parliament of Estonia. At that time, the number of NGOs in Estonia was 4,566 (Rikmann et al, 2010). Estonian Parliament adopted the “Fundamentals for the Development of Non-governmental Organisations” in 2002, which is the main policy document for the activities of NGOs since then. The number of NGOs grew to 21,000 by 2005; their main fields of activity were sports and culture (Rikmann et al, 2010). In 2014, there are 31,000 NGOs in Estonia and 10,397 of them are based in Tallinn (Äriregister, 2014). In addition to sports and culture, a large share of NGOs is active in the field of leisure time activities (Rikmann et al, 2010). Likewise, the number of NGOs dealing with education and social issues is on the rise. The main governmental funding organisation National Foundation of Civil Society (NFCS) allocated 2.5 MEUR for NGOs in 2013 through the following programmes: raising NGOs operational capacity; local initiative programme; grants for good innovative ideas; international cooperation grants; research grants; grants for civil society events (NGO Website, 2014).

The main sources of income for NGOs are membership fees (for 63% of NGOs) and support from the municipalities (31%), and interestingly, neither EU funds nor entrepreneurs contribute to the budgets of NGOs in an important way (Rikmann et al, 2010). 90 per cent of the members of the NGOs speak Estonian as their mother tongue and only 10 per cent speak other languages, mainly Russian (RAKE 2012). This implies that ethnic minorities in Estonia are not active in NGOs. Still, the number of the NGOs specialised for minorities' cultural activities is on the rise, too, from 22 in 1989 to more than 300 today, clustering into 21 umbrella organisations, such as “The Slavic Cultural Society in Tallinn” (Kultuuriministeerium, 2014).

We distinguish three types of nongovernmental actors in the urban governance of Tallinn: neighbourhood and apartment associations; minority associations and other associations that

⁴ http://ec.europa.eu/justice/discrimination/diversity/charters/estonia_en.htm

promote social cohesion; and businesses (see also Figure 1). For the representatives of the non-governmental sector, the word “diversity” has a more specific meaning since their activities are more focused. Next, we will discuss their reflections on ethnic diversity, social diversity, neighbourhood diversity and economic performance, as well as their role in urban governance in general.

The views of NGOs and other non-governmental actors overlap to an important degree with the municipal views. Most importantly, the NGOs recognise integration as a two-way process as well. In practice, the differences emerge by ethnic groups. For minorities, it means that culture learning is mutual and Estonians would also need to have a better understanding of the culture of the very large minority group living side-by-side with Estonians already for generations. This expresses the first important concern of minorities towards Estonian integration policy. However, the older generation of Estonians who have suffered under the Soviet regime find it difficult to accept such a view. Likewise, the young generation of Estonians who has been schooled in the 1990s or at the time of heightened national feelings in Estonia and is now in their 30s does not speak Russian and knows little about the minorities of Estonia. For example, the flourishing creative economies in the inner city of Tallinn are mostly the “project” of those young Estonians in the 30s who prefer to stay either within co-ethnic networks or to interact with newly arriving English-speaking immigrants from Europe rather than with the members of the Estonian Russian-speaking minority population /Interview 2, 11/. This situation has been a perfect ground for the stereotypes to emerge among a share of this generation of Estonians:

“Estonians often think that a typical Russian-speaker in the country is not familiar with Estonian culture, is not proficient in the Estonian language and is not loyal to the government, and that minorities may in the longer term rather be an obstacle to the development of society and economy. This is also very characteristic for young Estonians in the 30s.” /Interview 12/

When it comes to minorities, the “Integration Monitor 2011” reveals good progress in most of the integration measures, including the statement that “Estonia is my homeland” (Lauristin et al, 2013). About 61% of minorities are classified as fully integrated. This monitor further shows that Estonian language proficiency has improved, and the share of minorities with Estonian citizenship has increased. However, some polarisation takes place, and the share of those who are not integrated at all (about every 10th) has somewhat increased as well. The second important concern that minorities do express is that they still *feel* of not being a full part of “our” society:

“Both Estonians and minorities understand that integration is a two-way process. However, the interpretation of the meaning of the process is very different. For Estonians integration implies agreeing that ethnic minorities can stay in Estonia. No more efforts such as culture-learning are envisioned. For ethnic minorities, the most important aspect that pertains to integration is the feeling of being a part of “our” society.” /Interview 12/

The third major concern pertains to the over-emphasising of Estonian language proficiency as the main marker of the skills of minorities. Too often a person with a mother tongue other than Estonian is evaluated above all based on his or her Estonian language skills. This is like a selection variable, and only once a person has passed the “language filter”, all other characteristics such as professional skills and the traits of the personality, will be considered.

In the light of these three important concerns from the minority perspective—integration is a one-way process, many of them still do not feel like at home in Estonia, and the emphasis on language purity—, minority youth find that they have two main options: either to attend

Estonian-language schools (not in the reformed Russian-language schools) and to assimilate, or to leave Estonia for good (Kazulja et al, 2013). Both strategies are on the rise. We discussed the school reform above (Chapter 3.1). Research evidence also indicates that minorities are over-represented among emigrants from Estonia (Anniste and Tammaru, 2014) and about a third of minority gymnasium graduates wish to continue their studies abroad, which is way higher compared to 10 per cent among Estonians (Pungas et al, 2014). This way, and contrary to most other European countries, the share of Estonians has constantly increased since 1991.

The options to take advantage of the positive effects of ethnic diversity are thus somewhat lost out of sight. Historical legacy of the Soviet occupation and related Russianisation as well as the perceived threat of Russia in Estonia today make it hard to find out positive solutions of how the Russian-speaking minority population can truly make Estonian society richer and enhance the economic performance. Our interviewee, Viktoria Ladynskaya /Interview 12/, was on the position that the contemporary Europe and world actually need “the hybrid individuals”, who are familiar with different cultures. Russians living in Tallinn, especially the younger generation with contemporary education, good command of both the Estonian and Russian language as well as European cultural practices, have very good opportunities to be highly evaluated workforce and specialists in international enterprises in Estonia and abroad.

The city level discourse links social and spatial problems as well as opportunities in the city. The most important nongovernmental organisations engaged in these discussions are neighbourhood associations. Altogether, there are 22 of such associations in Tallinn, scattered all across the city, mainly in the low-rise milieu areas, and they vary a lot in their activity rate (Pehk, 2009). The number of members in the associations ranges from a dozen to a couple of hundred but many more locale people support them (Ait, 2013). They represent both the diversity of neighbourhoods and population groups. The neighbourhood associations do not aim to represent all resident groups of the neighbourhood in Tallinn, since the composition of neighbourhoods is very diverse when it comes to age, social status, ethnicity and lifestyles, and not all of them share the same local agenda; however, the associations are still able to voice the issues that are important in local neighbourhoods /Interview 14, 15/.

The ethnic dimension is very important again with regard to the activities of the neighbourhood associations—the associations have mainly emerged in areas where ethnic Estonian are over-represented (Tammaru et al, 2013), and Estonians are even more over-represented in the associations /Interview 14/. At times, surprising forms of inter-ethnic encounter still emerge from these neighbourhood based activities. One of the positive examples is an urban gardening project, as ecologically-minded young Estonians became engaged with older Russian-speakers who have traditionally been engaged in gardening activities, which were very popular during the Soviet period /Interview 14/.

The second important form of local level diversity, especially in quickly transforming inner city neighbourhoods, pertains to the newcomers—often Estonian origin architects, planners and all kinds of members of the creative class are often more active—and long-time residents, often Russian-speakers with a working-class background. These two groups do not often share a common agenda on the future of neighbourhood, with newcomers being better organised and more active in driving local change. The issue of representation is thus important from the city point of view and this is the reason why the city has been slow in the recognition of neighbourhood associations. To break through such barriers, the associations have formed an umbrella organisation, *Urban Idea* that actively communicates with the city officials and other governmental institutions. Its main idea is to voice the importance of diversity, build social capital

and empower neighbourhood associations in making their voice as local experts stronger. The *Urban Idea* explains its view on their webpage as follows (Linnaidee, 2014):

‘The Urban Idea brings together inhabitants as experts of local life on the one hand and representatives of municipality as decision makers on the other hand as equal partners. For that we need neighbourhood associations that represent the diversity of local inhabitants, and open-minded representatives of the city, and we need a large discussion table with no sharp corners, covered by a table cloth of new behaviour and no dusty prejudices lying under the table.’

The activities of *Urban Idea* thus facilitate the encounter between the diverse set of NGOs on the one hand and representatives of the city on the other. The main partner in Tallinn is the city council that now witnesses the need to establish closer cooperation with neighbourhood associations and other NGOs (Vitsut, 2013). The warming of the relationship has taken time, but it has led to writing down the manifesto of “Good Conduct of Cooperation” in 2013 (Lippus, 2013; Linnaidee, 2014). This manifesto concerns all activities of the NGOs, not only the neighbourhood associations. It consists of two parts: a general agreement with the Tallinn City Council and more specific agreements between each association and the district government in order to better capture the diversity in the local agenda that the neighbourhood associations try to pursue.

Despite the ambivalence of the relationship between the city and the neighbourhood associations, their aspirations overlap on many issues to a large degree. For example, similarly to the city planners and policy-makers, the associations also consider it important to diversify the physical structure of neighbourhoods in terms of functions and opportunities—they find that it is very important that the residential neighbourhood is able to provide decent social infrastructure, good recreation opportunities, playgrounds for children, and local services such as grocery and a café for local residents in order to increase the attractiveness of the neighbourhoods:

“It is important that a diverse set of functions exist in each neighbourhood so that the neighbourhoods are not just places for sleeping but they also offer public services, private services, leisure activities, as well as all sorts of other activities.” /Interview 14/.

Likewise, everything that pertains to safety, encounter between diverse population groups and connectivity is an important dimension of the diversity discourse for the neighbourhood associations. In light of the rapid urban transformations, especially during the last 10 years, the invasion of higher-income young Estonians into lower-income minority dense areas in the inner city has brought the topic of safety into the diversity discourse. However, the neighbourhood associations where newcomers are active do not necessarily claim that for improving the “social climate” in the neighbourhoods, drug addicts and other usually long-term residents who often fall into the “problem groups” should be pushed out. Rather, they find that solutions should be found how to rehabilitate them, to facilitate their social mobility and thus ultimately, the social cohesion. For example, workshops have been organised to brainstorm on which solutions would work best in the socially diverse neighbourhoods. Likewise, as one of our respondent summarised: “Newcomers have probably taken into account the risks and the social problems such as robberies etc. of moving into a low-income area” /Interview 13/. Furthermore, despite the aim of enhancing local level social cohesion between diverse population groups, the result of the ongoing gentrification is the increase of more homogenous high-social status neighbourhoods in the inner city of Tallinn (Temelova et al, 2014).

Urban transformations in East European cities have often been termed investor-led urbanism (Golubchikov and Phelps, 2011). The set of business actors is highly diverse, and creative industries are increasingly important among them, also in Tallinn and its inner city area. They are also important for the image-building and for improving the competitive advantage and economic performance of cities, although their share in economy is small (3 percent in 2011, as well as their direct contribution to exports (EKI 2013). The most important branches of creative industries are music and architecture. This business segment is especially interesting since these businesses are looking for a diverse urban environment for their activities, i.e. they both gain from and contribute to the urban diversity. In case of Tallinn, the district of Northern Tallinn is one of the main clustering areas for the creative class and creative businesses (Interview 2). First, the district was initially (in the early 1990s) rather poor and the least preferred residential district standing without investments for decades. Creative class has started to change the image of the district as a result of their in-migration. This gentrification process has led to an extreme socio-economic diversity by today and may further lead to decrease in this, since lower status people are gradually pushed to other areas.

In Tallinn, one of the most important and successful examples of creative industries is Telliskivi Creative City (TCC) located in Northern Tallinn (Linnalabor, 2011). This is a completely privately-owned umbrella organisation that hosts various creative enterprises in its premises, together with some still-functioning traditional industrial enterprises. TCC aims to bring together a diverse set of activities and, thus, people from all over the city who both work and spend their leisure time here. Again, the ethnic dimension strongly repeats in the discourse, but in a very interesting way, reflecting how the business sector organises its activities.

Ethnic diversity is both a resource and a risk for the business at the same time. TCC mainly brings together Estonians and somewhat also the new immigrants (from Finland, UK, Italy, etc.). Although Russian-speaking minority forms about a half of the population of Tallinn and is thus an important potential market on the one hand. However, TCC finds that it is safer to focus on their loyal customers (Estonians) and try to meet their needs better instead of penetrating into new client segments (Russian speakers). This is so because tastes differ. It goes down to issues, such as design and a choice of (the language) of music:

“Most of the leisure time places in Northern Tallinn, also TCC, are privately owned and they depend first of all on the opinion of their loyal customers. Many Estonian customers are not willing to share their free time with minorities. Therefore the entrepreneurs are very cautious in reaching out towards a more diverse customer groups, running a risk of losing established customers. Any changes in interior and design can be a problem since the tastes are different. It is safer to keep established and loyal customers than to actively seek for new customers, especially since there is no real problem of having too little customers—all the leisure time places are full of people here.” /Interview 13/

This type of reasoning shows how difficult it is to create the spaces of encounter for groups of different ethno-linguistic background. Essentially, what it indicates is that there is a need for a more active engagement from public sector since entrepreneurs, once left into the market forces alone, are not able to capitalise on the diversity of the city’s population and start making safer decisions that facilitate ethnic segregation and segmentation on the one hand /Interview 13/, or reach out to those minorities who are fully assimilated on the other hand /Interview 9/. Both types of grass-root level behaviours do not reflect the integrationist policy discourse of capitalising from the ethnic diversity.

4. Conclusions

Tallinn is a very interesting city among East European capitals with about a half of its population being ethnic minorities. In European perspective, it is a very interesting case since a lion's share of the minority population shares a common language, and it is non-growing and with a relatively long residential experience, i.e. also the third generation of migrants is already sizeable. Ethno-linguistic divisions inherited from the Soviet period are thus deep in society. Although Tallinn is an unquestioned economic centre of Estonia, it is influenced by the diversity policies developed on the national level.

The overall integration score of Estonia is “halfway favourable” according to MIPEX (Migrant Integration Policy Index: www.mipex.eu) estimations. The progress in integration is worst when it comes to access to citizenship and best when it comes to labour market participation. There is considerable citizenship diversity among minorities that directly links to the field of policy formation through elections—all adult members of the minority population can vote at local elections, while those having Estonian citizenship can participate in national elections. The differences in the electorates have brought different parties on power nationally and in Tallinn, and this is the main cause for the tensions between the national government and Tallinn as well.

Following the classification of Syrett and Sepulveda (2012), Estonian diversity policy could be characterised as “integrationist/intercultural”: migrants are seen as permanent; diversity is accepted and although it is not actively encouraged, there is a support to various integration activities across diverse communities. National policies are generally value based and a-spatial but they do frame the diversity discourse in the city as well. Over time, the emphasis of the state diversity policy has shifted from assimilationism in the 1990s towards policies of equal opportunity to enhance social mobility and improve the economic performance of clearly recognised and defined vulnerable groups, including those minorities with specific integration barriers, such as poor Estonian proficiency and lack of Estonian citizenship. This way, focus has also shifted from ethnic diversity to wider forms of diversity and inequality in Estonian society, most notably gender inequality in labour market outcomes.

Since language proficiency and Estonian citizenship are not enough for minorities to establish themselves equally in society and on the labour market, the state policies also focus on reforming schools. This has led to increased encounter of ethnic groups in Estonian-language school as minority parents increasingly opt for Estonian-language schools, as well as reforming of Russian-language schools by increasing the share of subjects taught in Estonian. For minority youth, two types of strategies have become increasingly important. The first is an assimilationist strategy where opting for an Estonian-language school is the most important choice. The second is staying in co-ethnic networks, choosing Russian-language schools and trying to leave from Estonia for good after graduating from the gymnasium.

The city-level approach to ethnic diversity has been more pluralist during the last 10 years, and it has a stronger spatial dimension compared to the national discourse on diversity. The city is less enthusiastic when it comes to reforming of the Russian-language schools since the latter are seen as an important means for preserving the Russian sub-culture in Estonia. This way, the schooling of the Russian-speaking minority population is the most important arena of tensions between the national government and Tallinn.

More explicit policies, both when it comes to recognition, encounter and redistribution (cf. Fincher and Iveson, 2012), pertain to social diversity and social inequality in Tallinn. City level policy documents view the social and spatial process to be inherently intertwined with each

other—both district and neighbourhood diversities enter as important topics into the city level diversity discourse. A need to diversify residential neighbourhoods, workplaces, function, services, etc. are often highlighted in the city's policy documents. This would facilitate the encounters between diverse groups of people. However, it is not always straightforward how such aims are put into practice. The most important practice pertains to municipal housing construction programme of Tallinn. Another aspect of this spatial discourse of encounter pertains to facilitating connectivity and mobility. They are considered important for washing away negative neighbourhood effects, e.g. when some vulnerable groups get locked-in in some parts of the city. Non-governmental organisations, such as neighbourhood associations, warmly welcome such a more spatially sensitive view to the city.

To conclude, Estonia has inherited a sizeable ethnic minority population and this shapes the diversity discourse in Estonia in the most important way. On the national level, the diversity discourse has broadened, though towards equality of opportunity, recognising more specific vulnerable groups and facilitating their social mobility and economic performance. On the city level, the diversity discourse includes also discussions on creating spaces of encounter by facilitating social and housing mix, as well as promoting mobility and connectivity. From the perspective of businesses, creating spaces of encounter is difficult to put in practice, since under the market conditions it is safer to focus on loyal co-ethnic customers rather than reaching out to new customer segments. To over-come such problems, more support by public policies is needed in the future.

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Appendix 1: Interviewees

1	Anne-Ly Reimaa	Ministry of Culture	Vice Chancellor on cultural diversity
2	Ragnar Siil	Ministry of Culture	Vice Chancellor on arts and creative economies
3	Uku Torjus	Ministry of Social Affairs	Head of Department of Social Welfare
4	Priidu Ristkok	Ministry of the Interior	Head of Department of Regional Development
5	Joel Jesse	Harju County Government	Head of Development Department
6	Hein Alaniit	Harju County Government	Advisor of Development Department
7	Mihhail Kõlvart	Tallinn City Government	Vice major on ethnic relations, culture, education, sports and youth
8	Anu Hallik-Jürgenstein	Tallinn City Government	Head of Planning Department
9	Endrik Mänd	Tallinn City Government	Chief Architect
10	Lennart Sundja	Tallinn City Government	Head of Culture Sub-Department
11	Mart-Peeter Erss	Northern Tallinn District government	Head of the Social Affairs Department
12	Viktoria Ladõnskaja	Eesti Ekspress	Journalist
13	Raimo Matvere	Talliskivi Creative City	Content manager
14	Teele Pehk	Linnaidee (The Urban Idea)	Coordinator
15	Juho Kalberg	Talliskivi Neighbourhood Association	Member of the Board
16	Peeter Eerik Ots	Cultural Kettle	Chief Executive Officer

Appendix 2: List of Policy Documents

Planeerimisseadus
Strateegia "Tallinn 2030"
Tallinna arengukava 2014-2020
Põhja-Tallinna linnaosa arengukava (2011-2015)
Põhja-Tallinna linnaosa üldplaneering
Valitsusliidu programm 2011-2015
Keskerakonna manifest 18. oktoobri 2009. a. Tallinna Linnavolikogu valimistel
System of documents to use EU financial support 2014-2020
Konkurentsivõime kava "Eesti 2020" (Eesti strateegia Euroopa 2020 eesmärkide saavutamiseks)
Riigi eelarvestrateegia 2014-2017 (ja skeem koostööks EL eesmärkidega)
Eesti säästva arengu riikliku strateegia "Säästev Eesti 21"
Eesti ettevõtluspoliitika 2007-2013
Eesti eluasemevaldkonna arengukava 2008-2013
Rahvastikupoliitika alused 2009-2013
Täiskasvanuhariduse arengukava 2009-2013
Noorsootöö strateegia 2006-2013
Eesti vanuripoliitika alused
Eesti riigi kultuuripoliitika põhialused
Eesti lõimumiskava 2008-2013
Kodanikuühiskonna arengukava 2011-2014
Regionaalarengu strateegia aastani 2020 (valmis, kinnitamata)
Üleriigiline planeering Eesti 2030+
Harju maakonna arengustrateegia 2025
Harju maakonna sotsiaalne infrastruktuur 2009 -2015
Tallinna arengukava 2009-2027
Tallinna linna üldplaneering
Linnaruumilise arengu ettepanekud
Laste ja perede arengukava 2012–2020
Eesti teadus- ja arendustegevuse ning innovatsiooni strateegia 2007-2013
Eesti kutseharidussüsteemi arengukava 2009-2013
Üldharidussüsteemi arengukava aastateks 2007-2013
Eesti Vabariigi invapoliitika üldkontseptsioon "Puuetega inimestele võrdsete võimaluste loomise standardreeglid"
Rahvastiku tervise arengukava 2009–2020
Eesti infoühiskonna arengukava 2013
Eesti turvalisuspoliitika põhisuundade aastani 2015 heakskiitmine
Harju maakonnaplaneering 2030+
Harju maakonnaplaneering 1999
Teemaplaneering "Asustust ja maakasutust suunavad keskkonnatingimused" - roheline võrgustik
Tallinna kesklinna miljöövärtuslike hoonestusalade piiride määramine ning kaitse- ja kasutamistingimuste seadmine
Tallinna keskkonnastrateegia aastani 2030
Tallinna keskkonnahariduse arengukava 2008–2014
Avalike mänguväljakute arendamise tegevuskava Tallinnas 2011-2016
Tallinna teine elamuehitusprogramm
Tallinna noorsootöö arengukava 2012-2016
Tallinna linna põhi- ja üldkeskhariduse arengukava 2009–2014
Tallinna huvihariduse võrgu arengukava 2007-2017

Tallinna munitsipaalkoolide võrgu korrastamise tegevuskava aastateks 2010–2012
Tallinna väikeettevõtlu arendamise programm aastateks 2010–2013
Reformierakonna Tallinna valimisprogramm
Eesti Keskerakonna valimisprogramm 2013 kohalikeks valimisteks (kogu Eesti kohta)
IRL programm Tallinn 2013 kohalikeks valimisteks
Vaba Tallinna Kodanik 2013 programm Tallinna kohalikeks valimisteks
Sotsiaaldemokraatliku Erakonna Tallinna piirkonna programm 2013. aasta kohalike omavalitsuste valimistel
Tallinna keskkonnatervise tegevusplaan
Tallinna liikluse arengusuunad aastateks 2005-2014
Tallinna programm “Liiklus ohutumaks aastatel 2008-2014”
Tallinna parkimise korralduse arengukava aastateks 2006-2014
Tallinna linna välisvalgustuse suunad aastateks 2006-2015
Süütegude ennetamise programm Tallinnas aastateks 2011-2015
Tallinna programm “Lasteaiakoht igale lapsele”
Tallinna tervishoiu arengukava 2007-2015
Tallinna rahvastiku tervise arengukava 2008-2015
Tallinna klasterarenduse programm 2009-2013
Tallinna innovatsioonistrateegia 2009 2013
Tallinna ühistranspordi arengukava 2011-2020 projekt
Tallinna Linnavolikogu istungite protokollid 2013
Tallinna Linnavalitsuse istungite protokollid 2013
linnavalitsuse komisjonid
linnavolikogu komisjonid
linnavolikogu komisjonide koosolekute protokollid 2013
linnavolikogu komisjonide tööaruanded 2012
Põhja-Tallinna linnaosa halduskogu komisjonid
Põhja-Tallinna linnaosa halduskogu komisjonide protokollid 2013
Põhja-Tallinna linnaosa halduskogu komisjonide tegevusaruanded 2012
Põhja-Tallinna linnaosa uudised 2013 (koduleht ja ajaleht)
Täiskasvanute koolituse seadus
Huvikooli seadus
Kohaliku omavalitsuse korralduse seadus
Kohaliku omavalitsuse volikogu valimise seadus
Keeleseadus
Vähemusrahvuse kultuuriautonomiam seadus
Noorsootööseadus
Kodakondsuse seadus
Välismaalaste seadus
Sotsiaalhoolekande seadus
Tööturuteenuste ja -teenuste seadus
Soolise võrdõiguslikkuse seadus
Mittetulundusühingute seadus