

# The coloniser and the colonised: Estonia in a process of transition

*An inquiry to what extent the Estonian government is able to diminish the colonial structures that have been institutionalised in the Soviet era*



**Figure 1.** The Lihula Monument

Master thesis

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## PREFACE

Dear reader,

This master thesis has been an interesting experience for me. My state of mind has experienced various extremes during the writing of this thesis: excitement, frustrations, uncertainties and curiosities. All of these moods have been passed the last months.

During the early months of my master specialisation I have been thinking a lot about the subject of this thesis. It was important for me to write a master thesis about a theme that really interests me. My aim was to combine a specific situation in a foreign country with a border study, as I have done in my bachelor thesis. My first choice was the Basque country in Spain, but I chose the post colonial situation in Estonia as my subject after I was offered an internship in Estonia. This geo-political subject fitted perfectly in both my field of study and interest.

Throughout the process of preparing and writing this thesis I learnt that the political and social situation in Estonia is more complex than someone from Western Europe could easily understand. The quick transitions from a totalitarian regime to a democracy, together with the changed demographic balance and the regaining of independence have created a complicated situation. My Estonian colleagues and friends could change from gentle understanding persons to nationalist hard-liners when we discussed the ‘Soviet occupation’. It made me wonder I could write a thesis about a subject that is so deeply anchored into the Estonian soul. I would like to thank my Estonian interviewees for their time and effort. This research process has been a valuable learning experience both personally and academically.

My internship has brought me, beside data, also an insight in a different society, with different values and different ideas. I also want to mention my second internship at the Alfred Mozer Stichting – European Forum. This internship came maybe somewhat unexpected, since I did not expect an offer from them anymore for an internship at their organisation in Amsterdam. This internship gave me an insight into the ‘working life’.

Next, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Olivier Kramsch. He has helped me to create a decent framework and his professional views have helped me tremendously, especially in framing and improving my theoretical framework. I would also like to thank my interim supervisor, Prof. Dr. Huib Ernste. He was able to look at this thesis ‘afresh’ and convinced me to rethink some specific aspects of my thesis. I would also like to thank my parents, who supported me throughout these years.

For now, I wish all a pleasant reading!

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This master thesis is researching to what extent the Estonian government is able to diminish the still existing Soviet structures that are present in the country. These structures are everywhere in the Estonian society. Place names, language, symbols, migrants, economic dependency are all expressions of these structures. After the restoration of Estonian independence in 1991, the Estonian government has made a ‘restorational policy’. This means that the aim is to create an Estonian society that mirrors the Estonian society of before the Soviet occupation as much as possible. The focus will be on to what extent the Estonian government is able to diminish these structures by using the border, identity and territory as a tool. The policy of post colonial making of the Estonian government can be hampered by multiple actors however, such as the Russian government, the European Union (EU) or the Russian minority in Estonia.

The aim of this of this master thesis is to get new a new holistic and integral insight to what extent the government of Estonia is able to lose these colonial structures, in order to analyse to what extent the Estonian government is able to implement this policy. In order to be able to reach this aim a main research question has been formulated:

*Main question: To what extent is Estonia capable of becoming more independent in social, political, cultural and economic realms from its former coloniser, the Soviet Union (now Russia), by erasing, influencing or altering the structures that have been laid in the colonial Soviet era (1944-1991) by exploiting their national border?*

This research question is operationalised by three indicators that will be researched. These indicators are: monuments, education and the relationship between Russia and Estonia. The indicators have different research objects. These research objects will be measured, in order to create. The data will be collected by desk research and qualitative interviews. This data will consist of literature, the collection of data out of documents and the collection of data from media websites and qualitative interviews.

The Discourse analysis is used to analyse the collected data. This Discourse analysis is based on two separate analyses, the textual analysis and the discursive analysis. The textual analysis is focusing on the concrete text, while the discursive analysis is focusing on the discourses that are used in the text. The textual analysis is based on five coding categories: words, metaphors, interactional control, ethos and grammar (modality and transitivity). The discursive analysis is trying to uncover and understand these different discourses in the text. The research units will be analysed in order to understand dominant Discourses and power relations in those areas. The four Discourses that will be treated in this analysis are the post colonial Discourse, local Discourse, Russian Discourse and European Discourse.

The results have been very different regarding the different indicators. The monument indicator is dominated by a strong post colonial Discourse, which is expressed by the relocating of Soviet monuments. The local Discourse also has some power, as the Bronze Soldier and the Lenin Statue show. These monuments have not been destroyed, but relocated to another, more peripheral location. The European Discourse also has some influence in a specific research object. The Lihula Monument showed positive interdiscursivity between the Russian and the European Discourse, that both denounced the ethnocentric aspects of the local (ethnic Estonian) Discourse in Estonia. These three research objects have some remarkable similarities: The less powerful local Discourse has

made a compromise with the more powerful national post colonial Discourse in Estonia. The Estonian government is able to implement its policy and to diminish the colonial structures, but not fully erasing them, since the monuments are not removed, but relocated.

The second indicator is education. This indicator has a very different 'arena' in which different Discourses are vying for power. The local Discourse is dominant in this area of research, while the post colonial Discourse only recently has become more powerful. The Estonian government is delegating much of the decision making to local municipalities that can open schools with a specific language of instruction on demand. The Russian language however is still spoken and taught to Russians in the Estonian education system, retaining the colonial structure in this indicator.

The last indicator is the relationship. This relationship shows a dominant post colonial Discourse that positively interdiscursing with the European Discourse, the erection and relocation / removal of monuments. Examples of this are the Estonian government that plants yellow and blue flowers in the square of the Bronze Soldier and the Swedish Lion, that is emphasising the 'European history' of Estonia and the connects with Western and Nordic countries. The Russian Discourse is not powerful in protesting the Estonian decision making, but has shown some power in its 'justified war' against Estonia in the aftermath of the Bronze Night. Regarding the Lihula Monument however, the Russian and European Discourse showed positive interdiscursivity. This is because the Lihula Monument symbolised an era in Estonia in which Estonia has a different perspective than both Russia and the EU. In the economic relationship the Russian Discourse is dominant over the post colonial Discourse. The Estonian government is totally dependent on Russian gas, creating an unequal relationship in which Russia is dominant. This is a depending relationship, although Russia has not used this unequal power relation for political influence.

The combination of these indicators shows the Estonian government does not have a uniform and integral analysis. Their approach is different regarding the indicators. The holistic view that this thesis offers, gives us an insight in the integral policy (or the lack of) and the approaches of the Estonian government of colonial structures from a unilateral approach that result in different policies with different dominant Discourses in that area. Another reason for the different outcomes is the different challenging Discourses. The different indicators have different 'arenas of contestation'. These results create a situation in which there is no 'general' statement that includes all indicators regarding the question whether Estonia is 'becoming more independent in social political and economic realms from its former coloniser'. The holistic view therefore shows a lack of an integral policy in Estonia. This absence of an integral policy that covers multiple areas from a similar approach is a limitation of this master thesis. However, this thesis can also serve as a starting point to do new research why the Estonian government has such different approach, which results in different outcomes to what extent colonial structures are diminished.

This thesis can help in providing knowledge for the Estonian government to create a policy that is effective in increasing the independence of Estonia, while decreasing the polarisation of Estonia. Estonians and Russians have different perceptions on history, language, norms and values. These differences are extremely difficult to cover, especially in a multi-ethnic state as Estonia. The current situation is increasing tensions in Estonia. The Estonian government needs to create narratives and a 3<sup>rd</sup> Discourses. This 3<sup>rd</sup> Discourse should emphasise simi-

larities and shared ground between Estonians and Russians (that are willing to integrate and take part in Estonian society) in Estonia. The post colonial policy regarding monuments should therefore be attenuated. The Estonian policy regarding education should tighten up however, without erasing Russian curriculums for Russians. It is recommended Estonia adapts the system in order to give the Russian population more opportunities to integrate and to take part in society. A lack of knowledge of the Estonian language works counterproductive for the integration of Russians. This civil Discourse (3<sup>rd</sup> Discourse should also improve the relationship between Estonia and Russia. Russia's condemnations are mostly about the treatment of the Russian minority and the Soviet legacy. Regarding the economical relationship this thesis recommends to continue the search for other gas resources. The contemporary situation remains depending and the cutting of the colonial structures in order to become more independent from Russia is needed.

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# CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

## 1.1: MOTIVATION

“During the war, the German soldiers were so nice. They were very polite and gentle. They ate with knife and fork, they greeted you and offered you a cigarette. They were helping old ladies with collecting wood for the winter. They were like us. Then the Russians invaded. They raped, looted and murdered, like barbarians. It was horrific”. This quote came from an Estonian student, quoting his grandmother, telling her story of the war and giving an insight in her perception of right and wrong. In addition, it has to be said that the German security services stationed in Estonia, weren't only Germans. The Nazi legions in the Baltic states were also swollen with Dutch, Flemish, French and Nordic volunteering soldiers, the ‘Germanic’ or ‘Nordic’ family. The quote of this older Estonian woman shows how blurred and vague identities are and the concept of colonisation is. What was at first perceived as liberation became occupation. Those differences are not fixed and can change over time, as a process. This example shows the complexities Estonia is facing in encountering former ‘colonising’ structures that have been institutionalised by the ‘coloniser’, Soviet-Russia.

There are a number of reasons why these complexities are the topic of this master thesis. First of all, because of the personal interests of me. This interest is directed towards the region, Eastern Europe, which has been a very attractive region in the last decades, because of the transition from communism to capitalism and the challenges and complications such a transition carries with it. The Baltic region is especially interesting, because of the high amount of Russian speakers in the countries (except for Lithuania) and the fact that their integration into the European Union is the most advanced of the republics in the former Soviet Union. Secondly, from the more theoretical point of view the concepts ‘identity’ and ‘colonialism’ are also of personal interest. These contested, ever-changing concepts are hard to understand, as their meaning is context bound and changing. To what extent is Russia interfering in Estonian domestic policies and how are they using the Russian speaking population in order to achieve that, and to what extent is Estonia successful in erasing former structures. Beside this, I did an internship in Estonia, therefore raising my attention towards the country and its societal, economic, cultural and political struggles. The process of decolonisation of Soviet Russia is an important issue in Estonian society. This master thesis is a unique opportunity to investigate these issues and hopefully answer a number of the questions above and to understand the aspect of the Soviet legacy in Estonia from the post colonial view better, theoretically as well as empirically.

## 1.2: OBJECTIVE

The objective of this research is to make an integral analysis to what extent the Estonian government's policy is able to diminish, influence or erase the colonial structures that have been institutionalised during the colonial era of Estonia (1944-1991). The integral analysis of this thesis will be based on the post colonial theory. With this integral analysis the knowledge gained can be used to analyse to what extent a post colonial state is able to alter these colonial structures, by using the ‘new’ national border and the opportunities and restraints that post colonial governments have to alter, influence or erase existing structures. Theoretical key concepts in the theory of this thesis are the colonality of power, historo-structural dependency and the extent of political and economic domination the former colonising country has in the post colonial country. An analysis will be made to what extent

the Estonian government policy is really influencing the Estonian society. This research will be an endeavor to gain new insights and knowledge to what extent the Estonian government is able to erase colonial Soviet, emphasising opportunities the Estonian government has with its national border (and territorial autonomy).

The purpose of this objective is to use the results of this analysis to make the Estonian politicians more aware of opportunities and restrictions they have to implement an effective post colonial policy. The Estonian policy has polarised different ethnic groups in Estonia, such as the unrest in 2004 and 2007. This is a problem that Estonia needs to deal with. Co-researchers could use the contribution of this thesis to do more research how Estonia is able diminish the side effects (internal and external tensions) that these post colonial policies create. These tensions between ethnic groups in Estonia and between Russia and Estonia could eventually be diminished.

### 1.3: RELEVANCE

The academic relevance of this thesis is mostly directed at the gaining of new knowledge with regard to the theory linked to the case. Research has been done in the literature from a post colonial view regarding Estonia. The literature in this field is based on specific events or specific indicators in Estonia, such as the Bronze Night or the Lihula Monument event. There has not been done integral research that analyses the Estonian policy from a post colonial way with more than one research unit. The Estonian education system and the language rules in this system have not been researched as well. This thesis can cover these existing gaps within the literature. With the results of this thesis new insights will be gained, in order to get a better view of the integral and holistic Estonian policy that aims to reduce these colonial structures. This will increase the amount of knowledge in this field of research. With these results a better and broader analysis can be made, gaining new knowledge to what extent post colonial Estonia is trying to diminish the colonial structures on multiple fronts (education, symbols and relations).

The societal relevance of this research is about exposing and analysing the policies of the Estonian government, concerning the underlying colonial structures in Estonia. These existing underlying colonial structures have been institutionalised in Estonia during the Estonian Soviet era (1944-1991). The societal problem of the Estonian government is that the approach of Estonian government, in regard of these structures is creating friction in the Estonian society. This policy creates tensions between different ethnic groups within the Estonian society. The riots of 2004 and 2007 are a good example of these heightened tensions. This thesis should therefore be addressed to the Estonian government. The Estonian government is the decision maker in Estonia and creates and executes this policy. The knowledge of this thesis is derived from three indicators, which all have a very different situation. The post colonial analysis of these indicators will show the Estonian government what impact their policies have in terms of effectiveness. With the results of this thesis, the Estonian government could make an analysis of their integral post colonial policy and increase the effectiveness of their policies, in order to diminish the presence of the colonial structures in the country. These results can also help the Estonian government to create a starting point in the look for measures to decrease the internal and external side effects of this policy, namely the tensions between ethnic groups in the country (internal) and the reduction of Russian interference in the Estonian internal policies (external). The Estonian government could create a different policy by using the borders, symbols and identity in the country differently. This means that Estonia would have to include Russian-Estonians in their policy making, by including them in their history, symbols and identity. With these changes,

Estonia would represent itself more as a civil state that is trying to include all ethnicities in the country and as a country. This thesis is socially relevant towards the effectiveness of the Estonian policy, but also towards effects of this policy on the society. Co-researchers could do more research how these side effects of the Estonian policy can be diminished.

The society in Estonia is divided between ethnic groups and has a history of being colonised. Without this thesis, the Estonian government will have difficulties to make their policy effective. With the knowledge of the post colonial theory and Estonia this thesis is providing information the Estonian government could use to diminish the tensions in Estonia. This paper could help to find the causal explanations of problems that simmer beneath the surface and try to influence or end these problems in Estonian society. This research and the following conclusions can help to understand the concept of post colonial structures, relations and the influencing of these structures more. The Estonian government should look at it from a post colonial perspective, because this perspective is digging deeper into the complex history of identity and borders of Estonia from an integral perspective, generating new knowledge. With this new knowledge, the Estonian government should understand the perceptions and history of the different ethnic groups better, which they can apply on their policy. This would be an improvement, compared to the existing ethnocentric policy in Estonia that creates tensions between different ethnic groups in the Estonian society. With this new knowledge, the Estonian government should be able to make its policy more effective, while reducing the polarisation of Russian Estonians. This change in policy could lead to a decrease of ethnic tensions in Estonia. The knowledge that is gained by understanding these concepts in combination with the case makes the understanding of the post colonial perspective easier. This thesis will therefore generate new knowledge on which next co-researchers can build their research on.

#### **1.4: RESEARCH APPROACH**

This thesis will try to get a deep and integral insight in the post colonial government policies regarding symbols, education and foreign relations. The research strategy of this inquiry will be focused on the case study. According to Verschuren & Doorewaard (2007, p.183), a case study is “a research in which the researcher tries to understand and explain insight in one or more time and space bordered objects or processes”. Important factors of the case study are that the research has a limited amount of research units, that the research is well-selected and thorough. This thesis contains a case study with just one case, but with multiple time and space bordered research units, such as education, relations and symbols. This means that the case study in this thesis is a “hierarchical comparing case study” (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007, pp.190-191) with the relations, symbols and education indicators being researched and analysed independently. Only in the final conclusion these results are combined and compared in order to generate a holistic and integral result of the post colonial government policies in Estonia.

This case study is researching the way the Soviet structures in Estonia can be influenced from governmental movements by using the border. This makes it an embedded case study (Saunders et al., 2011, p.123). The case study creates an opportunity for this thesis to analyse the Estonian post colonial policy from three research units in order to get a make a holistic analysis. Beside this, the case study is more maneuverable, because it is less structured. This is an advantage, because of some research units of the thesis can change during the thesis. A potential disadvantage could be that “the external validity of the results can be at stake” (Verschuren & Doore-

waard, 2007, p.191). The external validity of a case study is lower and it is harder to do generalised statements, as the context of the case study plays a vital role, Because this thesis is only researching three research units, the results of these three units are difficult to project on the whole Estonian government policy. Therefore, it is important to have a broad range of references and observation / interviews on location (references triangulation, so that the external validity is guaranteed (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007, pp.184-185).

## 1.5: DATA

The choice for a case study as research strategy has consequences for the choice of research methods of the inquiry. Because of this case study, this thesis is focusing on the gathering of on desk research and qualitative data. The choice for qualitative data has been made, because of the small amount of research units. This thesis contains only three research units, which have to be compared and explained in the conclusion, therefore favouring qualitative data (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2006, p.184). Regarding the desk research, depth is created by working with multiple references.

The research units that have been described will be operationalised by measurable research objects. These research objects differ per research unit. The three research units that this thesis contains are the

- Monuments
- Education
- Relations

These research objects of these three research units will be now be explained and elaborated independently. The methods of collecting data will also be elaborated below.

### MONUMENTS

These three indicators all have their own research objects (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007, pp. 143, 214-215). The monument unit has three different research objects, namely the 'Bronze Night', the 'Lihula Monument' and the 'Estonian monumental policy in Narva.' The first two objects are events, concerning monuments that have occurred in Estonia and are a result of the Estonian monumental policy. The third object (Narva) is a process in a majority Russian speaking city that measures the Estonian policy regarding monuments over a longer range of time.

The indicator that has been mostly covered by the desk research is the 'symbols' indicator. Several researchers have done multiple desk researches regarding symbols. The documents and literature provide data and knowledge. No research has been done analysing multiple events however. Therefore, qualitative data and knowledge is needed to gain a more holistic view of Estonian government policies regarding symbols. There an interview with Mr. Kangilaski is conducted to gain extra knowledge of this policy. Mr. Kangilaski has extensive knowledge of symbols and can elaborate on the use of these monuments for government policies.

### EDUCATION

The education unit has two research objects, namely the Estonian basic school system (7-16 years) and the Estonian secondary school system (16-19 years). These objects will be researched in order to get raw data (percen-

tages) and knowledge of the language rules and laws of the Estonian education system. These research objects create an opportunity to measure the policy of the Estonian government regarding language. With this data and knowledge an analysis can be made to what extent the Estonian government is trying to erase the colonial language (Russian) and to what extent the Estonian government is trying to institutionalise Estonian as the first language in the country.

Desk research provides data, collected from the media, for this research unit, such as the percentages of classes thought in Estonian language in the gymnasium sector of the secondary school, or at elementary school. Apart from these government media sites, media sites and documents have been found that provide extra knowledge. These sources still do not provide this thesis with information about the 'bigger' policy behind these measures. Therefore, an interview is conducted with Mr. Berg. An extensive qualitative interview with Mr. Berg is used to measure the extent of diminishing the colonial influences in the Estonian educational system.

## RELATIONS

The relationship research unit has two research objects, the political relationship between Russia and Estonia and the economic relationship between Russia and Estonia. Both these objects are 'evolving processes', since they are long term relationships that can change over time. The economic relationship object will be researched in order to get data and knowledge of this economic relationship. With the measuring of the trade between Russia and Estonia, especially the energy sector, an analysis can be made to what extent Estonia has regained its independence on economic levels and to what extent it is still dependent on the former coloniser, Russia, for its energy.

The political relationship object will be researched in order to get knowledge of the Russian position, concerning 'internal Estonian policies'. This relationship can be measured on different levels. In this thesis the choice has been made to focus on the Russian interferences in the Estonian internal politics. Since there are a lot of Russian interferences in Estonia, the political relationship object will have some limitations. The research of this object will be limited to Russian interferences in the two internal research units, education and symbols. This is necessary, because the range of the object would otherwise be too big. This political relationship object gives an opportunity to concretely measure to what extent Russia is politically interfering in the Estonian policy, in order to preserve the colonial political and cultural dominance. This object can also 'test' the possibilities to interfere that Russia has, such as an 'intervention' or a 'justified war'.

The desk research regarding the Estonian-Russian relationship indicator is covered regarding the economic aspect with data gained from media sites. In terms of literature and documents, knowledge and data exists about the energy research object, but this is mostly data. The political relationship has been partly covered by desk research, since most of the literature that has been used for the symbols and education indicator contains an analysis of the Russian-Estonian relationship. Media is also used to cover Russian reactions towards Estonian internal political decisions. Because the desk research of the relationship indicator is insufficient for the thesis, interviews with both Mr. Berg and Mr. Kangilaski will be conducted to gain more data and knowledge regarding the relationship between Russia and Estonia.

## DESK RESEARCH

The most important category of data resources is the desk research. In this thesis most of the data will be collected through desk research. The desk research will be used to gather information for the theoretical framework and for the gathering of data. For the theoretical framework, this thesis will rely on existing desk research, such as documents and literature. The theoretical framework will be based on existing literature, in order to gain new knowledge (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007, pp. 221-227). This thesis will also make use of desk research for the gathering of data. The desk research in this area will also include the usage of 'media', besides data found in literature and documents. With the use of the media, up-to-date data and changes can be gathered and observed. Despite the advantages the media gives this thesis to collect data, desk research for some indicators/research is insufficient. There will be an elaboration of inquiry methods per indicator below.

## QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS

Qualitative interviews are used for the domains in which the desk research is not sufficient, since not all indicators are fully covered by desk research. The qualitative interviews provide this thesis with extra data and knowledge in order to measure the objects of these indicators/ research units. Therefore, two experts are interviewed who give knowledge and data on specific objects of these indicators that the desk research has not covered or explained well enough. These two experts are. Eiki Berg and Jaak Kangilaski.

## 1.6: OUTLINE OF THIS THESIS

In this chapter the objective, its relevance, the research approach, data and research questions that are used in this master thesis are explained. In this part the framework will be set and there will be an explanation of what exactly is going to be researched, what the actual objective is of the master thesis and what questions will be asked. After the introduction, the theoretical framework will be explained in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3 the methodological framework will be highlighted. After this methodological framework, Chapter 4 will describe the facts of Estonia. Only the facts that are necessary to know, because of the research, will be explained. Examples of these important facts are certain parts of historical domination, flows of migration, border treaties, violent incidents and political policies. The history of Estonia will also be discussed. This is important, because the history of Estonia and the region gives causal explanations for the emergence of a distinct identity and coloniality and post coloniality nowadays. After the descriptive chapter, Chapter 5 will focus on the collection of data In Chapter 6, the theory of Chapter 2 will be connected to the collected data of Chapter 5. The conclusion will highlight the main question in Chapter 7. In the conclusion the research questions will be answered and recommendations will be given.

## 1.7: RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this section the main and sub-questions will be highlighted. These main and sub-questions are the pivot of this thesis. All the chapters are dedicated to gain more information to answer these questions, and these questions will eventually be answered in Chapter 7, the conclusion.

*Main question: To what extent is Estonia capable of becoming more independent in social, political and economic realms from its former coloniser, the Soviet Union (now Russia), by erasing, influencing or altering the*

*colonial structures that have been laid and institutionalised in the colonial Soviet era (1944-1991), by exploiting their national border?*

*Sub-question 1: To what extent does Estonia have a civil national state identity and what is the place of the Russian ethnic identity within this state identity?*

*Sub-question 2: To what extent do local municipalities that have a demographic Russian majority have governance to exert control to influence the government's policy in their specific areas?*

*Sub-question 3: To what extent does Russia try to retain the colonial structures that Estonia is trying to cut?*

*Sub-question 4: To what extent does Estonia succeed in the cutting of structures that are perceived as part of the Soviet colonial legacy?*

#### EXPLANATION OF KEY CONCEPTS:

**Colonial structures:** The colonial structures are the structures that have been created and institutionalised in the Soviet colonial era. These colonial structures are characterised by their meaning. Their meaning, their expression has to be different from the meaning of the Estonian government, which makes these structures colonial. Roads and neighbourhoods that have been built in the Soviet era are not colonial. In this master thesis the focus will be on the colonial structures that are important for the research units. These structures include the use of the Russian (colonial) language, colonial monuments and political and economic dominance and dependence. These structures have been laid by the Soviet regime and institutionalised. The erasing of these structures means total erasing. This means the removal of monuments, the removal of the Russian language from schools and the total economic independency.

**Former coloniser:** The former coloniser is a broad concept in this master thesis. In this master thesis, the former coloniser means the Soviet Union / Russia, but also the inceptions of the former coloniser in Estonia, such as the Russian people that migrated during the Soviet era to Estonia. Thus, becoming more independent is also applicable on the policy of the local Russian minority that can have some power in their majority regions.

**(In) dependency:** Dependency means to what extent Estonia still is controlled or influenced by Russia. This dependency this is the result of these colonial structures that still exist after the Estonian independence. A situation can be qualified as independent, when the Estonian government able to erase the colonial structures in the research unit. This dependency is expressed by the amount of influence Russia or local Russians have over Estonia. When a situation is dependent for Estonia, while Russia wants to exert political dominance and Estonia allows this (or has to) this is dependency. This dependency can be retained by Europe, local Russians or Russia. The monuments research unit for example has multiple actors (local municipal governments as well as Russia) that can disturb or influence Estonia's policy to erase Soviet monuments. Russia or local municipalities can have influence on Estonian political decisions to alter the education system.

**Estonia:** Estonia means the Estonian state and the Estonian national government. This Estonian national government is the representative of the Estonian citizens and is the decision maker in Estonia, regarding the post colonial and restorational policy that tries to diminish the colonial structures.

Exploiting national borders: The exploitation of the national border is part of the post colonial theory. This is because of the creation of a new independent state that has created new national borders. In this thesis the focus will be on the Russian-Estonian border, since this border separates the colony from its former coloniser. Exploiting this border means using this border in order to create and implement a policy that can cut the colonial structures that still link the coloniser and the former colonised.

## CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will elaborate on the theoretical framework. This theoretical framework consists of multiple parts. The first part will explain the concepts of borders, territory, identity and symbols in this thesis. These concepts frame the theoretical framework and are the fundament for the post colonial theory. This theory is explained after these concepts. The last part of this chapter is about the restorational geopolitics of Estonia.

### 2.1: BORDERS

According to Jones (2008, p.180), there are some differences in definition between a boundary and a border. While a boundary is more a broad term referring to any type of division, the concept of a border is specifically for territorialised and concrete political borders. This means a boundary can be anything, like political boundaries between parties, or cultural boundaries, while a border has to be a concrete territorialised division, separating regions or states. Jones argues that boundaries should not be seen as fixed divisions, but as “processes that seem to be involved in generating and maintaining ethnic groups”. To what extent do boundaries exist that divide ethnic groups into one or another group and to what extent. Boundaries therefore divide in categories. These categories, as well as the borders, are ever-changing processes and not essentialised and fixed. Boundaries are therefore never finished or fixed (Jones, 2008, p.180). Frontiers, apart from boundaries and borders, have a cultural meaning, besides their territorial meaning. A frontier is a dividing line, separating two very different areas (civilisation and barbarism), affecting each other negatively. A good example of a frontier is the frontier during the ‘exploration of America’. This makes the frontier a socio spatial construct that can change over time in meaning and place (Newman & Paasi, 1998, pp.189-190).

Central to the perception of borders is the fact that borders are a dynamic phenomenon and not a fixed identity. This perception is a major expansion of the framework of borders, since borders were perceived as being physical and static outcomes of the political decision-making process. These borders were to be described and mapped. The analysing of borders is an expansion of this perception (Paasi, 1998, p.69; Kaiser, 2012, p.522). In this master thesis, borders are investigated as much more than just demarcating, deterministic lines that separate two territories. Borders are not fixed and static things that can be taken for granted, but are an ever evolving phenomenon that focuses on cultural and social aspects that are part of the border. The border determines the perception of the us and them, the included and the excluded, creating binary distinctions and influencing the “construction, organisation and reproduction of social life, territoriality and power” (Paasi, 1998, p.69). Paasi (2003, p. 478) also mentions the aspect of time in the concept of the border. Paasi calls this ‘the bordering process’: “the difference between the identity of the region, which is more descriptive, and the regional identity, which is based on the institutional and bordering process”. Newman hitches in on this term (2006, pp.143-144): “The bordering process” is the process that affects the live of inhabitants of a region, or a state, in every way of life and on a daily basis. Territories and borders have their own internal dynamics, causing different changes. These changes therefore depend on the context of the bordering process. This context is derived from a variety of factors, such as ethnicity, religion, but also lifestyle and hobbies. Depending on perception, borders can reflect different things. For political analysts, borders reflect dominance of certain groups, by measuring the power relations of the border (and the territory) and the ability of one group to determine and impose their power. Sociologists give more meaning towards the impact of borders on daily practices and the difference a border makes,

such as a binary distinction (us/them, in/out). What all of these perceptions have in common, is that they all have a process of inclusion and exclusion related to them (Newman, 2006, pp.143-147).

It is important to understand why borders are becoming to appear, felt and experienced as 'fixed and existing things' since this changes the perspective on borders. The answer lies in the 'performativity', 'border performances' and events. Kaiser (2012, pp.522-523) explains the following: "The performative approach emphasises the way in which power works to stabilise, naturalise and essentialise borders so that they come to appear as existing things, rather than socio-spatial practices". . Kaiser (2008, 543) elaborates further, stressing the need in trying to understand the deconstruction and de-essentialisation of these fixed borders. Performativity contains both spatial and social practices. These practices enable socio-spatial categories (signifiers, such as identity, place or scale) to materialising things in the world. The Performativity is a practice that deconstructs fixed phenomena and is a practice that creates a discourse with certain content. Some of these discursive practices are bordering performances. These bordering performances "naturalise and essentialise socio-spatial categories by materialising borders" (Kaiser, 2012, p.523). With this performance, people can create an 'us' and a 'them' and an 'inside' and an 'out-side'. These 'us' and 'them' are not bound to political borders, since these borders have been deconstructed and de-essentialised. Within states, the exteriorised interior and the constitutive outside can exist simultaneously, creating borders (and boundaries) within a state between different ethnic groups that live in specific parts of the country. In order to prevent these gaps, borders need to be closely monitored and guarded by governments, in order to prevent the establishment of gaps and fissures. These gaps are the events through which borders inside a country emerge. Bordering practices are continually practicing the exteriorisation of the 'Other' (that can be places, identities, religion, ethnic groups, and so on). According to Kaiser (2012, p.524): "no socio-spatial category can ever incorporate its exteriorised interior or constitutive outside without itself dissolving". A border can never be fully closed or sealed by a government, since the border is an emerging and dynamic phenomenon. It is therefore always open to change, transformation or influence. Even the most constrained essential place identities (Mount Ararat will be the holy mountain of the Armenians forever) have a future that is not fully determined in advance, and they are just 'repeating' performances. Gaps, fissures and ruptures can open the borders of categories through discursive practices and can create changing the categorisation of the border (Kaiser, 2012, p.523).

According to Woodward and Jones (2005, p.239), places are also events of becoming: "Bordering describes a vast array of effective and transformative material processes in which social and spatial orders and disorders are constantly reworked. The bordering event does not sit inertly between sets of idea national categories, but rather is active at event limit of multiplicities constituted by the affects exchanged between subjectivity and milieu". Because a political socio-spatial category doesn't have a total identification unity, a dis-identification between (a) person(s) and the category can exist. This is possible because of the governmental economic, societal or political policies that create dis-identification between citizens and the political category. In this moment of dis-identification, that can occur because of many reasons, a moment pops up a in which a gap, fissure or rupture is created. This gap is created between a person and the identity. If this gap is big enough and other people follow this gap, a transformation has taken place in the identity, creating a new socio-spatial category. This transformed political category can be achieved by anything, such as elections or a revolt.

Kaiser (2012, pp.524-525) gives the example of a Canadian immigration officer, who has been an immigrant herself. Because of her personal background, feelings and emotions, she obtains a different view of the border enactment. This gap between the person and the identity is the cause of a transforming of the identity. Her view of immigration officers becomes blurred or even breached in practice. So these 'future-past bordering' are performative events, in which "a new encounter or situation serves as a catalyst or trigger that changes resonances or vibrations, transforming the potentiality of co-present to affect each other" (Kaiser, 2012, p.525). These intensifications of the Canadian border agent are able to actualise the event (For example the intensification of the Kosovo crisis with Milosevic emphasising the need that Kosovo had to be fully incorporated within Yugoslavia and the Serbian Republic with rallies, movies and Kosovo as the 'Serbian stronghold'). These event actualisations have the ability to produce socio-spatial changes, Kaiser (2012, p. 525) emphasises, differing border practices as formerly 'taken for granted' borders are de- or re-territorialised (in which Kosovo is now seen 'as an integral part of Serbia and Serbian identity', instead of just a autonomous republic). These events can "travel from their originating time-space moment of actualisation to other areas; creating secondary intensities" (the other autonomous Republic of Vojvodina in Serbia also witnessed a surge in nationalism) Kaiser (2012, p.525). He calls this phenomenon 'event transitivity'. The event can be transferred from one place to another. The longer these effects last, the more historic or revolutionary the event becomes (Kaiser, 2012, pp.525-526). Another example of event transitivity is the development of the Arab Spring, in which the Tunisian revolt was quickly transferred to other Arab states, while the effects of this Tunisian revolt are still lasting in the region.

The performativity of scale is another part of this performativity, like the performativity of memory. The performativity of scale is the idea that scale is "not simply a spatial solidification or materialisation of contested social forces and processes... Scale is an active progenitor of specific social processes" (Kaiser, 2008, p.539). This is significant, as scale both contains social activity and at the same time contains an aspect of an already partitioned geography as well. The combining of social activity and geography creates reiterative practices and exerts reiterative practices. The performative scale focuses attention on the reiterative and citation practices. These reiterative practices have a 'fixity effect'. This fixity effect creates new fixed categories that create essentialised and hierarchical arrangements on the bigger scales. In Narva, Russians in the North-East of Estonia have difficulties adapting to the new situation Their region was a former city in the Soviet Union, where mobility between the Estonian USSR and Russian USSR was high as the borderland between both republics. At first, Narva was practicing Soviet practices, while Estonianness is now slowly essentialising. The people of Narva have their own practices, which have been de-essentialised and deconstructed by the Estonian nationalist policies. The people of Narva see themselves as fully integrated into their community, as they practice their daily lives in a localised 'homeland' community. Estonia has since independence trying to differ Narva from its past, by using the borders and citizenship issue, making it harder for the locals to live their lives and to perform their practices (Kaiser, 2008, pp. 538-542).

The process of bordering is the process through which borders are demarcated and managed. The demarcation and management of the border are very closely related to each other. The process of demarcation "determines the way in which the process of management is put into effect" (Newman, 2006, p.148). The concept of demarcation is an important aspect of this master thesis. Not only is the drawing of a line on a map part of the demarcation, the whole process "through which the criteria of inclusion and exclusion are determined, be it via citizen-

ship of a country, membership of a specific social or economic group or a religious affiliation” is part of the concept of demarcation (Newman, 2006, p.148). The demarcations (borders) give knowledge of the extent of a space (territory). The demarcation also enables entry and exit from these spaces and groups. The second important aspect, institutions are contained within borders. These institutions “enable legitimating, signification and domination, creating a system of order through which control can be exercised” (Newman, 2006, p.148). These institutions are part of the border. Through these institutions borders also have a possessing and governing role. They enable control to be exercised within the social or spatial department (Newman, 2006, p.148).

Paasi (1998, p.73) turns to the content of Newman, Kaiser and Jones, by seeing the border as complicated social processes and discourses that have their own dynamics, rather just seeing the borders as fixed identities. He points several important themes. The role of narratives is very important in the construction of borders. These narratives are creating a link between borders and identity. The link between borders and power is another important concept. These themes link the border with narratives, identity and power, making it an important tool. In terms of power: boundaries are expressions of power relations (Paasi, 1998, pp.72-73).

States play a decisive role in the production and reproduction of borders, therefore creating ‘manifestations of territoriality’. The decisive role of the state is because the ‘state’ is the eventual decision maker in a country. This (re)production is done via the territorialisation of meaning. Giving meaning to territory creates new boundaries Paasi (1998, p.70) elaborates that “education, politics, administration and governance are domains in which the production of the border and the territory is done”. Another thing that has institutionalised the border is the modern territorial system, which replaced the network of diffuse, permeable borders that could change over time. After the Second World War, a new system has been created that aimed at diminishing conflicts in order to gain territory. The border has become inert, creating a ‘territorial trap’. This new territorial system has enhanced the fixed images of the bordered world of nation states and identities (Paasi, 1998, pp.69-70).

The existence of a ‘process of inclusion and exclusion’ means that the border has become institutionalised and politicised. This insitutionalising of the border has created a discourse that decides the included and the excluded. These discourses also contain ‘non spatial’ notions of the border. “They assist in the reordering of global security into neat compartments and categories, distinguishing between those who belong and those who do not”, according to Newman (2006, p.147). The politicising of the border means governments are trying to use the political borders in order to create social borders mostly on a national level to build territories. Within this concept uniformity, unity and the nationalistic perspective have a key position. (Paasi, 2005, p.19).

The relationship of borders and the formation of identity is a reciprocal relationship, according to Newman (2006, p.147): “The opening of borders does not automatically result in the hybridisation of the ethnic and national identity and the improvement of perception of territories, nations and people on the other side of the border”. This depends on the ‘existence of group categorisation’, albeit a religious, cultural, economic, social or ethnic categorisation. Paasi (2003, p.475) argues that there is a discourse that says the world is moving towards a ‘forced individualisation’. This forced individualisation means people’s lives are increasingly being left as their own responsibility and less the responsibility of the government. This means the development the personal identities of people will become less structured. This is different than the rather than the ‘forced categorisation’ that still exists, such as ethnicity, religion, class and home region. Paasi nuances this discourse however, saying that

the awareness of a person is likely to increase because of the new global space of flows, generating “a search for new points of orientation, efforts to strengthen old boundaries and to create new ones, often based on the identities of resistance” (Paasi, 2003, p.475). Globalisation and the ability to cross borders is not the same as the creation of a new global identity or a personal identity in which no room is left for territorial distinctions. This does not represent the end of territorial distinctions and distinctiveness. The increase of flows does not erase the border, territories and identities, but add a set of influences on local identities. Even if we become more mobile and find it easier to cross state boundaries, “most of us retain strong ethnic or national affiliations and loyalties, be they territorial-focused or ethnically focused, according to Newman” (2006, p.148). Borderlands encompass all places in which the interior and the exterior of place and identity are contested. This contesting means re-narrating, and re-enacting and the battle for the dominant discourse. These borderlands can therefore virtually pop up anywhere, not only in political border areas, but also in neighbourhoods in which different ethnic groups start to settle, or in areas which have a strong connection with transport (such as an port or an airport). The borderlands have a broad content, ranging from ‘zones of contestation’ where we and they are re-narrated and re-configured. There are also ‘zones of conjuncture’, where the ‘us’ and ‘them’ interact with each other and get challenged. Borderlands are “places where interior and exterior of place and identity are re-narrated, reenacted and reconfigured, making the borderland not a periphery, but the central node of a national identity. These borderlands are zones of contestation, conjunction for national actors” (Kaiser, 2006, p.938). Local actors are able to play an important role in the framing of the borderlands as well. (Kaiser, 2006, pp.936-941).

As noted above, the border is a contested, ever-changing process and an institution that can change, construct and produce social, political and cultural life on many more ways than just the material one, used for political purposes in order to demarcate their sovereignty. The borders have great influence on the demarcation of territory.

## 2.2: TERRITORY

Territories are spaces bound by borders. This broad definition is accepted by most scientists. There are however, different approaches to see a territory, based on certain similarities or differences. A territory can be based on culture, for example. A territory than means a specific set of cultural relations between a specific group and a place. Other possibilities are historical, cultural or administrative area, all a specific area surrounded by borders, demarcating the area from other areas. Territory is “a sine qua non of the state and can also be an irreducible component of an ethnic group identity” (Toft, 2003, p.2). For both the state and the ethnic group identity, control over territory might be more than rational control. It might be a matter of (ethnic) survival, and the imagination of an ‘indivisible homeland’ and other emotional aspects. The difference between territory seen from a rational perspective, and from an emotional perspective is the difference between a divisible, quantifiable object and an indivisible, romantic subject. Territory has an emotional aspect, beside the rational perspective (quantifiable object) creating homelands and defining who is ‘the rightful owner of a territory’ and who is an outsider. What is important to understand is that different actors, be it states, ethnic groups, religious groups, view the same territory differently. The differences in perspective are important factors in conflicts (Toft, 2003, pp.1-2).

According to Paasi (2000, p.7), the region (territory) is assembled out of three pillars: symbols, borders and institutions. These three pillars create a territory that contains its own identity. History and culture are two im-

portant concepts that shape communities and territories, according to Paasi (1991, pp. 241-242). The history and culture of territories are mostly shaped by these discourses. Actors such as the government, municipalities or other governments can try to 'territorialise' the area, giving it emotional meaning and emphasising the connection between people and territory, presenting it as an indivisible area, which belongs to the native ethnicity, the homeland (Toft, 2003, p.2). Toft (2003, p.2) states that "culture is the way the social relations of a group are structured and shaped, but it is also something more. It is the way those shapes are experienced, understood and interpreted". Territories and communities have emotional meaning. They are spatially constructed social structures. History is important because regions and localities are a "complex synthesis or manifestation of objects, patterns, processes and social practices derived from simultaneous interaction between different levels, operating on varying geographical and historical scales" (Paasi, 1991, p. 242). Therefore the making of a territory is a historically contingent process, in which history and geography are blended.

These communities are based on identity and its shared commons with the interior and differences with the exterior. They have constantly changing boundaries and therefore changing territories. The narratives that constitute their collective cultural discourses are also changing continually. "The construction of identity narratives is itself political action and is part of the distribution of social power in society", according to Newman and Paasi (1998, p. 195). The term 'territorial socialisation' is used to emphasise the territory as part of the narrative, reflected in education, geography, books, history and so on. The territorial socialisation lays the fundament for a 'territorial control and sovereignty'. An example of this territorial socialisation is the depiction of a contested territory as part of a political entity. Various forms of national, political and territorial socialisation are used to lay claims to certain territories. Newman and Paasi (1998, p.196) call it the 'pedagogy of space', in which the educational system has a role in the practicing and reproduction of space. This pedagogy of space helps to create a cultural boundary between 'us' and 'them'. Kaiser hitches into this, using the word 'homeland'. A homeland activates an "exclusionary national territory among ethno central members of the homeland group" (Newman & Paasi, 1998, p.196), thus creating a boundary between us and them, based on ethnicities. As stated in the former paragraphs, the softening of borders does not mean territory is a subject of the past. The territory becomes re-territorialised, instead of de-territorialised. (Paasi, 1998, p.72). This strategy has become more complicated than before, because of the increased globalisation.

Territoriality is not just a static behavior of a state. A state can have diverse orientations for diverse aspects. The territory has different aspect, such as a political, economic and cultural container has multiple goals. As a power container, it strives to preserve existing boundaries, while as a wealth container it tries to enlarge its territory by dominating economic flows and links. As a cultural container, the state will be more inwards, defending the national identity (Paasi, 1998, pp. 71-74). Territory and territoriality still play a vital role and create and link boundaries, identity and symbols, Paasi (1998, p. 73) argues.

Territory plays an important role in the process of nationalisation with the giving of cultural meaning to the territory. This cultural meaning links territory with emotion, creating identity. This territorial identity is used to lay claims by nationalist movements. These claims are used to create a homeland. This homeland can have idyllic and romantic aspect, a historical spatial container where an unproblematised ethnic group is bound to live. These homelands are not only constructed to create a sense of spatial identity, but also to create a sense of exclusive-

ness. Homelands, territoriality and the process of nationalisation are therefore inseparable, since their meaning is bound with each other. The nation therefore has close relationships with the homeland, “naturalises the linkage between blood and soil, and so strengthens the legitimacy of nationalist claims to the land itself” (Kaiser, 2002, p. 230). The homeland is depicted as the ‘geographic cradle of the nation’ (soil), as well as the only place where the nation truly belongs (blood), and where it can survive and thrive in the future, connecting two aspects: blood and soil. The homeland also means the territory and the soil is exclusively of the people with that identity, calling all people of a different ethnicity ‘outsiders’ and people who do not rightfully belong there, and who are unlikely ever to feel truly at home (Kaiser, 2002, pp.229-230).

The nationalising of space is the outcome of social constructions of space. Nationalism and territory are closely bounded, as has been explained in the last paragraph. According to Kaiser (2002, p.231): “Nationalism is fundamentally an ideology and political action program designed to convert land into national territory”. An important aspect of nationalism is to internalise the ancestral homeland. This is done by a dynamic process, in which all competing voices within the nation have to be dominated by the nationalist discourse. After the dominance has been established images, narratives and icons are constructed, contested and influenced by the voices of the dominant discourse. The second part is to essentialise these images of the nation and the homeland, in order to make the homeland ‘natural and eternal’. In order to accomplish this quest, a set of instruments are necessary to create the homeland, like maps, symbolic landscapes, cartographies representations, fatherland images, national monuments and so on. The use of maps is important in the creating of fixed and essentialised territories in the minds of the people. Other instruments are the personification of important characters, to “reinforce a personal connection between the population and the land being nationalised” (Kaiser, 2002, p. 235). An example of this is Napoleon in France, or Willem van Orange in the Netherlands. This effort can weave together the two major elements of blood and soil in nationalist discourses. Monuments in the landscape help to project an image of permanence onto the nation and its relationship to the land, thus reinforcing the image of rootedness (Kaiser, 2002, pp. 231-236).

### 2.3: IDENTITY

According to Paasi (1998, p.80), borders are “mediums and instruments to exert social control. As institutions, borders link the past, present and future, creating a link between borders and identity (and nationalism)”. The construction of identity is based on the bordering process and the institutionalised border, two concepts that have been elaborated in the sub-chapter 2.1.

Building further on the formation of identity and the process of bordering, Paasi (2003, p.476) states that identity should be seen as a social process, in which different factors play a role: “Identity is formed at the unstable point where the unspeakable stories of subjectivity meet the narratives of history, of a culture”. According to Paasi, the key to the understanding of an identity in a region or a state is the understanding that different contexts exist that influence the identity: “There are two intertwined contexts active within the territory: from above, in the form of territorial control/governance (top-down) and from below, in the form of territorial identification and resistance (bottom-up)”. These two contexts can intertwine, reinforce or clash. These expressions of identity can pop up anywhere. Belonging to a territory, like a sub-national region or a state, may raise a sense of identity, challenging the hegemonic identity narratives of a (former) ruling state Paasi (2003, p.477). This regional identity can

challenge the national identity. The narratives of this regional identity can differ or diverge from narratives of the ruling people/community. Things that can differ are the landscape, periphery/center relations, dialects, economic success, culture, ethnicity, language, history, images of a people and so on. These elements are used in practices, rituals and narratives to construct discourses that influence, create and diverge identities.

The identity of a territory, or regional identity as Paasi (2003, p.478) calls it, is “the process through which a region becomes institutionalised”. An institutionalised territory is a territory that contains the production of instructional practices, symbols and boundaries. These three pillars are the pillars of the region and make the region, in terms of identity, culturally and politically. The capability of the region to produce these pillars gives the region an identity. These boundaries, symbols and practices formed by the dominant discourses and practices in the territory (Paasi, 2003, p.478).

The collective identity of a region is not there, waiting to be discovered. What is discovered is the identity discourse on the part of political leaders, intellectuals and others. All these actors try to form and have influence in the process of constructing, negotiating, manipulating or affirming the leading discourse and the images, narratives and thoughts this leading discourse brings. The political elites, such as governments (including local and supra-state) play an important role in the creating of discourses and narratives, therefore creating a collective identity. This identity, together with the policy that is created out of these discourses is used for the interests of the leading actors behind the dominant discourse. A serious problem however pops up when the assumption of homology between a group of people, a portion of space and a culture is made. This is not always the case, creating separate identities and separate thoughts within a territory that ultimately leads to new challenging discourses. Paasi (2003, p.480) calls this “the difference between ethnos and demos”. Ethnos implies the assumption of ethnicity within a territory, while demos reflects the questioning of boundaries and narratives that point towards ‘The Other’ within the territory. The demos is therefore connected with a ‘civil’ state. This creates a notion of ‘borderlands’, areas within the territory that do not fit neatly into the narratives of nation, race, religion or ethnicity, making it a ‘cultural battleground’. Good examples are the regions in Norway where the Sami live, a people not related to the Scandinavian nations, or the isle of Corsica in France, with its distinct language, heritage and regionalist movements (Paasi, 2003, pp.480-481).

Petersoo (2007, pp.117-119) is hitching in on the relationship between identity and otherness. He argues that the connection between identity and otherness is a vital criterion for ‘identity’. Identity can only operate in connection with its opposite, the otherness. It needs an us and a them. Identity itself, Petersoo etymologically explains, is derived from the Latin ‘identitas’, meaning ‘the same’. Similarity and difference are crucial for identity. Concerning national identities, nationalism is ‘an ideology of the third person’, since there can be no us, the first and the second, without them, the third. The role of this third person, other remains unclear. This third can be anything such as positive, negative, inside or outside, depending on different national ideologies, historical paths and the context. The Other is most of the times an ethnic or national group, but can also be an event or a political institution.

Therefore an analytical categorisation has been made to display the role of various Others more transparent. This categorisation is based on two dyads, external versus internal and negative versus positive, resulting in four ideal

types of Others. In reality these hard boundaries do not exist of course and will be more fluent. However, to make a transparent statement and table, this categorisation has been made. These are the following four:

**Table 1.** (Petersoo, 2007, p.120)

Internal positive Other	External positive Other
Internal negative Other	External negative Other

The internal positive other is usually a minority group, living in the same political territory as the majority nation. The internal positive other is not considered a threat to the identity and integrity of the majority nation. An example for an internal positive other is Scotland's appreciation of Gaelic language and culture, which came to embody and symbolise Scotland and its resistance towards England. On the other hand, internal negative Others exist and are way more plentiful present in nationalist discourses, as they are a source of fear and generally seen as the enemy. These groups are the Other against whom the identity of a nation is constructed, and who, as a result, "usually live and work in a climate of discrimination, marginalisation and racism" (Petersoo, 2007, p.124). According to Petersoo (2007, p.123), the function of the negative internal others has been to "homogenise and unify the majority nation. He calls the process of homogenisation a familiar technique that has been present and evolved for centuries. Jews and Roma in Europe throughout history have been an important negative reference point. While Jews were bothered because of their religion, or 'race', the Roma nomadic culture marked them as outsiders. These cases show the cause of Otherness, differs, but the consequences of being an internal negative Other is the same (Petersoo, 2007, pp.119-125).

The external positive other is a (neighbouring) nation or state perceived not as a threat by the nation, but as a positive entity. The positive external other could be a protector of the state, or a role model, which the nation inspires or is trying to become like this external positive Other. Geographical proximity is important for this, but more important is the linguistic and cultural proximity. For example, the sovereign Serb state serves a role model for the Republika Srpska, a lower scaled entity inside Bosnia. The external negative other could also be a neighboring state. Rival states, neighbours of the in-group, which "contest some part of the in-group or which are in the possession of lands that the in-group claim as their territory" (Petersoo, 2007, p.127). The nation (self) is afraid that the external Other will challenge and conquer the territorial and cultural integrity of the nation from without. This external negative Other is feared and hated, since it could erase the territory and the culture of the nation. An example of an external negative other is France, who served as a fear factor for the United Kingdom, unifying, Irish, English, Welsh and Scottish (Petersoo, 2007, pp.125-128).

Discourses and practices are mutually constitutive aspects of place and identity and can explain why people act like in a specific way (the essentialised Southern Europeans are hotheads, while Northern Europeans are very calm). Therefore, they embrace a certain kind of fixed identity that people see as essentialised. These institutionalised ways of nationalism are embedded within the daily lives of people, changing the daily lives of people according to what 'should be' and what 'should not be'. They narrate and affect the daily lives of people. There is a wide scale in which nationalism can influence the daily lives of the people, enacting events. (Kaiser, 2006, pp.932-934).

The cultural politics of memory play a significant role in the formation in identity. The role of symbols is highly valued in the creation of identity in Kaiser's 'politics of memory'. Kaiser (2006, p.935) argues that "cultural politics of memory is the power embedded and inscribed in the cultural discourses and practices of memory work, including re-narration and reenactment of the past, through reconfiguration of commemorative landscapes, encompassing new and reconstituted monuments and museums, new constellations of cultural events festivals, new presentations of books" and so on. These 'cultural politics' play a huge role in the influencing and creating of a national identity. Kaiser (2006, p.935) gives an excellent example, regarding differences in symbolising between different identities: "In 2005, exactly 85 years after the Tartu Peace Treaty was signed between Russia and Estonia, the commemoration was held. The President of Estonia was present, while no Russian officials were present. Memory work is a discursive and performative field of cultural politics" (Kaiser, 2006, pp.934-935).

Within the relationship of space and identity a large number of similarities exist on which communal identities in specific places are built around. These similarities can be based on anything, ranging from language, to religion, to nation, culture, education, ethnicity and so on. All these concepts have boundaries, to which some people do belong (we) and others do not (they). These concepts create boundaries that include and exclude. For example, religion can become a prime concept to which people attach their identity, like what happened after the break-up of former Yugoslavia. Aspects of religion, of faith, sacredness and spirituality intersect with religion (you are Russian-Orthodox, how could you be an Estonian?) These concepts therefore categorise. These concepts have their own narratives and traditions produced in their own ways, which communities remember and tend to stick to. The average attendance at Easter or Christmas, for example, is higher than a normal Sunday. These narratives and traditions are retold, remembered and rearticulated, constructing an identity, and eventually enabling political and civic parties to rationalise that in society and politics (Brace, Bailey & Harvey, 2006, pp.29-32) .

## 2.4: SYMBOLS

The power of symbols, values, beliefs and ethics are important in the making of place and the connection of links that occur between places and people through borders. These connections are the narratives and practices that are based on specific constructed borders, identity and territory. These connections are the main factor for the social life and this social life can be understood through the research of narratives and practices. These narratives and practices shape social practice and life. . T These stories "provide people with common experiences, history and memories, and thereby bind these people together" (Paasi, 1998, p.74). These narratives shape social practice and life. It is through narratives that "people come to know, understand and make sense of the social world, and create social identities. People rarely make social identities themselves, but locate them within existing social narratives", Paasi argues (1998, pp.74-75). These narratives are mostly created by the state, connecting it with the institution of the nation, state and territory that are of vital importance. Symbols are important factors that give meaning to the boundaries that divide into us and them, these narratives can also raise the ancient hatreds that can exist between several ethnic groups within a state, or between states. These long-standing historical grievances between states and ethnic groups within states tend to place weight on linguistic, cultural, racial and religious ties of individuals within a group. The opportunity exists that these ties become so institutionalised that

'us' and 'them' dominates the narrative and the discourse. The individual identity becomes so directly tied to an ethnic group and can create divergence between ethnic groups within a territory in this process (Toft, 2003, p.7).

According to Paasi (1998, p.76), borders "do not only exist in the border areas, they manifest themselves in many institutions, such as education, novels, the media, ceremonies and memorials, all reflecting expressions of narratives linked with borders". Borders have a specific meaning in these institutions as they serve references to the Other. These media institutionalise the border symbolism. The education of this territory in geography and history (directed by the state) (re)produces iconography of boundaries, the symbols that effectively "construct the history and meanings of a country" (Paasi, 1998, p.77). This iconography has the opportunity to form a territorial container. It can make use of many practices and discourses, such as politics, economics, culture and administration, while it is not disturbed by other discourses that are held back at the border. In this material manifestations, such as books, poems, songs, monuments and so on the 'iconography of borders' can "reveal and strengthen material and symbolic elements of historical continuity in human consciousness" (Paasi, 1998, p.76). The construction of such symbols for the influencing of identity is a contested political process and part of the political distribution of power. The dominant discourses in the territory are able to construct and direct the narratives of these symbols into a specific direction that serves their interests.

Only in a few states, particularly European states, mono culturalism exists. For the states with multiple identities holding together multicultural nations is the biggest challenge of the state. The solution mostly heard in accomplishing that task is the emphasising of civil identity of a state. This civil identity tries to include all ethnicities. Barber (2001, p.57) emphasises the need for this civic identity, based on the state, citizenship and its democracy, which can serve as a bridge between ethnicities within state and create a common forum for the citizens. He elaborates on this as the difference between 'ethnos' and 'demos'. Habermas called it 'Verfassungspatriotismus' (constitution patriotism): "Constitutional patriotism conceptualises the beliefs and dispositions required for citizens to maintain a particular form of political rule. The deepest impulse animating a normatively substantive account of constitutional patriotism is the idea of individuals recognising each other as free and equal and finding fair terms of living together—finding enough common, mutually acceptable grounds to answer the question, "how do we want to live together?" (Müller, 2007, p.8). The problem, according to Barber (2001, p.58), is to find surrogates for common things that bind people, such as religion, language and history. So, in multicultural states with different ethnic groups, it is necessary to create new areas in which different ethnic groups share common values in order to understand each other. The creation of a civil identity has become the dominant paradigm regarding democratic and state principles. But over the last hundred years, and particularly the last fifteen years, a new paradoxical discourse has weakened the civil identity and corroded it. Renewed ethnic and regional consciousness has revived resulting in more regions and people demanding autonomy, 'Balkanising' countries. The break-up of the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia are excellent examples of this renewed regional consciousness (that eventually results in more autonomy or independence) (Barber, 2001, pp.58-59).

Self-determination and autonomy are key concepts in the theory of nationalism, according to Dahbour (2001, p.2). He notes of different interpretations however. According to Dahbour (2002, p.2), self-determination is a broad concept with many different perceptions. The main difference between these principles lies in the perception of self-determination. Self-determination is a tool both used by top-down governments, as well as bottom up

civil and society groups. There is a big difference between the national and regional perspective of self-determination. This difference is the cause of many conflicts. In the nationalist perception boundaries of a territory play an important role, while the regional perspective is more important in terms of autonomy. Dahbour (2001, p.4) makes a difference between central power with hard national borders versus decentralised power with cultural and ethnic distinctive regions maintaining a form of autonomy. Regional or national feelings have therefore some form of autonomy. This autonomy has lots of similarities and differences. For example, since the break-up of former Yugoslavia, ethnic Serb minorities within Croatia and Bosnia have long resisted their independence, but after the independence of both states, they wanted the same as Croatia but on a lower scale: autonomy. The same is true for the state, as a region within a state they desired self-determination, but do not allow the Serb populated to have the same.

National self-determination can be defined as the idea that nationalities may rightfully determine the boundaries, membership and political status of their own communities, including the right to statehood. From the central national angle, self-determination is necessary for the state and its right to express the 'good' moral, cultural and civic values and customs. The idea that states are responsible for the well-being of their citizens is vital in this theory. It creates the fundament of a state that has the opportunity to interfere in identity questions (Dahbour, 2001, pp.6-7). The regional principle emphasises more on how the distinct way of life of the people in the region is viewed by the national state (Dahbour, 2001, pp.8-10). This principle is funded by an argument that "neither the concepts of human rights nor democratic self-government adequately addresses the problems of what have been called internal colonialism or regional exploitation" (Dahbour, 2001, p.10). These two possibilities are caused by a lack of regional self determination for peoples with ways of life that diverge from those politically dominant within larger countries. Therefore some of the national culture ideas are not fitting into rifts between regions and states because of internal colonialism and regional exploitation committed by the state against the region (Dahbour, 2001, pp.11-14).

## 2.5: POST COLONIALISM

The theoretical perspective of this master thesis will be based on the postcolonial way of thinking. The postcolonial window is based on the power relations that are visible today that have been created in history and whom have now been embedded into the institutional structures. By this historical process unequal power relations are created in which peripheral regions have become dependent of the central regions, immaterial as well as ethical. Post-colonialism is a label invented in the eighties and became dominant in the nineties in order to redefine 'non Western' and 'Third World'. These concepts weren't able to create difference between postcolonial areas like Niger, the Fiji Islands and Peru. These concepts just created a dichotomy between 'the West' and 'the Rest'. Therefore, the term 'post colonialism' is a better option. It unifies the areas with the similarity of a former subjugated relation to former colonial empires, has no derogatory label yet, while it leaves room for a personal analysis per case. Moreover, 'post colonialism' has exceeded the scope of its former concepts, in which the West was a coloniser, and its subjects the colonised. This initial discourse has been changed to a discourse in which every state can be a coloniser, like the Russian Empire or Ottoman Empire. There isn't a single square meter of land on the planet that hasn't been colonised. This fact causes the fact that most societies and cultures bear postcolonial stamps, fully or partially. The term postcolonial goes with everything: Language, economy, liberation, politics, and culture and on. The colonised areas all have the same symptoms: becoming economic, cultural, political etc.

'fiefs' of the colonisers' network, in which dependency and domination are keywords. Economic production is based on the commands of the colonised and based on the needs of the coloniser rather than on local needs, currencies are based on the dominant currency of the coloniser. The language of the coloniser becomes important in the higher classes of society, from which it trickles into the lower classes of society. (Moore, pp.12-17).

Two concepts helpful in understanding these abstract concepts are the concept of coloniality of power and historical-structural dependency. As Mignolo (2000, pp.53-54) states: "coloniality of power underlines the geo-economic organisation of the planet which articulates the colonial world system and manages the colonial difference". The power structures which have been set up and institutionalised in the past nowadays still dominate the geopolitical world system. This concept points towards a 'dependency theory' which makes clear the creation of the central and the periphery Mignolo (2000, pp. 51, 57-59). Or, as Mignolo calls it, the Occident, which is "the geopolitical figure that ties together the imaginary of the colonial system", according to Mignolo (2000, p.51). The Occident therefore needs sameness within the central. With this central Occident, otherness is created in the regions who fail to be part of the Occident, Said's peripheral Orient. The Orient and the Occident need each other in relationship to express difference (Mignolo, 2000, p. 59). Moreover, capitalism was linked to the Occidental imagination, not the Oriental. This difference is creating an ambience in which Oriental regions hardly could develop in an economical way (Mignolo, 2000, pp.64-65).

Another word for the center is the 'Empire', according to Hardt and Negri (2000, p.12). They define it as a new global, national, or regional order (depends on the scale) that creates a new form of sovereignty. The Empire can be seen as the political subject, a sovereign Occident power that rules the world, or at least other Oriental parts of the world that are politically not part of the world. The empire has two pillars: singularity and exclusivity. The first pillar concerns the internal part, the second pillar concerns the external aspect. These concepts are the pillars of the Occident and the Orient. With these pillars the Empire can create a geopolitical re-division, in which the Empire and the colonial region are defined and bordered. The Empire bounded by shared values and binds together different and formerly independent regions (Borocz, 2001, pp. 10-16). The Empire can be detached as well as contiguous, which is important for the relationship, but in this master thesis the focus will be on the contiguous Empire, creating a unique relationship with the Occident and the Orient, which proceeds through exoticisation (Borocz, 2001, pp. 24-25).

The making of such an Empire has some distinct symptoms. One of these symptoms is the concept of 'bellum justum', or the 'justified war'. Traditionally the bellum justum is about the concept of defending the national territory or the political independence of a state. In more recent times the justified war has become a tool for a supreme power to legitimately impose the moral and political values on the peripheral power by force. The other renewed concept is the concept of war as a 'police action'. This police action is not a real war, since it is just keeping the former colonised into the framework of the coloniser. It is actually an activity that is justified within itself. Examples of justified wars are the interventions of France in Ivory Coast and Mali. An example of a police action is the Dutch approach in Indonesia after the Second World War. Justified wars are clearly visible symptoms of the making or retaining of an Empire (Hardt & Negri, 2000, pp.12-13). But there are other symptoms of the making of an Empire as well. The authority of the Empire can be transplanted into the peripheral regions for

example, governance without government in which the systematic totality gains a dominant position in the global, regional or national order (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p.14).

Another symptom of the coming of an Empire is the creation of universal or national values (depending on the scale of the Empire) which are created and institutionalised within the Empire and exported towards the colonies. These colonies therefore become more 'like the Empire'. These rules and institutions are transferred and implemented to other peripheral and oriental areas outside the Empire as universal values. The universal law determines over the inferior domestic law of the nation/region. These universal laws can indirectly penetrate and reconfigure the domestic law of the region or nation with new discourses. These discourses and the policy impose the laws of the central Empire onto the periphery. These nations need to follow these universal laws of the coloniser. (Hardt & Negri, 2000, pp. 18-19).

The last important symptom for the coming of an Empire is the so called right of intervention. This can be seen as "the duty of dominant Empires in the world to intervene in the Oriental spheres they control in order to maintain and protect their interests" (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p.17). This right of intervention fits perfectly into the earlier named universal laws and the justified wars, partly overlapping it (Hardt & Negri, 2000, pp.17-18). When a peripheral state does not obey the Empire in imposing its laws and rules, it can be seen as barbarian and therefore enacting an intervention in order to "restore peace, humanity and democracy" (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p.18).

The dichotomy of Orient versus Occident is not a dichotomy without scale. Dual framing exists: The region can be part of the Empire, yet not fully incorporated in the Empire. This example shows the Occident – Orient dichotomy is not as black and white as it was portrayed earlier in this thesis. Some kind of halfway state, half within the Occidental Empire and half within the peripheral Orient exist. These states are politically seen part of the Empire, but have great differences on social and cultural level with the central Empire. Regions or states can also be culturally similar, but not part of the Empire. These states or regions experience a 'lack of Empireness', which can be expressed in the amount of Otherness the state has in regard to the center of the Empire. This Otherness needs to be removed by more 'guidance' from the Center. . This chasm exists between regions within the Occident that obey what the Empire wants and "try to replicate the institutions, conventions and rules already present in the center wants and a states who rebel and therefore are seen as the Other, falling into the margins of the Empire" (Kuus, 2004, p.472-475; Kramsch, 2011, p.194-195).

The regions or states are not allowed to fill in the governance of the region the way they want, they have to stick closely to the route the Occidental Empire has carved out for them. These states/ regions are only allowed to follow and implement these central laws and institutions. The unequal power relations can cause division within the region itself. This Othering can be used by anyone, not just the Empire, but also the othered region or and state, trying to inferiorise and other a region, place or location who does not obey (or obeys less) the institutions of the Empire. Within the former Yugoslavia, Slovenia and Croatia are seen as the most developed regions in terms of economies. They are also the closest to Southern Europe culturally, being Catholic. They have tried to use this prejudice in proximity in cultural and economic turn to inferiorise regions as Serbia and the FYROM, calling them communistic, poor and Eastern in terms of religion (Kuus, 2004, pp. 477-480). Nevertheless, the borders between Occident and Orient are no fixed identities, most regions within the Empire that reject to obey are still trying to see themselves as the Occident, while the Empire labels them as Orient (Kuus, 2004, p.481).

Borocz (2000, pp.7-9) his article is somewhat overlapping the things that have been told above about coloniality and empire. Nevertheless, he points out another important aspect: the wholesale re-division of a geographical map, in which a part represents the whole. In an ambience like this there is room for excluding certain areas and regions within the Empire. For example, when the part of Russia stands only ethnic Russians live stands for the whole, there is fertile ground to exclude and ignore the Caucasian Russians. This situation can lead to the ignoring of specific regions within the Empire that are not Occidental enough, Within this synecdoche, there are regions within the Empire that are trying to pose themselves less Oriental than portrayed by the Empire himself (Borocz, 2000, p.32).

While Said tries to makes difference between colonialism by sea and colonialism by land, Moore (2006, p.20) tries to close the gap of these differences, arguing that the idea of coloniality is the same. The former Soviet Union and its satellite states have a very diverse landscape, ranging from Estonia in the North, to Bulgaria in the South-West to Tajikistan in the South-East. Moore (2006, p.20) argues that these differences are created because of “Soviet Russia and China have both been part of the Second World and the historical indebtedness to the three-worlds-theory”. Moore tries to broaden the scope of post colonialism, but there are still difficulties to recognise certain areas into postcolonial dynamics. The first and most important one is the lack of an ocean between the coloniser and the colonised. Russia, China and the former Ottoman Empire have required their lands by adjacency, unlike ‘Western’ European powers like France, Britain and the Netherlands who obtained their land over oceans. This grants an odd primacy to water. According to some scholars, including Said, water is making a difference. Moore questions this difference. According to Moore (2006, p.21), the difference by comparing an easygoing sail from Marseille to Algiers with a rough path over mountain tops from Moscow to Tashkent or Samarkand is ridiculous. The second reason for seeing Soviet colonisation not as such is the fact that Russia is not seen as ‘European’ or ‘Western’, but somewhere between Europe and Asia, more primitive. The consequences of these thoughts, together with the lack of an ocean are that theories of a Western model deviate from the ‘Russian model’ for some postcolonial scholars (Moore, 2006, p.8, pp.20-23).

## 2.6: RESTORATIONIST GEOPOLITICS

Restorationist geopolitics are part of the post colonial theory and aimed at restoring former glory and “invoking a dichotomous differentiation of an (the post-colonial) identity from another (colonial) identity” (Aalto, 2000, p.65). Another aspect of restorationist geopolitics is the “invoking of a spatial differentiation from the former colonial power that has been justified by the ‘principle of restoration’ and emphasised by diverging security concerns” (Aalto, 2000, p.65).

The restoration geopolitics is aimed at escaping and erasing the colonial structures that have been constructed and institutionalised in a country during the colonial era. This deconstructing can be done both internally and externally. Internally, the internal space of state sovereignty can be ‘restored’ by a rules and laws that aim for the erasing of material and immaterial presence of the former colonial power. This restoring is more than just removing, it is also re-enacting specific objects that were important before the colonial era. This restoration can be done by a variety of ways, by renaming, re-bordering, the renewal of narratives, traditions, language, religion, marginalization of ethnic groups and thoughts and so on. Aalto (2000, p.69) calls it a ‘return to the nation’ and a ‘purification of space’. Restorationist geopolitics is not only about the internal aim. It is also about getting out of

the sphere of influence of the former colonial power on the external level. The emphasising of the postcolonial nation that does not belong in the world of former colonial empire, stressing that they are very different from each other, therefore seeking new alliances away from the former colonial empire, going away from the 'Other'.

The paragraph above shows that the restorational geopolitics creates both an internal and an external conflict. The internal (intrastate) conflict is created because these politics are not only about geography, but also changes identity. These concepts are more than just what and who do belong in a place and not. This is not only about demarcations and territoriality, but also about identity. To whom does a place belong? Identity and geography are both intertwined. Therefore, Aalto says (2000, p.67) that "politics are not only about demarcations and interstate affairs, but about identity, lines of 'civilisation' and frontiers within the state, the intrastate, especially in multi ethnic countries, where multiple ethnic groups have to live together in a state". Security is another important aspect of new restorationalist geopolitics. The central driving force is fear of the return of the former colonial situation. According to Toft (2003, p.8): "When the authority of a multinational state declines, the central regime can no longer protect the interests of its citizens, creating a vacuum in which ethnic groups can establish their own control". Foreign powers could also jump into that vacuum. Hardening all immaterial boundaries that could restructure power structures that could make the post colonial state dependent again, and thus trying to make the existing boundaries a boundary of identity, the post colonial state also tries to harden the border, to make the post colonial country more secure, since the former colonial country is depicted as hostile. This security is needed, because the fear is always there to be once again "becoming incorporated in the amorphous space of the coloniser" (Aalto, 2000, p.71). The coloniser in this context is not only the colonising state (interstate). It is also the people, that have either migrated from the colonising state as part of the colonisation process, as well as 'natives' that tend to much towards the colonisers culture (Aalto, 2000, pp.70-74).

## SUMMARY

This chapter has provided the thesis with a theoretical framework. This theoretical framework is based on the post colonial theory. This theory has a lot of concepts that need to be elaborated in order to fully understand the content of the theory. These concepts of the theory are the border, symbols, identity, territory and so on. The concepts are the fundament of the post colonial theory. However, this post colonial theory is useless without a way to measure this theory on the Estonian case. Symbols, education and the relationship between the coloniser and the former colonised are the indicators to measure to what extent the Estonian government really is successful in diminishing the colonial structures (such as monuments, iconography, language, dependency and domination). In the next chapter, these indicators will be elaborated. The research objects, the objects that will be measured, will also be highlighted. Moreover, a method will be given that is able to code the data that will be extracted from this objects and indicators. This discourse analysis can help to analyse the (micro) data in order to connect them to the (macro) theory.

## CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter the methodological framework will be explained. This framework elaborates on the methods that are used to measure each indicator. These indicators have the aim to unravel the policy of Estonia towards erasing the colonial structures. First of all, the outline of the methods will be explained. After that, this chapter will elaborate on the indicators. The last part of this thesis will consist of the explanation of the Discourse analysis.

### 3.1: METHODOLOGICAL OUTLINE

A case study will be conducted in this master thesis, based on whether and to what extent post colonial Soviet structures are still present in nowadays independent Estonia, regarding identity, culture, politics, and economics and so on. The methodological framework of this academic research is built on three indicators, of which the data will be retrieved with both desk research and interviews. This data collection will consist of qualitative documents, news and literature and qualitative interviews. The aim of this methodology is to get as much information as possible via desk research. Desk research enables this thesis to obtain knowledge and language of people that would otherwise be impossible to speak. The qualitative interviews are a useful adding. They can be questioned directly to specific information desk research is insufficient. Moreover, these participants can add historical information and background knowledge in the semi-structured interview (Creswell, 2009, pp. 178-180). Two interviews have been conducted with Mr. Berg and Mr. Kangilaski. The interviews with these interviewees have been specified for both persons, since their field of knowledge differs. The aim of these interviews however is to get specific knowledge from an expert that is able to maintain its objectiveness and independency.

These interviews are based on a semi-structured interview, since this master thesis is looking for specific information in areas the desk research is insufficient. The aim of the interview with Mr. Berg is to look for information regarding the language object of the education indicator. This information can contain knowledge of the Estonian education system, as most of the data regarding the education system already has been given by government documents and sites. The other research unit that will be explored is the relationship. The aim here is to gain more knowledge of this relationship, since the desk research is only giving data, documents and small media articles. The aim of the interview with Kangilaski is to gain more information on both the political relationship between Estonia and Russia and monuments. The aim is to gain knowledge of the broader policy of monuments in Estonia, rather than just the monuments itself, since these singular monuments have already been researched in literature. These themes have to be explored during the interview, while this semi-structured interview allows the interviewee to come up with new ideas. This semi-constructed interview guide is helping researchers to focus on the important subjects without constraining to a particular format. The data from these interviews will be transcribed and coded. This will be done in order to analyse the data.

The subjects of the interviews are connected to the indicators mentioned above. The interviews have a semi-structured objective and are therefore broad. They are mostly used to gather specific data in specific objects and research units. The other aim is to gain more background knowledge and historical information. The questions were linked towards the economic relationship (and dependency) of Estonia towards Russia, the political relationship and the security. Moreover, the leading discourses and paradigms in the country were discussed, since the interviewees are Estonians and have more knowledge of the 'communis opinio' in the country. The other subjects are the education system in the country and how it has evolved over time and to what extent it is has

been subjugated to a national policy in Estonia. The interviews also highlight discourses around symbols in Estonia, especially monuments. The people that have been interviewed are Eiki Berg and Jaak Kangilaski. Eiki Berg is a professor of international relations of the Tartu University and is specialised in the Estonia-Russia relations and the triangle of identity, memory politics and foreign policy. He can provide this thesis with useful information and knowledge regarding the economic and political relationship of Russia and Estonia. Eiki Berg is also an expert on internal government policies that intersect with the creation of identity, which can provide this thesis with knowledge and data regarding education. As his field of work is close to the content of this master thesis, he can provide this thesis with background information and leading discourses that are present in Estonia. The second interviewee, Jaak Kangilaski is a retired professor of arts and has been vice rector and professor emeritus of the Tartu University. He has specific knowledge of symbols in Estonia and he knows the significance and symbolic value of these symbols in Estonia. He can give information over the integral Estonian government policy regarding monuments.

### 3.2: INDICATORS

The following three indicators have been chosen to operationalise the abstract main question into more measurable research units, since these indicators are capable to measure the transition of Estonia regarding the post colonial structures in these three areas (monuments, education and governmental relations). The three indicators will now be elaborated.

#### A. MONUMENTS

The first indicator is the indicator monuments. Monuments are a very broad concept. The focus will be in this master thesis on the erasing, influencing and diminishing of the colonial monuments in Estonia. Since monuments have strong emotional value and narratives around them, it is interesting to what extent Estonia is using its symbols to diminish the Soviet presence in the landscape. There is a difference between Soviet symbols already present in nowadays Estonia, and Estonian monuments that have been erected since the Estonian independence.

Monuments are very visible symbols, used to express a certain narrative, value, belief or ethic and can be used as a 'pedagogy of space' or in 'politics of memory'. Therefore monuments can be used perfectly by governments for certain political reasons and policies, in order to influence, claim or erase certain facts and history of a place or area. It is interesting to see how Estonia's government is handling the many Soviet monuments standing in Estonia and what her policy is regarding 'new' monuments that are erected across the country and the message these new monuments have. Within this monument section, the focus will be on three different objects. These three objects are two events in Estonia involving monuments (Bronze Night, Lihula Monument) and a process in a Russian majority city (Narva). The first object is the Estonian monumental government policy in Narva.



**Figure 2.** The Swedish Lion in Narva. *Source: Wikimapia (n.d.).*

This policy will get extra attention, since the city is special, because of its majority ethnic Russian population and proximity towards the Russian border. Its proximity, together with its (demographic) history makes Narva a ‘zone of contestation’, a borderland. This research object is a process and therefore still too abstract. Therefore the emphasis lies on two monuments inside the city: The Swedish Lion and the statue of Lenin in the central square of the city. These monuments symbolise the Estonian policy regarding erecting and erasing monuments in Narva. The second research object is the Bronze Soldier. This monument was the subject of the most visible, vivid and violent clash over a monument in Estonia, exposing ethnic dividing lines in the country and creating tensions between Russia and Estonia. The Bronze Soldier and its aftermath (Bronze Night) have been well documented, making the gathering of data via desk research easier. The third research object is the Lihula Monument and its aftermath. This event will be investigated, since the Lihula Monument is a concrete example of different perceptions of (war) history in the country between Estonian ethnic groups. These three research objects together can provide this master thesis with an integral analysis of the Estonian monumental government policy.



**Figure 3.** The Bronze Soldier sprayed with red paint in 2004. *Source: Tallinn Life (n.d.).*

## B: EDUCATION

The education indicator is based on the Estonian school system and the policies of the Estonian government. Education is a key point of ethnic tension in a multinational state. The aim of this indicator is to measure the policy regarding education (and the freedom Estonia gives its municipalities in language). To what extent does the Estonian government have a national policy regarding its national education course? The research objects of this indicator are the Estonian basic school system and the Estonian secondary school system. This indicator will research the amount of Russian and Estonian in these school systems. With the measuring of the language policies in the education system an analysis can be made to what extent Estonia is trying to erase the ‘language of the coloniser’. With these research objects an analysis can be made to what extent the Estonian government is allowing the Russian speaking population to speak their first language. The tool for this indicator is the freedom the Estonian government is giving their citizens the opportunity to be taught in their own language and the amount of Estonian that has to be taught in classes, as well as obligatory courses that have to be followed in the whole of Estonia. In cities such as Narva, more than 56.000 of its inhabitants are native Russian speakers, while there are no more than 1.300 native Estonian speakers, threatening the closure of schools that teach in Estonian. This led to a proposed merger of an Estonian and a Russian school (in terms of the lingua franca), leading to protests by native Estonian speakers in the city. The Estonian Minister of Education called the threat of the dilute of the Estonian language in Narva “groundless”, but the need for partial Estonian education and improvement of the Estonian language for native Russian speakers “important”. This example shows the importance of education in the Estonian society (ERR, 2013a).

## C: RELATIONS

This indicator will measure the relations between the former coloniser and the former colonised, Russia and Estonia. There are two research objects, the economic relationship and the political relationship between Russia and Estonia. The research object of the economic relationship will be the trade sector and especially the energy sector. This is the most vulnerable sector for Estonia, since Estonia has insufficient energy sources and is dependent on Russia. It will be interesting to see to what extent Estonia is able to resist Russian political dominance. The political relationship focuses on different research objects, the Russian response on the education and symbols indicators. These research objects have been researched as indicators on the internal level. As research objects, they will be researched externally as part of the Russian-Estonian political relationship. Russia has condemned Estonia's monumental and educational politics multiple times. The Estonian educational rule that set the minimum of Estonian in classes at 60 per cent and has been put into effect in 2009 has been slammed multiple times by Russia. The Russian Foreign Ministry has called the rule "unconstitutional", because "the language of instruction shall be selected by the national minority school", accusing Estonia of "assimilating the Russian population into a mono-ethnic society" (ERR, 2013 b). This example is showing the different perceptions between Estonia and Russia. On the other hand, Estonia and Russia have tried to increase their ties, with increased trade and bilateral meetings (although most without senior officials. After the signing of the border agreement in 2013 however, Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov said that both countries should "leave the coolness behind but to improve relations between the two countries". With this research an analysis can be made to what extent Russia is still trying to influence the Estonian internal symbolic and educational politics and to what extent it is using its economic advantage in this influence. This research can analyse how Russia is responding to Estonia's policy towards 'its' legacy (symbols) and 'its' minority (education). Are the former power relations and tensions regarding the Russian minority still counting? Russia, the successor of the former USSR is seen by many Estonians as a threat to national security. But is Russia still trying to maintain its former structures? Tools for this indicator are interference of the Russian government or politicians in the Estonian symbolic and monumental politics. Economic dependency and political dominance are key words for this indicator.

### 3.3: DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

In this master thesis the operational emphasis will be on discourses. This method of research is well mixable with the post colonial theory. People build identities and activities not only through language, but also by other activities, such as erecting monuments, emphasising certain aspects of history and biasing certain people based on their culture or ethnicity. It's the difference between only "talk the talk", but also to "walk the walk", as Gee (2005, p.21) explains. Discourse (with the capital D) is a concept that combines and integrates language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking, valuing, using various symbols, tools and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognition identity (Gee, 2005, p.6, pp. 20-22).

Recognition and being recognised is an important concept in a Discourse. How does the Estonian government have opportunities to be recognised as 'post colonial' in their policy in order to create and multiply the important Discourses in the country. Who and what the Estonian government is doing is more than language. Discourse is

also thinking, (inter)acting and valuing what they should do with certain objects, places or systems in order to get recognition from the Estonian citizens (Gee, 2005, pp. 26-27). “Discourse models exist and are shared widely across Discourses” (Gee, 2005, p.95) within these Discourses. These Discourse models are the storylines, images and theories that are shared by people belonging to an ethnic, local or political group. The Estonian government has for example shared theories that they have been ‘suppressed’ and ‘colonised’ throughout history, using shared images such as the Swedish Lion as part of their Estonian identity. The dominance of this Discourse decides whether it is practiced by politicians and people, both in speech and in actions. The Discourse models of the Estonian government and different ethnic groups in Estonia are connected to prototypical simulations. The response of spokespersons of the Estonian government during the Bronze Night for example was: “This is who Russians are and this is what Russians do” (Kaiser, 2012, p.1054), recognising Russians as hooligans and criminals, in order to set up a Discourse in the country that perceives Russians as criminals and enemies of the state.

Discourse analyses are an important tool of inquiry, because they mediate between the micro small level of interaction and the macro level of institutions. They connect the (micro) language, together with activities and (macro) Discourses and recognitions. With the Discourse analysis we will be able to connect the national level of Estonian government policy Discourses to the micro level of Estonian citizens who practicing these national policy Discourses. Discourse models are simplified, often unconscious and taken for granted theories of how the world works and how power structures work in Estonia (Gee, 2005, p.71). Therefore, this Discourse analysis will operationalise the concrete actions and interactions of the government ‘on the ground’ and the abstract ‘national government’.

In this master thesis a discourse analysis will be based on the data that need to be coded. The data that need to be coded are the data and knowledge that have not been coded. These data consist of interviews, media, reports and documents and some literature. The interviews of Mr. Kangilaski and Mr. Berg will be coded via the Discourse Analysis. Media reports from electronic websites such as ERR, The Voice of Russia or Teletrader will also be coded, since they contain a lot of quotes from government officials. Official documents from the Estonian government and literature that contains data will also be coded with the Discourse analysis method. All of these codes will be conducted with the Atlas.ti qualitative data coding program.

The aim of this coding is to understand the data. This data is more than the words, as they have been collected. The person or government who expressed those words can have a background or situation that can explain that language better. They have a context in which this language takes place. A discourse analysis is made with ‘tools of inquiry’ that are able to measure each indicator (research unit) in a different way in order to gather data. The three research units are all discursive situations, but have different discourses (Gee, 2005, pp. 101-102).

The Discourse analysis of this thesis will consist of two analyses, a textual analysis and a discursive analysis. These analyses represent two different dimensions and will therefore be analytically separated. The discursive analysis “focuses on how authors of texts draw on already existing discourses and genres to create a text, and on how receivers of texts also apply available discourses and genres in the consumption and interpretation of the texts” (Jorgenson & Phillips, 2002, p. 69). The textual analysis “concentrates on the formal features (such as vocabulary, grammar, syntax and sentence coherence) from which discourses and genres are realised linguistically”. This discourse analysis will therefore include an analysis of the discourses and an analysis of the linguis-

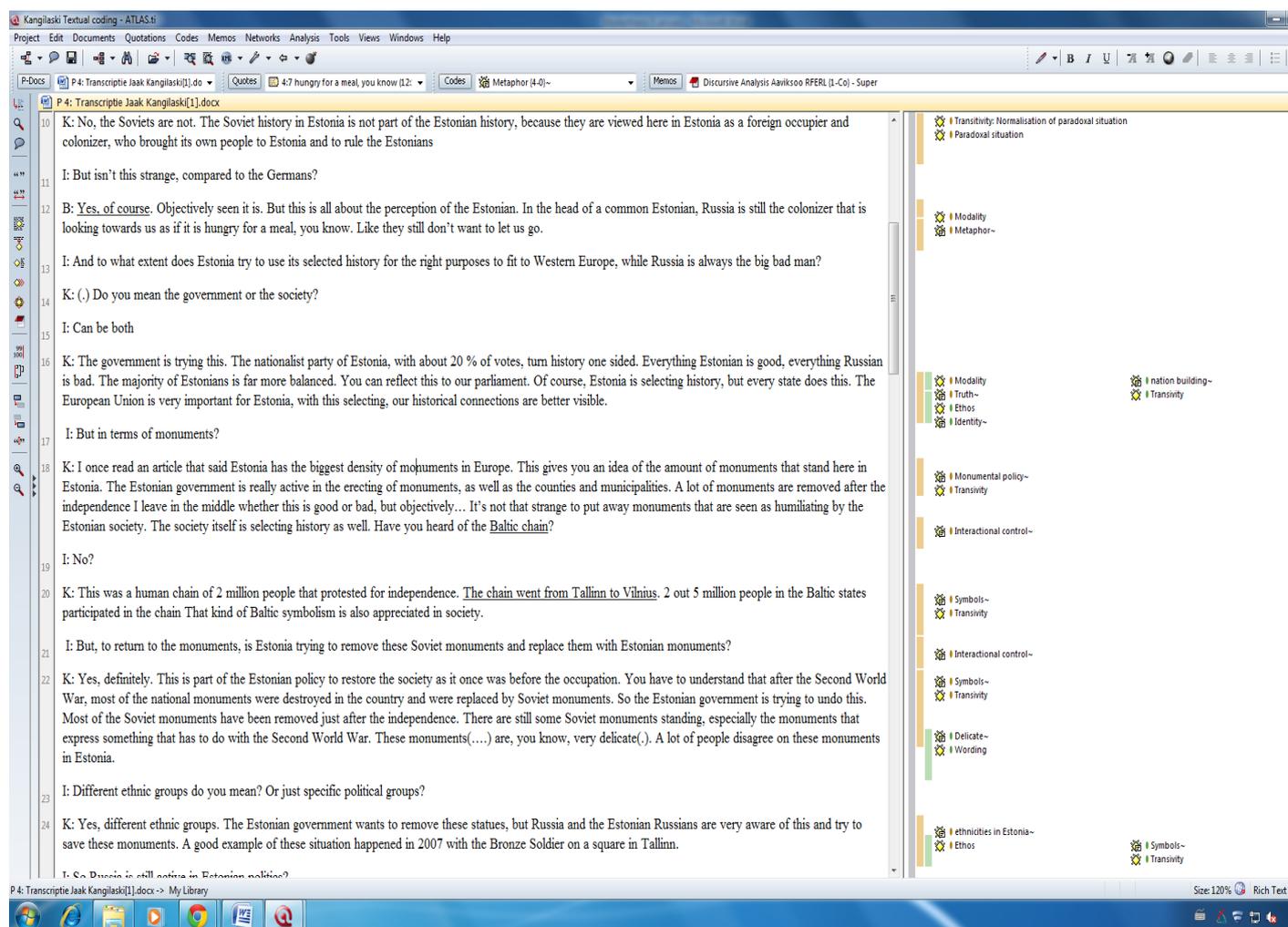
tic structure (Jorgenson & Phillips, 2002, pp.68-70). The discursive analysis will focus “on how the text is produced and how it is consumed” (Jorgenson & Phillips, 2002, p.82). There are multiple approaches for this discursive analysis, but in this master thesis linguistic starting points in the concrete text will be analysed. This analysis will identify what discourses are present in the text and if inter-discursivity and inter-textuality is present (Jorgenson & Phillips, 2002, pp. 82-83). The aim of this discursive analysis is to uncover Discourses in the text and to see what Discourses are dominant in certain texts. These dominant Discourses are the wider factors behind the government policy. This discursive analysis will show the Discourses that are present in the data. The Estonian government bases its policy on some of these Discourses, such as the post colonial Discourse or the European Discourse, while there are other actors that have different Discourses, such as local Discourses or the Russian Discourse that tries to retain the colonial structures. These Discourses can be reinforcing each other, as well as battle each other. For example, the post colonial Discourse will sometimes go together the European or the ethnocentric Estonian Discourse and sometimes these Discourses collide. The aim of this discursive analysis is not to textually code specific parts of the texts, but to analyse the text, or the quotes as part a bigger Discourse and to understand these Discourses. These Discourses are used to exert power on the policy in Estonia. With these Discourses, an analysis can be made to what Discourse is dominant in what indicator and to what extent the Estonian government is able to diminish the colonial structures. In order to categorise this discursive analysis, a choice has been made to focus on four Discourses that are present in the data: the post colonial Discourse, the local Discourse, the Russian Discourse and the European Discourse. These four Discourses carry different theories and narratives that are important in Estonia. The post colonial Discourse is mostly about the narratives that try to diminish colonial structures in Estonia. The local Discourse is based on thoughts and narratives that want to exert power via more local ways (municipalities), while the Russian Discourse is about the foreign and former colonial power. This Russian Discourse measures to what extent this Discourse is trying to be important in the current Estonian decision making. The European Discourse is a measures the implementation of ‘European Union’ narratives, norms and values in Estonia. This Discourse is named the ‘European Discourse’, but is trying to measure the influence of the European Union (not ‘Europe’) in Estonia. With the analysis of these Discourses an analysis can be made to what extent the post colonial Discourse is dominant and to what extent Estonia is able to implement its policy that diminishes the colonial structures in Estonia.

The textual analysis is a “detailed analysis of the linguistic characteristics of a text using particular tools”. There are five tools that are used to analyse the concrete text. These five tools “give insight into the ways in which texts treat events and social relations” (Jorgenson & Phillips, 2002, p.83) interactional control (relationship between speakers), ethos (construction of identities), metaphors, wording and grammar. Grammar has two elements, transitivity and modality. Transitivity is “the focus is on how events and processes are connected (or not connected) with subjects and objects” (Jorgenson & Phillips, 2002, p.83). Modality is the amount of affinity/affiliation the speakers has with its words. There is a difference between the expression “‘it’s cold’, ‘I think it’s cold’ and ‘perhaps it’s a little cold’” (Jorgenson & Phillips, 2002, pp.83-84). These differences have consequences for the discourses in the text.

These analyses have been done by using the Atlas.ti qualitative coding program. The first coding method is the textual analysis. Figure 4 and table 2 are part of the output of the textual analysis of the interview of Mr. Kangi-

laski. Specific quotes that have value for the text or are difficult to understand are coded. These codes have six regular codes, as explained before (modality, transitivity, ethos, words, metaphors, interactional control). Beside these regular codes, they can also be labeled with more personal codes that make them easier to recognise. The six basic codes are categorising important parts of the text that can have different meanings, can and are important in making textual aspect visible that can carry Discourses that are present in the text. For example, the code of transcription 4:7 [hungry for a meal, you know] codes the ‘quote’ as a metaphor that explains the part of the text a metaphor that has not to be taken literally. This metaphor is however common knowledge and therefore needs no further explanation. The code of transcription 4.10 has the ‘modality’ code, meaning that the text is assuming or suggesting something as a fact, while it is an opinion. In this case, Kangilaski presents as if ‘The European Union is very important for Estonia’ is a truth, which can be questioned, since Kangilaski does not give any arguments or examples and can therefore be viewed in many different directions and from many different perspectives. The 4:12 code of transcription labels the regular ‘transitivity code’ to the quote, implying the macro-micro connection. The personal code is the ‘monumental policy’ and is directly related to the quote. The content of the personal code explains the bigger monumental policy with existing structures ‘on the ground’.

**Figure 4:** Screenshot of the textual coding of the interview transcription of Jaak Kangilaski



The following table shows the method of coding regarding the textual code, in which a quote always has a regu-

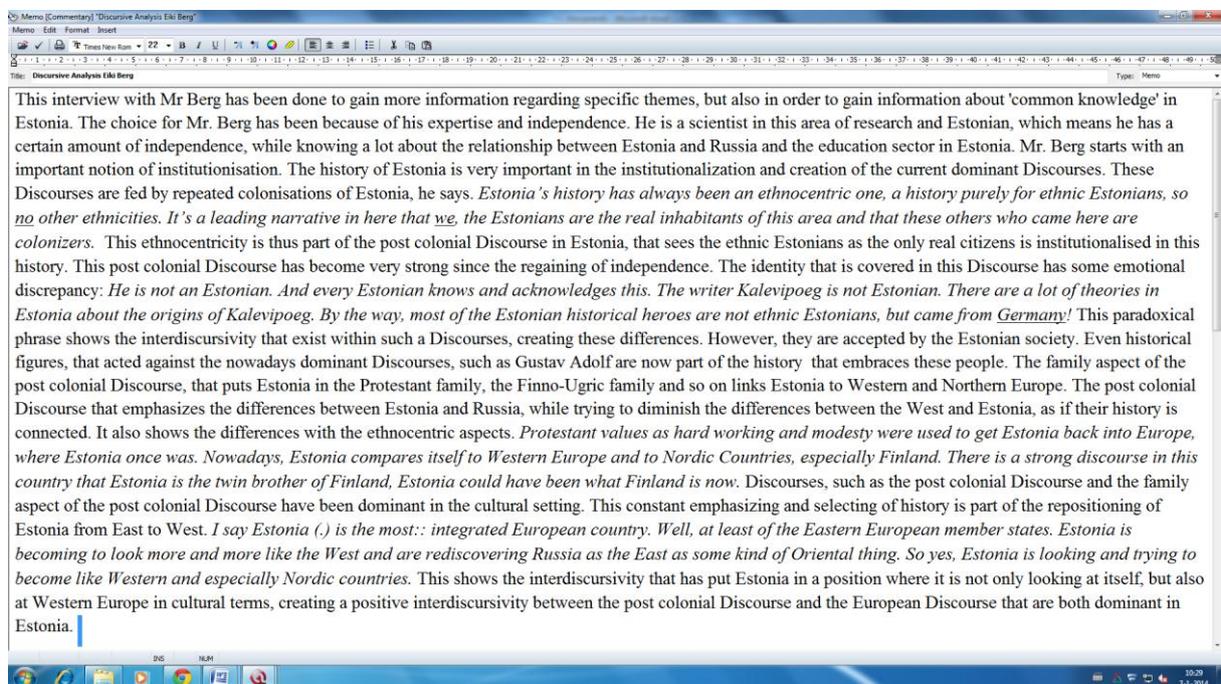
lar code. The name is derived from the output of Atlas.ti, in which every code has a name regarding its position in the text. The 'quote' row explains the quotations that have been coded in the text. These quotes always get one of the six regular codes, explaining the reason why they have been coded. If the quote needs more explanation, a personal code has been added, which elaborates and explains the coding of the quote. This personal code has a content that explains the transitivity of this quote. Regarding the transitivity (regular code) of the quote, the monumental policy (personal code) contains the following content that has been added to explain the transitivity that exists in the quote: "This process of a monumental Estonian policy is now more concrete. There is no other country in the world that has more monuments than Estonia. The macro Estonian government monumental policy of erecting monuments with the 'right' content is connected to the amount of monuments that exist on the ground". The 'personal code' gives a short explanation why this does not have to be the case. Therefore the quotes have two codes, a regular code (one of the six) and a personal code that can contain a content that explains the reason of the coding. This does not have to be the case, as example 4:7 explains.

**Table 2.** Textual coding example with Atlas.ti

Name	Quote	Regular code	Personal code	Content of the personal code
4:7	Hungry for a meal, you know	Metaphor		
4:8	Our	Wording	Independence	The use of subjective words like 'our' suggest Kangilaski is not fully independent in this case, given the fact he calls the Estonian government 'our' government
4:9	Estonia is selecting history, but every state does this	Transitivity	Nation building	This quote emphasises the macro part of the history of Estonia. The Estonian government is building a nation, based on selected parts of history that have been chosen by the Estonian government. This is a long term process.
4:10	The European Union is very important for Estonia	Modality	Truth	Kangilaski says the European Union is very important for Estonia. This is an opinion presented as truth, since the importance of Estonia can be seen at a variety of ways, all with different outcomes.
4:11	our historical connections are better visible	Ethos	Identity	The importance of monuments for the construction of an identity. Monuments display historical events and connections. These monuments. Identities can be rallied around shared objects such as monuments
4:12	Estonia has the biggest density of monuments in Europe. This gives you an idea of the amount of monuments that stand here in Estonia. The Estonian government is really active in the erecting of monuments	Transitivity	Monumental policy	This process of a monumental Estonian policy is now more concrete. There is no other country in the world that has more monuments than Estonia. The macro Estonian government monumental policy of erecting monuments with the 'right' content is connected to the amount of monuments that exist on the ground

The discursive analysis is also part of the Discourse analysis. This analysis is not fully based on the text, but is a different article that takes specific important phrases out of the text that contain Discourses. The discursive analysis is written apart from the original text. In the Atlas.ti program this discursive analysis has been added as a memo. This memo analyses and explains the whole text in terms of the four Discourses. Figure 5 is a small part of the discursive analysis of the interview with Mr. Berg. It shows the important parts of the text that are written in italic, in which his words contain Discourses. All of the text is analysed, but the method is to start with specific phrases, which contain discursive material. The text is researched in order to find different Discourses that are important for the subject. These Discourses are compared with other Discourses in the text (interdiscursivity) and the text itself is compared with other texts, in order to analyse the text (intertextuality). Figure 5 shows different italic phrases that are part of the original transcript and the discursive analysis is trying to uncover Discourses in these phrases and the rest of the text.

**Figure 5.** Discursive analysis of Eiki Berg



## SUMMARY

This chapter has provided this thesis with new information regarding the methodological framework. Specific information has been given how and what kind of data will be extracted per indicator. This chapter has also explained and elaborated on the coding of this data. This will be done via the Discourse analysis. This analysis will try to connect the language and activities that is saved in the data to the Discourses that exist in Estonia, in order to understand which Discourses are dominant. The next chapter will highlight some important descriptive facts in Estonia, such as the politics and the demography of the country. Moreover, it will also elaborate on the history of Estonia. This history is important, because it explains the context in which many of this data are produced. The history of colonisation in Estonia can help to understand the language that has been spoken by the Estonian President that reacts to a Russian government official, for example.

## CHAPTER 4: HISTORY, DEMOGRAPHICS AND POLITICS IN ESTONIA

In this chapter the history, demographics and politics of Estonia will be highlighted. The history paragraph will be limited to the aspects and time that is necessary for this master thesis. Therefore this paragraph will be mostly focused on the Soviet era of Estonia (the Estonian SSR) from 1944 till 1991, the short era of Estonian independence from 1920-1944 and narratives and discourses that have been created earlier and that are still important for the current situation in Estonia. After the history paragraph the demographics of Estonia are elaborated. This paragraph will contain the demographic changes from 1920 till now.

### 4.1: HISTORY OF ESTONIA

Estonia's history is strongly interwoven with 'foreign' colonisers. The sparsely populated Estonian region has been ruled by different empires throughout history. The Baltic area was targeted many times by greater foreign powers, like the Swedish, Danish and Holy Roman (German) Empire. In Estonia, history has always been an ethnocentric one, with foreign powers ruling the 'Estonian natives' (Berg & Oras, 2000, p.602). In the Medieval ages, the Swedish Empire established trading settlements on the Estonian shores, while the Danish Empire regularly raided Estonian cities near the coast and also tried to maintain some territories near the coast. The Baltic area became a battleground together with Prussia in the 13<sup>rd</sup> century for advancing Crusaders trying to impose their will onto the local population. Christianity was imposed upon the pagan Estonians and brought into submission. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century Germans started to migrate from the Holy Roman Empire to the Estonian region, both crusaders and colonisers. These Germans became traders, missionaries and craftsmen, living mostly in the cities. The Germans quickly came to control all forms of government, from ranging from politics, economics, education and culture. Moreover, with the decline of Latin, all official documents gradually became written in German.

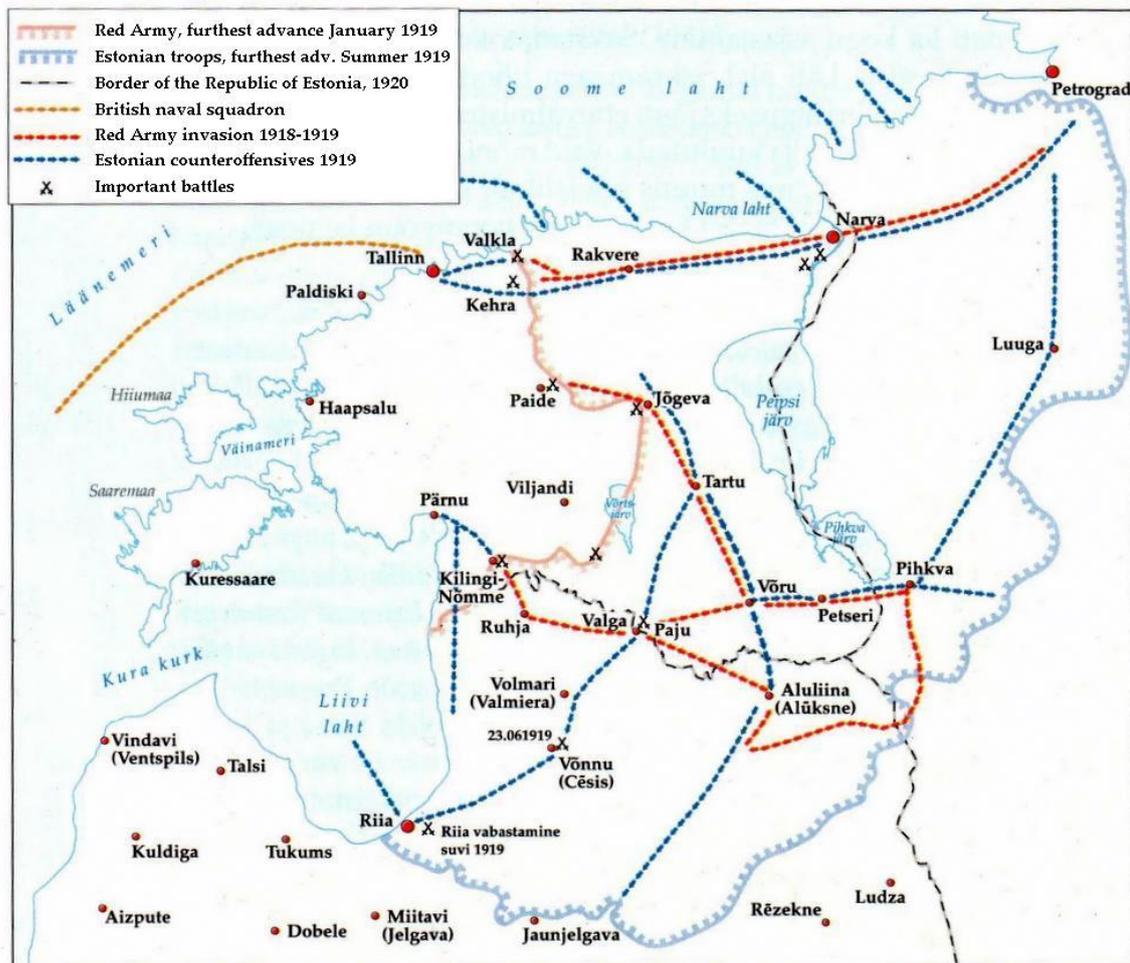
The Holy Roman Empire lost Estonia to Sweden with the signing of a treaty in 1561 that gave the Swedish Empire sovereignty over Estonian lands. The Swedish Empire made Estonia a dominion, controlled by Sweden, yet not fully incorporated into the Swedish Empire. The Estonian dominion is under the Swedish Crown, but had no representation in the Swedish Riksdag. It had however, some limited self-control and both the Germans and the rural Estonians were allowed to maintain their former positions, practices and traditions. After Sweden took control, Estonia became subjugated again to immigration from a coloniser, this time Swedish immigration. Different from the Baltic Germans however, who migrated to the cities, most of the Swedes however migrated to areas with already a high population of Swedish speaking people, historically known as Aiboland, creating an area in North-Western Estonia with a Swedish speaking population. It was also in the 16<sup>th</sup> century that Lutheranism, a branch of Protestantism, became the dominant religion in Estonia mostly due to the proximity to Germany (where most of the religious scholars came from), pushing away the formerly dominant Catholic faith (Kahle, p.225; Lieven, 1993, pp.44-49).

In 1721, the Swedish Empire and the Russian Tsardom ended their war with the Treaty of Nystad. This agreement meant the end of Swedish rule over the Baltic States, Ingria and parts of then-Finland. The Russian Tsardom, as did the Swedish Empire, did not want to change too much of the daily lives, guaranteeing civil obedience. Most of the literate people in the 18<sup>th</sup> century were German speaking people. With the creation of a surname, most of the Estonian peasants were obliged to take the surname of the German landlord they served.

This is the reason why so many Estonians nowadays still have German surnames (Kangilaski, personal communication, 28 November 2012).

## 4.2: THE ARRIVAL OF NATIONALISM IN ESTONIA

Nationalist ideas finally reached North-Eastern Europe in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Tensions rose in Estonia between different ethnic groups in these decades. A top-down Russification process was put into work by the Russian authorities in 1880, which removed the German language from all administration offices, official documents and education and replaced it with the Russian language (Kahle, pp.220-221). The Estonian peasantry became more organised and angered by the feudal system that was still in place in Estonia. Estonian Germans were willing to abolish the law that made it impossible for Estonian burghers to own noble estates, thereby ending the feudal hierarchy between Estonians and Germans. Estonian activists nevertheless called for a “siren song of independent cultural existence” (Kirby, 1995, p.132). Baltic national movements were growing between 1880 and 1914, although they were more cultural than political. In this time of the ‘National Estonian Awakening’, several cultural symbols, such as place names also become contested, with the Estonian Germans, Russians and Estonians



**Figure 6.** Estonian and Soviet military advances during the Estonian War of Independence. *Source: Wikipedia (2007).*

, such as Tartu (German: Dorpat, Russian: Iurev), that was changed in 1889 from Dorpat into Iurev, much to the dislike of the famous university that was also contested (O'Connor, 2006, p.82).

During the First World War Estonia was again a playground for greater European powers. The Estonian region, part of the Russian Tsardom was contested by Russia and Germany. German forces were not able to occupy Estonia. Nationalist Estonian leaders were aiming for autonomy within the Russian Tsardom in 1917 and only aimed for independence after Russia collapsed into the hands of the Bolsheviks. In April 1918, after the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March 1918), German forces captured Estonia. However, in November 1918 German forces retreated from the area after signing a treaty with Western Allied powers, ending the First World War. A few days after the signing of this armistice, Bolshevik Soviet forces marched into Estonia and the other Baltic states in a bid to re-conquer the area. The offensive was repelled by Estonian and Finnish forces however and Estonian forces were even able to march deep into Russia, capturing Riga and nearly reaching Leningrad. This war between the Soviet Union and Estonia between 1918 and 1920 is also called the 'Estonian War of Independence'. This war is military and politically seen as a decisive Estonian victory.

On the second of November, 1920, independent Estonia and Soviet Russia signed a peace treaty in Tartu, which became later known as the *1920 Tartu Peace Treaty*. In this treaty, Russia acknowledged Estonian independence and demarcated the border. This border included Ivangorod and Petserimaa as Estonian areas (Lieven, 1993, pp.57-58).

In the inter-bellum fascist groups started to become popular in Estonia. A fascist party was banned by the government, while the parliament did not recognise this move. The President, Konstantin Pals did not submit and suspended the parliament, while banning all political parties in 1935. The only allowed political party was the newly formed Fatherland Party. Until his dismissal and deportation from Estonia by Soviet forces in 1940, President Pals refused to allow the restoration of democracy in Estonia (Lieven, 1993, p.72-75). In terms of foreign policy, Estonia was during the inter-bellum at the mercy of the Soviets, since no great European power backed them. For example, the consensus of British diplomats was that they "would in fact return to Russian control" (Lieven, 1993, p.74). From 1933 however, Estonia saw itself torn apart by the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, who both had interests in the area.

#### **4.3: THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE SOVIET ERA**

The infamous Molotov-von Ribbentrop Pact, signed between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union in August 1939 ended the independence of Estonia. Soviet forces acted swiftly, giving Estonia an ultimatum demanding a 'military alliance' and the acquiescence in the establishment of Soviet military bases in the republic. Estonia had no other choice than to accept these terms, since they were militarily overpowered. The Soviet Union arrested and imprisoned the political and cultural leaders of Estonia to various places in the Soviet Union and to psychiatric clinics (like former Estonian President Pals). The Soviets rule long in Estonia, since Germany broke the agreement and captured the Baltic area in 1941. The Soviet authorities deported tens of thousands of Estonians in these years. Many of these Estonian political prisoners were killed by the retreating Russians, contributing to the level of support for Germany in Estonia (Lieven, 1993, pp.85-86). Estonia was recaptured by the Soviet Union in 1944, making Estonia again a SSR within the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union annexed the regions in

the South-East and North-East of Estonia, abolishing the terms of the Tartu Peace Treaty.



**Figure 7.** Border changes of Estonia. *Source: Wikipedia (2005).*

Within the USSR, Estonia and the other Baltic States had the highest quality of life, because of the food productions, hard working labor ethos and the mass demand of the products of Estonian fabrics. In cultural and political terms, the Estonian elite were continuing to be wiped out. The ‘Zhdanovschina’ campaign was a campaign to “reassert control over the various cultures of the Soviet Union by terroristic means” (Lieven, 1993, p.92), causing a mass flight, deportation and murder in Estonia of dissidents, politicians, writers, actors, priests and so on. For example, in Lithuania only one priest was left in 1948. The Soviet Union also started mass production and fabrics in the area, bringing Russian migrant workers in the area. They opened oil share fabrics in Narva, but only allowed Russians to work in the fabrics, since Estonians were ‘not reliable’. This led to severe housing shortages. In the seventies and eighties however, despite economic stagnation, within strict limits some freedom was allowed, meaning that the population at large was not submitted to repression (Lieven, p. 1993, pp. 96-100).

With the glasnost and perestroika policy, the Soviet Union allowed nationalistic political and cultural space to maneuver. The Estonian SSR was already very vulnerable for paradigms and discourses other than the communist paradigm, since “Estonia has many links towards the West: relatives of emigration, the opening up of tourist trade and the opportunity to watch Finnish TV in Northern Estonia” (Kirby, 1995, p.374). This made Estonians less susceptible towards government propaganda and to maintain a different version of the world than created by

the state (Kirby, 1995, pp.374-375). In 1988, the Estonian Sovereignty Declaration was signed. In 1989, the Estonian SSR legalised political parties other than the communist one. Estonia's first organised protest came during a state plan to open a phosphate mine in 1989, with the possibility of more wastelands due to ecological problems and the influx of new Soviet migrant workers. In August 1989, two million people (out of five) from the Baltic states formed a continuous 580 kilometer human chain from Vilnius through Riga to Tallinn, demanding independence. Estonia held its first democratic election in the spring of 1990, despite the Soviet occupation (Kangilaski, personal communication, 28 November 2012).

The first elections that were organised by the biggest Estonian political party were won by independent minded parties. Therefore, the Estonian National Council adopted "the most cautious of the three declarations – it simply cancelled the Soviet annexation, declared that Estonian was in a period of transition to full independence" (Lieven, 1993, p. 242). Estonian independence was realised by a large number of small steps, since Estonia did not see itself as a real state in the period of transition, leaving the USSR in the dark about their ambitions (Lieven, 1993, pp.241-244). In September 1991, after the attempted coup in August 1991 in the Soviet USSR, the Soviet Union recognised the Estonian independence (Lieven, 1993, pp.253-255). The last Russian/Soviet soldiers left Estonian soil in 1994.

Since the restoration of independence in Estonia in 1991, a committee was launched to register all pre-war citizens of the First Republic of Estonia and its descendents, in order to exclude the Russian migrants. With this restoration of the First Estonian Republic, Estonia's territorial size was suddenly enlarged by 2000 square meters and its inhabitants declined with about 500.000 people (illegal immigrants during the occupation of the Soviet Union). This restorational geopolitics aimed at the homogenisation of nation-space in exclusivist terms and was justified by the principle of 'restoration'. This restoration was created mainly because of the different reality on the ground, with 500.000 Russians living in Estonia and parts of the territory annexed by Russia, making the restoration paradoxical (Berg & Oras, 2000, pp.608-609).

Since the declaration that confirmed the restoration of the independent Republic of Estonia, Estonia has tried to get closer to 'First World', the West and to leave the 'Second World', the area of (former) Soviet influence. Estonia started talks to join the European Union in 1998 and joined the European Union in 2004, after a referendum was passed after 66.83 % of the Estonian voters voted in favour of joining the European Union, with a turnout of 64%. It also joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation in 2004, while it joined the European Monetary Union in 2011, changing the national Estonian Kroon currency for the Euro.

#### **4.4: DEMOGRAPHICS OF ESTONIA**

Estonia has a population of 1.27 million people, with a density of 29 people per square kilometer. Estonia has, as most Eastern European countries have, a negative population growth. In 1990, the Estonian SSR had 1.57 million inhabitants. This means that Estonia's population has decreased with almost 15 per cent during the last two decades. The main reasons for this decrease are the low fertility rates and the emigration from Estonia. Estonia's demography shrunk with 230.000 people between 1990 and 2013. 150.000 of these people migrated, including many ethnic Russians. The negative fertility rate caused another downfall of 80.000 people. Both of these trends have slowed down in the second decade after independence (CIA Factbook, 2013). In terms of ethnicity Estonia

has a diverse population with different ethnicities. The Estonian demographics were altered radically during the Soviet era of Estonia. The ethnic make-up of the country was in the 2011 census:

**Table 3.** Ethnicity in Estonia

Ethnicity	Percentage (%)
Estonians	69.7 %
Russians	24.8 %
Ukrainians	1.7 %
Belarusians	1.0 %
Finns	0.6 %
Others	3.2 %

This census is, apart from a few percentages, even with the percentages of people which language they use as first language. The Estonian language is primarily used by 67.3% of the people living in Estonia, while Russian is used by 29.7% of the people residing in Estonia (CIA Factbook, 2013).

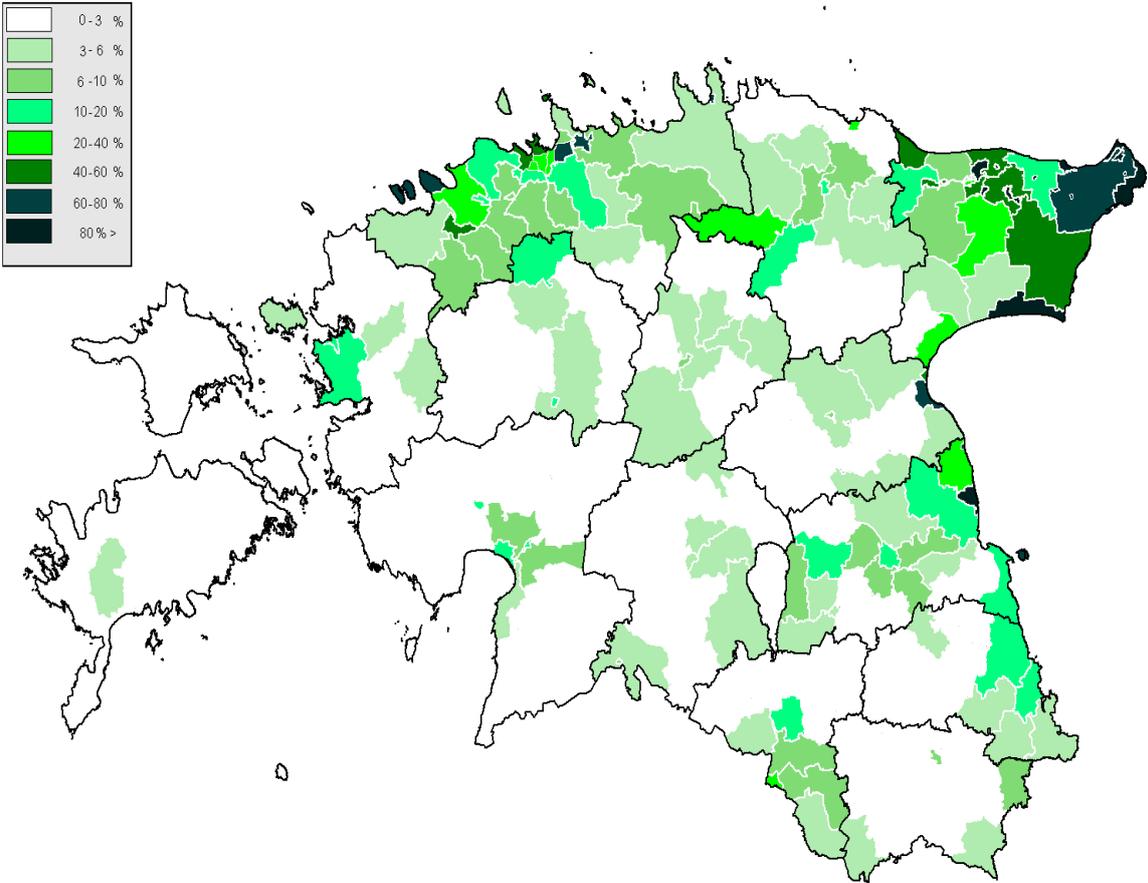
As noted above, the Russian population has risen in the Soviet era of Estonia, due to an influx of Russian migrant workers, incentivised by the Stalinist policy of the Soviet Union to resettle in non-Russian areas in the Soviet Union and the prospect of jobs in the resource sector. The population before the Estonian Soviet era of 1944-1991 had a more homogeneously Estonian character, while it also contained small Russian, Swedish and German minorities. The Russian population percentage went slightly downhill after the restoration of Estonian independence. These facts are visible in the censuses of Estonia throughout the age:

**Table 4.** Demographic ethnic history of Estonia in percentages (%)

	Estonian	Russian	Other
1922	87.6 %	8.2 %	4.2 %
1959	74.6 %	20.1 %	5.3 %
1989	61.5 %	30.1 %	8.9 %
2000	67.9 %	25.6 %	6.5 %
2013	69.7 %	24.8 %	5.5 %

A significant rise in ethnic Russians is visible in the censuses from 1920 (note that the 1922 census included the majority Russian areas in the South-East and South-West, that have been annexed by Russia in 1944) till 1989 because of immigration to Estonia. After Estonian independence, the ethnic Russian population has dropped, due to emigration to Russia. The Russian population is unevenly spread across Estonia. Most of the Russians live either in Tallinn (about 40 % of the inhabitants of Tallinn are ethnic Russians) or in the extreme North-East, in the Ida-Viru County (72% Russian), with cities like Narva, Jõhvi and Kohtla-Järve which all have a huge Russian majority. Russians also live in smaller places that have hosted former Soviet army or naval bases (Paldiski)

or in bigger Estonian cities, where they form a minority. There is also a Russian community near Lake Peipsi, which outdates the Russian Soviet migration, since they migrated to the area in the 19th century.



**Figure 8.** Percentage of Russian speakers in different regions of Estonia. *Source: Wikipedia (2011).*

In terms of citizenship, about 7% of the inhabitants of Estonia still do not hold a valid passport of either Russia or Estonia. 9% of the inhabitants have passports from different countries, a majority of these people have Russian passports. 83% of the people residing in Estonia have Estonian passports. The reason for this lies in the fact that Estonia sees itself as occupied during the Soviet time, and seeing the people who immigrated during that period as external migrants of another country, who will have to make a test proving their knowledge of Estonian language, history and culture, before they can obtain an Estonian passport. The number of these people with grey passports has dropped significantly from 32% in 1995, to 7% in 2013. People with grey passports are allowed to vote for municipal elections, but as non-citizens, not for national or supranational elections (Official gateway to Estonia, 2013), (Kangilaski, personal communication, 28 November 2012).

**SUMMARY**

This chapter has provided this thesis with important information. The history of Estonia has been explained, together with the processes of colonisation, identity and the institutionalisation of borders in Estonia. This history helps to explain the contemporary situation in Estonia and the current power relations in Estonia and between

Estonia and Russia. The demographics of Estonia and the demographic history are also highlighted in this thesis, as well as the political situation in Estonia. The next chapter will highlight the collected data.

## CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

In this master thesis, the focus will be on analysis of the three indicators, measuring to what extent Estonian government is able to diminish the colonial structures laid in the Soviet era of Estonia (1944-1991). As explained in the methodological framework (Chapter 3) these indicators help to operationalise to what extent Estonia is able to diminish the colonial structures in these areas (indicators). This Discourse analysis can help to make the abstract theory more concrete in terms of actual actions by the Estonian government to use education and symbols inside Estonia, and relations between Russia and Estonia to make a policy. Therefore, this analysis will be made with the help of a 'Discourse Analysis'. This Discourse Analysis will try to uncover multiple Discourses in the data, in order to decide whether the Estonian government is dominant enough to cut the colonial structures in the country and has the power to implement its policy.

### 5.1: MONUMENTS

While most of the Soviet monuments regarding persons, treaties, military victories (before the Second World War), the system and the state have been removed more than a decade ago, most of the Soviet military monuments (more than 100) are still standing in Estonia. These monuments are difficult to deal with, Mr. Kangilaski (personal communication, 28 November 2012) explains: "You have to understand that after the Second World War, most of the national monuments were destroyed in the country and were replaced by Soviet monuments. So the Estonian government is trying to undo this. Most of the Soviet monuments have been removed just after the independence. There are still some Soviet monuments standing, especially the monuments that express something that has to do with the Second World War". Because it is too difficult to monitor all the monuments in Estonia, a decision has been made to focus on three different events, which have all turned an amount of attraction during the last decade. The first one is the erection of an Estonian Nazi Monument. The second is about the removal of a Soviet war memorial. The third event is about the erection of monuments regarding a specific era in a majority Russian area in Estonia. The Estonian policy can be experienced in various places, as stated above. Lihula, a place inhabited by ethnic Estonians, Tallinn, about evenly split between Russians and Estonian and the majority-Russian city of Narva. During the Soviet era, several monuments were erected in central and well visible places in Narva, such as a monument that was constructed in honor of the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of a labor strike, a statue for the 'glorious proletarian warrior' Vasili Gerasimov, and statues, houses, streets and flags for other communist and labor leaders. This was done by the "voluntary labor of the Soviet peoples, who were building communism" (Kaiser & Nikiforova, 2008, pp.545-546). Monuments play a huge role the creating of Discourses, but Discourse also play a role what kind of monuments are built/erased and what they symbolise. The Discourse of the Estonian government is and its policy is to "cleanse Soviet-era monuments and to reclaim it for the independent nation state of Estonia", according to Estonian government officials (Kaiser, 2012, p.1051). In this policy, the 'politics of memory' and the 'pedagogy of space' are clearly visible. The Estonian government is trying to emphasise certain events that have happened in Estonia and in the 'Estonian history', by erecting landmarks for them, while erasing others. The question is to what extent the Estonian government is able to implement their Discourse of 'cleansing and reclaiming the space of Estonia'. These landmarks will create a certain degree of memory in the area, while the pedagogy of space will 'claim the area' for Estonia with the monuments. This indicator consists of three research units; Narva, the Bronze Soldier and the Lihula Monument.

## THE LIHULA MONUMENT:

The first monument is about the ‘Lihula Monument’ that was erected in 2004. This monument shows the different perceptions of history between communities in Estonia. After independence, Estonian war veterans who fought as volunteers under the Germans began organising themselves, calling for official recognition. Their proposed monument would consist of an Estonian soldier wearing a Nazi uniform: “To the Estonian men who fought against Bolshevism in 1940–1945 and for the restoration of Estonian independence” (Kasekamp & Bruggemann, 2008, p.431) was the phrase that underlined the monument. This phrase is different from the original phrase that focused more on the European Discourse: “To all Estonian soldiers who fell in the second war of liberation and for a free Europe 1940–1945” (Kasekamp & Bruggemann, 2008, p.431). These phrases make fighting for Nazi Germany against the Soviet Union the same as fighting for Estonian independence and explicitly emphasises the fight of the Estonian Nazi Soldiers ‘against Bolshevism’ and ‘for a liberated Europe’. Fighting against Bolshevism and for a liberated Europe (although conscripted in the Nazi army) practically means against the Soviet Union. This ethnocentric and xenophobic expression emphasises the different versions of history and different values of Estonia and the Soviet Union. It was not erected by the national government, but by a local municipal government (Lihula). The erection of this monument nevertheless underlines the importance of the ethnocentric local Estonian (and anti-Soviet) Discourse in the Estonian society. The lack of other, more civil competing Discourses in the region gives room for this kind of ethnocentric expressions of a local municipality (Lihula is a municipality with a large ethnic Estonian majority in the West of Estonia). The former Estonian Prime Minister Juhan Parts called the monument a “provocation and that it is at odds with the real history”, but he also said he “honoured the soldiers” (BBC, 2004). This quote of the former Prime Minister of Estonia has a paradoxical tone, with the Estonian government being in between two different Discourses. The post colonial Discourse is based on the removal of Soviet monuments, showing similarities with the local Discourse in this object that emphasises a part of the Estonian history that the Estonian government rather wants to hide. The European Discourse is the other Discourse that the Estonian government is being in between. This quote shows the Estonian government is not totally in line with the European Discourse, since the Estonian Prime Minister is effectively saying he is honouring Estonian Nazi Soldiers. The European Discourse has specific universal rules and laws that have to be obeyed, such as the common history against Nazi Germany. With this Lihula Monument, the Estonian government effectively has to choose between the local ethnocentric Estonian Discourse with its radical elements and the international European Discourse.

The post colonial Discourse that tries to diminish colonial structures is also practiced in lower scaled Estonian councils. However, this local Discourse can have a more radical tone in these lower scaled entities. This interdiscursivity of the post colonial Discourse and the European Discourse shows that the Estonian government is not controlling all flows of monuments and that even Estonian majority municipalities sometimes follow different and even more extreme monumental policies than the official government monument policy.

“Red paint was thrown on military Soviet monuments and a few had the sarcastic graffiti message “Glory to Comrade Parts!” scrawled on them by unknown assailants (Kasekamp & Bruggemann, p.431). This phrase is showing the difficulties the Estonian government has with the interdiscursivity that exists in Estonia, with different Discourses being dominant on different levels, given the fact the more than hundred of these attacks hap-

pened in the aftermath of the Lihula Monument. These second actualisations and second intensities make that the local Discourse is transferred to a national level, with ethnocentric expressions that defame Soviet monuments. This is at odds with the European and Russian (Soviet) Discourse that condemns every connection with the Nazi's, while former PM Parts are being accused of being a marionette of the Soviet Union and the European Union. The interdiscursivity between the local Discourse of the local municipality and the national policy is visible in this phrase, since these Discourses collide regarding this very sensitive issue, the Estonian perspective on the Second World War and the Estonian volunteers in the Nazi army. The Lihula Monument was quickly removed by the Estonian government, a week after the official erection of the statue, to a private museum in Lagedi. Wreaths and candles were laid at the site of the removed monument and an open-air rock concert was organised the following week at Lihula, showing the actualisation of the event. The Estonian government has a difference in values between Europe and Estonia. The importance of the post colonial Discourse and the European Discourse shows that Estonia tries to become more like the European Union. This Lihula Monument however, shows there are still significant differences in values. Estonia has not yet become a part of the Empire, since there are still important differences between Estonia and the European Union, as this research object shows. The Estonian government practices both the post colonial Discourse (Estonianness) and the European Discourse (Europeanness). The problem is that both these Discourses do not inter-discourse positively regarding the Second World War. The Estonian government is trying to silence this part of its history, since it does not fit into the European Discourse (Western, if counting the USA as well), that forbids every connection with Nazi Germany. This European Discourse inter-discourses with the 'Soviet Discourse' regarding the perception of Nazi Germany and the Lihula Monument.

#### BRONZE SOLDIER:

While most of the Soviet monuments regarding persons, treaties, military victories (before the Second World War), the system and the state have been removed more than a decade ago, most of the Soviet military monuments are still standing in Estonia. The removal of the Bronze Soldier and twelve graves of unknown Soviet soldiers fit nevertheless in an inter-textual chain of texts that Estonia is trying to remove these military monuments as well. The removal of the Bronze Soldier happened while tensions were growing between ethnic Russians and ethnic Estonians in Estonia. The intensity of the monument had grown because of these tensions, 'raising the stakes'. Prime Minister Andrus Ansip, a member of the more nationalist party of the government coalition provided legal cover for the relocation of the statue, together with the twelve bodies, with the introduction of new laws. He said the following before the removal of the Bronze Soldier: "I see the solution to this problem in the relocation of the monument to the cemetery ... It has become all the more clear that the monument cannot remain in its old place. The question rose: whose word has authority in Estonia? The word coming from the Kremlin or the word from Old Town? We cannot say to our people, that Estonia is after all only a union republic, and our word in this country is not worth a 'brass farthing'" (Kaiser, 2012, p.1052). This phrase of Prime Minister Andrus Ansip expresses the Discourse the Estonian government bases its policy on. The common opinion (Discourse) is the need to replace (erase) the monument from an important square in central Estonia, because the new borders have created a situation in which the independent Estonian state now decides what decisions are made. This monument is still part of the universal history, norms and values of the Soviet Union

that sees the Soviet Union as the liberator of Tallinn (and the rest of Estonia), remembering the Soviet deaths, but the Soldier is also developed into symbol for the ethnic Russians to rally around (Victory Day at May 9). This phrase of Defense Minister Aaviksoo show the discussion over the Bronze Soldier was not only because of the monument, but also about the changing symbolism of the monument and the impact of the monument on the society: “A year ago, [the] red flags [of the Soviet Union] were flown in front of the Bronze Soldier, an Estonian tricolour was pulled down, and its bearer was forced to leave, and the police had no other way of securing public order than leaving the red flags where they were. That was the moment when many Estonian people felt they had had enough.

The post colonial Discourse of Estonia has created the aim to remove (or at least relocate) monuments from these central, visible places in Estonia, such as Tonismagi Square. This de-sovietising and nationalising of important spaces in the Estonian cities is part of the post colonial Discourse, in order to express the new power structures in Estonia. This re-territorialisation is needed to ‘Estonianise’ important places in Estonia. This phrase also emphasises the Estonian independence, and the independence from the ‘Kremlin’ (Russia, the former coloniser). The notion of ‘the Kremlin’ and interfering into Estonian internal issues is also an important aspect of the post colonial Discourse.

The Estonian government actually was able to implement two different decisions, based on different Discourses: “The day after, the Bronze Soldier was relocated to a military cemetery far away from the Tallinn city center. The statue and the graves were relocated, and the Tonismagi square was stripped of its Sovietness. Moreover, the square was replanted with flowers in the colors of the EU, yellow and blue” (Kaiser, 2012, p.1053). The post colonial Discourse in Estonia was practiced by the removal of remnants of the former coloniser, the Bronze Soldier and the graves of the unknown soldiers. The European Discourse on the other hand, was practiced by the ‘editing’ of the square by the Estonian government, Discourse by re-territorialising an important square in Estonia, by creating ‘Europeanness’, instead of ‘Sovietness’. The erasing of this Soviet military monument and the replacing with European colored flowers is showing the dominance of both the post colonial and the European Discourse. The Estonian government was able to implement its policy, despite the protesting local Russians that with their perception on the monument, that guarded the site in the weeks before the relocation. This ‘double hit’ showed positive interdiscursivity between the European and the post colonial Discourse.

The ethnic groups in Estonia have different Discourses regarding these monuments, as other texts show us. This Discourse is partly based on Russian nationalism, but also on Sovietism as Kangilaski (personal communication, 28 November 2012) explained: “during the protests a lot of Russians protesters wore those brown orange buttons. Those buttons are connected with the former tsar, Saint George. He ruled Russia before the Soviet times. They identify with the Tsarist Empire. So the younger people symbolise and love the Tsarist Russian Empire more, a nationalistic Empire”. The intensification of the Bronze Soldier, created by weeks of remarks and talks, strengthened this interdiscursive showdown of the local Russian Discourse and the post colonial Discourse. The Bronze Soldier became the most affective body, as it drew increasing media and activist attention.

After the relocation and the following clashes, Estonia’s Defense Minister Jaak Aaviksoo (2007) made a remark that expressed a post colonial Discourse with restorational aspects that has been present in Estonia since the

regaining of independence: “We revived our republic in a situation where we acquiesced to granting permanent residence to a very great number of people who had arrived (in Estonia) during the occupation; we allowed (Soviet) reserve officers to stay behind on the territory of the Estonian Republic; and perhaps we underestimated the corresponding risks. The riots two weeks ago are partly a consequence of those decisions ... perhaps we are seeing today what it really means to have in Estonia a great number of people who are not reconciled to the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Estonia” (Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty, 2007). This phrase emphasises the importance of the security and restorational aspect that is present in Estonia. A Defense Minister that questioning the decision of allowing and the granting Russian migrants (during the Soviet era) the ‘right’ to stay in Estonia as the causality for the Bronze Night. These aspects show us that the security and restorational Discourse are still present, as the government views the granting of permanent residence to Soviet migrants as a gift and partially as a mistake and a security threat. The Estonian government does not view the granting of residence as something normal, according to Aaviksoo. The government views these people as a threat and not reconciled to the Estonian state. His last sentence shows that these people can be seen as an internal negative Other, since he calls them ‘not reconciled to the independence and sovereignty of Estonia’. This post colonial and restorational view says that Estonia has a lot of people inside its borders that are not loyal to the Estonian state, exteriorising them from Estonia (colonial migrants) and perceiving them as a potential danger. This exteriorising of people who do not agree on the government policy and post colonial Discourse strengthens the post colonial Discourse in the country, since the protesting Russians are branded as ‘internal negative Others’, that do not belong in Estonia, while Estonia is the ‘homeland’ for the ethnic Estonians.

However, a third Discourse, somewhere in between the post colonial Discourse of the Estonian government (and supported by a majority of the population) and the ‘Soviet Discourse’ of the Russian minority was created by President Toomas Ilves (Der Spiegel, 2007): “Most of our Russian-speaking compatriots have been on Estonia’s side during the troubled nights and days of the past week. You were with all of us, on the side of order and public safety, and I thank you for that ... It is to you I turn, saying — learn Estonian, be successful, be happy! And the state will help you. The state has a duty to you, just as you have a duty to the state”. This quote shows a new Discourse that differs between good and bad Russians. This ‘3<sup>rd</sup> Discourse’ tries to find shared ground between ethnic Russians and Estonians in Estonia. With this Discourse, the Estonian government is interiorising good Russians that learn Estonian, integrate and are part of the society, while the Estonian government is still exteriorising bad Russians that cling onto their Discourse of Sovietism and Russianism. With this narrative, the interdiscursivity of the Bronze Night has started a process in the post colonial Discourse that opens its boundaries for good Russians that want to integrate, learn Estonian, obtain Estonian citizenship and be successful in Estonian history. The Russians that do not obey to these things and cling onto their own Russian / Soviet Discourse, are still exteriorised by the Estonian government as part of the internal negative Other.

#### NARVA:

The last monumental research unit is the Estonian monumental policy in Narva. This research unit has two research objects, a Soviet monument that has been relocated and a monument that has been re-erected after independence. After the restoration of Estonian independence Narva’s Soviet monumental policy was changed

in the post-colonial monumental policy, practicing Estonianness instead of Sovietism. The city had to be ‘desovietised’, with the removal of the city’s Soviet era statues. Since Narva has a great Russian majority (93% of the inhabitants) and is the biggest Russian majority city in Estonia, it is interesting to see to what extent the Estonian government is able to execute its post colonial Discourse in a city that is hostile towards the historical perceptions, norms and values of that post colonial Discourse, practicing its own local Discourses.

“The first monuments to go were those of Lenin: the main statue was removed from the city square and relocated inside the walls of Narva Fortress built during Denmark's rule in the 13th century. This is the last Lenin statue remaining in Estonia, but its physical relocation and symbolic rescaling from a socialist international monument to a kitschy local tourist attraction metaphorically captured and subordinated to Europe has stripped the statue of its former powerful position” (Kaiser & Nikiforova, 2012, p.549). The removal of the Lenin statue shows the dominance of the Estonian state policy in Narva. The penetration of the national post colonial Discourse in Narva that removes a statue from a former leader (seen from the Soviet Discourse) and from a central square shows the dominance of the Estonian post colonial Discourse and the dominance of this Discourse even in Russian majority areas. This post colonial Discourse of the new ‘center’ is even present to order in the biggest peripheral city. Even in a Russian majority area, such as a Narva, this post colonial Discourse is dominant. Some interdiscursivity exists however within this Lenin monument. Local Russian Discourses that practice Russianism and Sovietism have made a compromise, saving the Lenin statue, but removing it towards a different, lesser known spot in the city, instead of the central square. This compromise was mediated by the national government (post colonial Discourse) and the local municipality of Narva (local Russian Discourse).



**Figure 9.** The new location of the Lenin statue in Narva. *Source: Linask (2012).*

Local discourses have saved the Lenin statue from demolition, but the national post colonial Discourse and the restorational Discourse have removed an important Soviet relic from the main square, reducing its political and societal importance, and transferred it to a tourist site, which symbolises its reduced importance. Intertextuality has shown that Estonia is using this option more often. When different Discourses (mostly Russian/ Soviet or European) are challenging the post colonial Discourse, the Estonian government is willing not to remove the monument, but to relocate the monument to a lesser known and visited spot, showing its listening to other Discourses than the dominant post colonial Discourse (with its security, restorational and ethnocentric aspects).

The second research object is a statue that has been erected after the Estonian independence and symbolises a specific time in the Estonian history. This ‘Swedish Lion’ represents the Swedish victory over Russia and the Swedish era in Estonia. “The Swedish Town (1581 – 1704) features the events of 1700 and Karl XII prominently, and the Swedish Lion monument replacement of a monument originally created in 1936 was rebuilt to celebrate the 300th anniversary of that victory in 2000.”(Kaiser & Nikiforova, 2008, p.554). This Swedish Lion symbolises the restorational geopolitics of Estonia in its post colonial Discourse. This monument was originally built in 1936 and demolished by the Soviet Union, making the rebuilding of this monument one of the purest forms of the restorational aspect, since this monument has been ‘restored’ after the Soviet era.



**Figure 10.** The Swedish Lion before its destruction. *Source: Wikimedia (2012).*

The rebuilding after independence was part of the post colonial Discourse to make Estonia as it once was before the Soviet era, erasing all the signs and landmarks that could implicate Soviet presence. Beside the post colonial Discourse, interdiscursivity exists with the European Discourse. This monument is also part of the 'European' Discourse that is dominant in Estonia. With this monument, Estonia tries to connect and enhance the connections between Estonia and the rest of the European Union, expressing the relations between Sweden and Estonia. "Germans erased much of our culture. Yet they are appreciated here. This is because the German occupation happened a long time ago, while the Soviet Union is still fresh, you know what I mean? Beside this, Germans and Swedes are also part of a different narrative than the Soviets. The EU narrative. These foreigners are seen here in Estonia as 'good', while the Russians are seen as 'bad'. This is also because the European Union and the fact that Estonia is now part of Europe and the European family. It's actually another Empire" (Kangilaski, personal communication, 28 November 2012). Intertextuality shows us that Estonia is doing this more often, trying to enhance a specific historical relation with a country. Even if the country has destroyed much of the Estonian culture, Berg (personal communication, 26 November 2012) explained (about the national hero Kalevipoeg): "He is not an Estonian. And every Estonian knows and acknowledges this. The writer Kalevipoeg is not Estonian. There are a lot of theories in Estonia about the origins of Kalevipoeg. By the way, most of the Estonian historical heroes are not ethnic Estonians, but came from Germany". Some of these relations are not appreciated by the European Discourse however, as the analysis of the Lihula Monument showed. This monument emphasises a specific era (Swedish era) of the Estonian history that fits both in the post colonial Discourse and the European Discourse, showing the historical, cultural and political ties between Estonia and Europe, while 'remaking Estonia'.

## 5.2: EDUCATION

The second indicator is education. This indicator is based on use of language during courses (language of instruction). This language of instruction analyses to what extent the Estonian government is able to diminish the use of the language of the former coloniser and what Discourses are present in this indicator. The indicator has two different research objects, the basic school system and the secondary school system.

### BASIC SCHOOL:

The basic school system is a school system in which the Estonian government delegates the building of schools (schools in Estonia are built in accordance with their first language: Russian and Estonian schools exist) to municipalities, which can decide to build a school that teaches in Estonian or Russian if there is demand from people within the municipality. This is possible, while there is only one national language in Estonia, Estonian. Studying Estonian as a second language is compulsory in schools using Russian or another foreign language as the language of instruction. Estonian can also be studied as a second language in Estonian language schools by pupils whose mother tongue is other than Estonian (Estonia, Official gateway to Estonia, 2013). The Estonian government gives the opportunity to study in a different language than Estonian, with the obligation to learn Estonian as a second language in Estonia. The owner of the school (in public schools the local municipality) is able to choose the first language of the school. "In basic schools, the owner of the school (generally the local government) will choose the language of instruction." (Strnad, 2013). The Estonian government policy regarding elementary (basic) schools is to delegate the policy to local municipalities. There is no post colonial or national Discourse regarding these basic schools, the local municipalities decides whether a school is built that teaches in

Estonian or Russian. The dominant Discourse regarding basic schools is very liberal. There is a difference between the schools that use Russian and the schools that use Estonian as language of instruction. This will give the Russian student basic knowledge of Estonian, but it is not a national policy that alters the use of the colonial language in Estonia, since this system allows children to be taught primarily in Russian. The Russian speakers in Estonia are concentrated in specific areas. This means that there are Russian majorities in local councils that can approve Russian schools. Most of the cities in which Russian speakers are a minority do also have separate Russian schools. The local municipality approved by local councils, such as in Tartu, which has multiple schools in which Russian is the lingua franca. According to the Estonian government site, a little over 20% of the children use this 'Russian curriculum'. This primary education lasts for 9 years, from children aged 7-16 (Estonia, Official Gateway to Estonia, 2013). This freedom of education gives the clustered Russian speakers the opportunity to retain Russian as their first language (especially in the East and North-East), enabling the linguistic colonial structures to persevere, such as the usage of the Russian language. The Estonian policy regarding language of instruction is based on liberal and local Discourses. There is no Discourse present that tries to diminish the colonial language in the basic schools. The basic school research object is not a contested battlefield in which specific Discourses are contesting each other for dominance.

#### SECONDARY SCHOOL:

The education classes on a secondary school (roughly from age 16-19) have a different curriculum than the curriculum of the basic school. In the secondary school, a minimum of 60% Estonian as language of instruction. "Education can be in Russian as well as Estonian, with the difference that Estonian schools have an option to learn Russian as well, while Russian public schools are obliged to have Estonian as a first foreign language. The elementary and secondary schools could be in both Russian and Estonian" (Berg, personal communication, 26 November 2012). All public schools in Estonia can choose between the Estonian curriculum and Estonian as second language curriculum, as the basis for teaching Estonian. In terms of Russian as the language of instruction, a maximum of 40 % is possible. The gymnasium however, which is attended by about 20 % of the overall amount of students, has a minimum of 70 % Estonian courses (Estonia, Official Gateway to Estonia, 2013). After the regaining of independence, the Estonian secondary school system has been very liberal. Berg (personal communication, 26 November 2012) elaborates on the importance of institutionalisation in this indicator: "I [Berg, red.] think it's something that has been institutionalised pretty much in Estonia. During the Soviet time Estonian and Russian education was already segregated::.. Both languages were allowed, but had a different school system, in which an Estonian had eight years of school and a Russian seven, because the Estonian system had to learn Russian as well. This Discourse has been institutionalised over the years by the Soviet educational system, which had the same policy.

This institutionalised system has created a very liberal dominant policy that serves the local Discourse. This local Discourse however, collides with the post colonial Discourse that has become dominant in Estonia after the regaining of independence. A transition has been started that saw the need to progress with the emphasising of the Estonian language. "This reform was decided in 1997 and the law was adopted in 2007. The Ministry maintains that schools have been given plenty of time to prepare for the transition, which was to be put into full effect the year 2011/2012" (Strnad, 2013). This phrase shows the transition of a liberal and local Discourse that allowed municipalities to choose into a more national aspect that asks the same from all students, regardless of

their ethnicity. A slow transition has been put into effect in order to increase the importance of the Estonian language and to diminish the status and use of the Russian language in the secondary schools in Estonia. This is in line with the post colonial Discourse that wants to diminish the colonial structures, such as the colonial language.

This rule obliges that new students attend a minimum of 60 % of all courses in which Estonian is the language of communication. This change has been implemented gradually, with the Estonian government raising the amount of Estonian classes over the past year gradually, and only for the new students coming from primary school. For these new students, as noted above, the maximum amount of Russian classes in the public secondary schools is 40%, while 60% of the classes have to be in Estonian. These 40% can be given in either Russian or English, depending on the choice of the school and the students to follow a specific amount of a language in their curriculum. The gymnasium curriculum has a minimum of 70 % Estonian as language of instruction (Estonian Ministry of Education and Research, 2013a; Estonian Ministry of Education and Research, 2013b; Estonia; Official gateway to Estonia, 2013; Estonian Education Act, 1998; Berg, 2012). “There are 62 upper secondary schools with Russian as the language of instruction in Estonia, all of which will switch to Estonian language subject study in accordance with the schedule and procedure established in the regulation of the Government of the Republic”, according to the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research. The restriction of opportunities shows that Estonia has gradually changed the secondary education system, slowly making the Estonian language more important. Estonia is using its borders as a territorial container, in order to nationalise its education system. These measures are affecting ethnic groups in Estonia that have another language than Estonian than the first language.

There are different local Discourses present that challenge this change of the Estonian government. Local Russian Discourses exist, that try to stop or limit this transition that limits the use of Russian. Strnad (2013) elaborated on the local Discourse that tried to stop or limit this transition: “Local governments in Tallinn and Narva (mainly Russian speaking cities) complained against the “Estonia-isation” in court. The courts rejected the complaint immediately. Tallinn’s court justified its decision by reference to the judgment of the European court, which recognises the right of the state to protect its national language in order to preserve national identity and development”. Local Russian schools are protesting this decision, in order to get exemption. Russian schools are taking the new laws to court in order to keep their rights to use Russian as language of instruction in secondary schools. Moreover, Russian schools have founded NGO’s that protect their general interests (Strnad, 2013). Interdiscursivity exists between different Discourses on different scales. The local Discourse of the local Russian minorities that live in specific parts of the country that wants to keep the liberal system, while the Estonian government has a different Discourse, in which the Estonian language is the first language of its education system. This is a contrast of the region with its own local Discourse against the state with its own Discourse. The gradual transition from the Estonian government (1997-2012) shows the dominance of the post colonial Discourse in the education indicator, but intertextuality also shows the Estonian secondary system still has eye for Discourses different than the post colonial (people with a different first language than Estonian). This new rule is not erasing the presence of Russian language in the secondary education system. Other texts have given us knowledge that Estonia offers education to young children (7-16) almost fully in Russian, with only a small amount of the classes in Estonian. This partly because of Russian Discourses and the post colonial Discourse. But as Berg (personal communication, 26 November 2012) already said: The lack of a dominant post colonial Discourse is

also because of the institutionalisation of the availability of multilingual education in Estonian. This local Discourse has been institutionalised in Estonia since the Soviet era.

### 5.3: RELATIONS

The third indicator is the relationship with Russia. This indicator will consist of two research units, the economic and the political relationship between Russia and Estonia. The economic research unit has the energy trade as research object, in order to analyse to what extent the Estonian government is able to diminish the dependency on Russian gas and to what extent Russia tries to maintain these Discourses. The second research unit is the political relationship. This research unit will analyse to what extent Russia still is able to influence the Estonian government in its decision making regarding its educational and monumental policy.

#### ECONOMIC RELATION:

The economic relationship of Russia and Estonia is based on trade between the two neighbours. The first aspect is the economic relationship between Russia and Estonia. Trade between Russia and Estonia counts for 11.9 % of Estonia's total export and 4.1 % of Estonia's total import and has been growing significantly for the last couple of years. In 2013, Russia has become Estonia's 3<sup>rd</sup> largest trade partner. Estonia is mostly exporting woods and dairy to Russia. Russia, on the other hand is Estonia's main importer of energy. The energy situation in Estonia has been difficult, since the Estonian oil and gas resources are not sufficient. Therefore Estonia is buying Russian oil and gas. This energy trade has always been done on market levels, what means that Estonia is buying energy for market prices. Estonia remains however very dependent on Russian gas and to a lesser extent oil, its dependency is between 90 and 100%. Since its inception in 1989, the Russian energy company Gazprom has been the sole supplier to Estonia all gas that Estonia is importing comes from the Russian company Gazprom, and is imported by the national Eesti Gaas company, in which Gazprom is the biggest share holder, making Eesti Gaas nothing more than the Estonian subsidiary. Berg (personal communication, 26 November 2012) explains this complicated situation: "It is a very depending situation. Our national gas company for example, Eesti Gaas is for hundred percent owned by Gazprom. Gazprom is the sole supplier of gas to Estonian. So, I agree. It is an unbalanced situation." This phrase emphasises the dependent situation of Estonia, in which Estonia has not been able to diminish the economic dependency, while Russia is retaining this colonial power relation of domination in the center. President Ilves' quote (2007) shows that Estonia has conducted multiple efforts to create a less dependent situation: "Do we need to increase our dependence on gas deliveries, while well aware that the supplier of the gas has proclaimed energy issues to be a way of reaching its foreign policy goals? We must ask ourselves whether the separation of the Estonian power system from the North-West Russian network is not rather more than a merely economic issue" (Presidential of the Republic of Estonia, 2007).

In the past years, plans have been made to construct a liquefied natural gas terminal (LNG), so that gas can be imported overseas from Western Europe. Estonia's government has also adopted (and passed) a law that requires Estonia's main natural gas company to sell its natural gas transportation infrastructure (Eesti Gaas), creating a more transparent and open market atmosphere. The new law will challenge Russia's position in Estonia's energy sector and limit Russian ownership of strategic natural gas assets within the country (The Baltic Times, 2013). However, these processes are still being worked out; meaning Estonia will remain heavily dependent on Russia for its energy on the short-term Estonia. Another opportunity for Estonia regarding new options is the option of

shale gas, which would make Estonia a gas exporter instead of a gas importer. This option will not reduce the dependency in the short term, however (The Baltic Times, 2012; CIA Factbook, 2013; The Telegraph, 2013; Kalev, 2012). Berg (personal communication, 26 November, 2012) emphasises the difficulties the Estonian government has: “The Estonian government does not like these situations. They have created some new laws that should encourage other gas firms in Estonia and some other things as well, such as trying to get Western gas firms in Estonia. But it did not work out, or at least not on the short term”. This phrase shows the efforts the Estonian government has taken to diminish the dependency on Russian gas. However, this situation shows the colonial economic relationship. The former coloniser is still the economic center, while the former colonised is still dependent for its resources. The post colonial Discourse that aims to diminish the colonial structures that limit the autonomy of Estonia has been dominated by powerful foreign Discourses, such as the (colonial) Russian Discourse, that aims to retain the colonial structures. “It is a very depending situation. Our national gas company for example, Eestigaas is for hundred percent owned by Gazprom. Gazprom is the sole supplier of gas to Estonian. So, I agree (.). It is an unbalanced situation. Russia just makes money because of the gas, but they don’t try to influence Estonia with this bargaining chip. At least they have never tried it.”, argues Berg (personal communication, 26 November 2012), emphasising Estonia is not influenced by this dependency. This construction can be seen as some kind of symbolism regarding Estonian economic independence: for the political outside, it looks as if Estonia manages its own energy, but when looking closer, a Russian, state-owned firm does the real managing, symbolising and showing that the Russian Discourse is dominant in retaining the economic unequal structures in between the central and periphery, with the Russian state controlling all flows of energy towards Estonia. Kangilaski (personal communication, 28 November 2012) agrees with Berg: “No, Russia it’s not using this situation for its own purpose. This is because it is not a real bargaining chip. We pay market prices to Russia, so they do not have power over us. They still can block the flow of gas to Estonia, but it can’t be used as a real chip”. Paradoxically however, this unequal power relation is not used to influence Estonia. This lopsided relation shows the economic power relation. Estonia has been dependent on Russian gas, but has not been pressed by Russia. In terms of dependency, the Estonian dependency is contained to the economic relationship, since Russia is not using this unequal relationship to press for political influence.

#### POLITICAL RELATION:

The political relationship between Estonia and Russia is a very broad research unit. This political relationship is therefore based on two objects. These two objects are Russian-Estonian relationship within the education and the monuments research unit. These indicators have already been researched internally, but not externally. This political relationship will analyse to what extent Russia and Estonia are trying to influence each other with interferences, protests and condemnations within the education and monumental policy of Estonia.

#### MONUMENTS:

The Russian government condemned the erection of the Lihula Monument, saying that it was a ‘disgraceful act’ and urged the NATO and the EU to take action. The EU and the USA had already noticed the erection, because the monument had already gained attraction from foreign media. “Estonian diplomats privately made reference to the imminent convening of the new session of the US Congress and the desire to avoid having the Lihula monument brought up in Washington. Indeed, it was Foreign Minister Kristiina Ojuland (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2004) who pressed the government to take action, not the Minister of the Interior under whose jurisdic-

tion the matter fell. No word about history” (Kasekamp & Bruggemann, 2008, p.432). Local Estonian municipalities do not have foreign relations to worry about, while the Estonian government is limited by the negative interdiscursivity of the post colonial Discourse and the European Discourse in this case. Intertextuality shows that these two Discourses are reinforcing themselves many times, but not in this case (The Estonian post colonial perspective on the Second World War). The Estonian government is trying to minimalise the attraction of this monument out of the fear of the European Union and the United States, the ‘West’ and the ‘Center’ Estonia wants to be part of.

The former Estonian Foreign Minister Ojalund (2004) said the following about the monument: “Estonia, as a small country that shares common European values and is building its future as a NATO and EU member, will not, in its approach to the past, rely on the memories of those, who view the past as linked to WW II German uniforms, which the democratic world identifies with Nazism. In today's global environment, Estonia must not isolate itself from the international community and damage its reputation. We must take this into account when considering what actions to take.” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2004). This phrase tries to reconnect the Estonian post colonial Discourse with the European Discourse. The positive interdiscursivity between both Discourses has been damaged by this incident. The Soviet / Russian Discourse and the Western (European and American) Discourse have the same universal values regarding this part of history, leaving Estonia alone. These discursive loops of the Soviet (Russian) and Western Discourse make the post colonial Discourse of Estonia vulnerable regarding the Second World War.

One of the most important clashes regarding the relationship between Estonia and Russia, which happened in 2007, was the removal of the Bronze Soldier. Cyber attacks on Estonian governmental, banking and company sites were carried out for over three weeks. These unprecedented attacks happened after the ‘Bronze Night’ incidents in Tallinn between local Russians and Estonians. The cyber attack was blamed on Russian hackers and as the first known attack of that scale on a sovereign state. According to Estonian officials and computer experts, many of the addresses were Russian, some even from state institutions. Even the NATO dispatched some of its top cyber-terrorism experts to Tallinn to investigate and to help the Estonians beef up their electronic defenses. ‘Russia’s attack on Estonia’ was condemned by Estonia, the US and the EU, and seen as a “threat to the sovereignty of Estonia” (Kaiser, 2010, p.1054). However, only Estonian officials have accused Russia of the attack, with the EU and US politicians being more prudent. This incident was one of the bitterest disputes between Russia and Estonia (The Guardian, 2007).

President Toomas Ilves makes the comparison between the cyber warfare and real warfare and even mentions that the independency of Estonia is in danger. This is part of an attempt to symbolise this as a Russian attack on Estonia, in order to get its domination over Estonia back. This attack on Estonia will recognise the Estonian need for security in the Estonian society. This strengthens the Estonian post colonial Discourse. President Ilves (Presidential of the republic, 2007) even compared the attack with a real war. “This spring, Estonia was hit by a serious onslaught. True, no howitzers were used and we could track no traces of Polonium. But our Embassy and our diplomats were attacked, and thus also the principles of the Vienna Convention ignored .... If we shall not pull ourselves together, if we shall not stand more efficiently on guard of our hard-won success, [independence]

may vanish once again. This time, perhaps, without bayonets, or shots in the back of the head, or cattle cars with barred windows, but by means of stealthy destabilisation and subversion, poisoning the tolerant atmosphere of our country". President Ilves expressed the connection between this cyber attack and a real war between Russia and Estonia. The post colonial Discourse of Estonia has always emphasised the threat from the former coloniser to 'intervene' in the policies of the former colonised state, in order to impose them their universal values (such as the shared Soviet history). Beside this, the aspect of security has also been very important, in case Russia attacks Estonia for its 'bellum justum'. The fact that Russia felt their colonial Soviet legacy was threatened and decided to answer, can be called 'the right of intervention' by Russia. This right of intervention is an important aspect of the still existing colonial structures between Russia and Estonia, since it can be This can be seen as the duty of dominant Empires in the world to intervene in the Oriental spheres they control in order to maintain and protect their interests.

In another quote, President Ilves (World Security Network, 2007) made another remark, trying to widen the gap between 'Europe' and 'Russia', the West and the East: "Finally, I turn to Russia, Estonia's neighbour, with a clear message—try to remain civilised! It is customary in Europe that differences are solved by diplomats and politicians, not on the streets or by computer attacks. Those are the ways of other countries, somewhere else, not in Europe". Foreign Minister Urmas Paet (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2007) did not only direct its quote towards Russia, but also towards Europe, enhancing the European Discourse to interdiscourse with the post colonial Discourse. He called on the EU to help reterritorialise Estonia and Europe that has been attacked by Russia and its cyber attacks, during the Bronze Night "The European Union is under attack because Russia is attacking Estonia .... The attacks are virtual, psychological and real .... We believe it to be essential that the European Union react in full strength against the behavior of Russia. This might result in the suspension or cancellation of negotiations between the European Union and Russia" While President Ilves made the comparison with a war with Russia, that could lead to the destruction of independence, the Estonian Foreign Minister spoke to Europe as if Estonia. Estonia was attacked, so the EU was also attacked. As other texts have already shown, this shows the enormous amount of interdiscursivity between the European Discourse and the post colonial Discourse that the Estonian government is trying to create. The Estonian government used the European Discourse, aiming to integrate and become part of the European family to rally the EU around Estonia. These European and post colonial Discursive practices by the Estonian government are very interdiscursive in this case. The Bronze Soldier has shown Russia is willing to interfere in Estonia's domestic politics to protect its interests, based on an aggressive Russian Discourse that, as a former coloniser, protects its legacy. Estonia has been able to resist these foreign interferences by moving closer towards the European Discourse, in order to get protection. The dedication of the Estonian government to pursue its policy to relocate the Bronze Soldier, based on the post colonial Discourse, has weakened the Russian Discourse, according to Prime Minister Ansip (Government Communication Unit, 2007): "The goal of the Government was to stop the gradual slipping of Estonia under the control of Russia. Until 26 April, Russia did not take our state seriously. They assumed that we would anyway yield to their demands. Especially as Russia has the right to conquer and liberate us. As it pleases." This phrase shows the importance of the Bronze Soldier as a symbol for ethnic Russians in Estonia, the Russian government, but also for the Estonian government. This phrase expresses the strength of the post colonial Discourse, in dimi-

nishing this colonial structure, despite pressure from the Russian Discourse, showing there is no place for the Russian Discourse in Estonia.

## EDUCATION

Regarding the basic education, no interdiscursivity is present between the post colonial Discourse and the Russian Discourse. No data has been found in which Russia is trying to influence the Estonian policy in its basic education policy. This decision to 'Estonianise' the secondary school system has also created a different situation regarding Russian citizens within Estonia's border. Strnad (2013) points towards an important agreement that limits the freedom of the Estonian government: "The government of the Russian Federation together with the Government of the Republic of Estonia signed an agreement on cooperation in education in 1994. The Agreement recognises the right of everyone to receive an education, regardless of nationality or ethnicity. States are committed to provide organisational, pedagogical, methodological and financial support to all schools which are teaching in the language of the other country. This means that by the prohibition of teaching in Russian in the Russian gymnasiums, Estonia is in fact breaching the agreement. The agreement gave the Russians in Estonia the right to establish schools under Estonian Law on Cultural Autonomy of National Minorities". These agreements have been signed in 1994 and were part of the liberal and 'colonial' Discourse that allowed Russia to retain its influence over Estonian schools and to have influence over Estonia's education system, since Estonia was obliged by this agreement to offer Russian as first language. The post colonial Discourse that has become stronger (than 1994) has broken this dominant agreement, diminishing Russia's influence in the education system. After this breaking of the agreement, Estonia and Russia have signed a new agreement. The cutting of this agreement means the post colonial Discourse has become more dominant, while the Russian Discourse that tries to 'protect' these Russians has become weaker. It has reduced the presence of Russian structures, in terms of the agreement and the education system.

The Russian government has interfered as well, in order to protect its language. The Russian 'colonial' Discourse tries to retain the colonial structures (such as the Soviet legacy, Soviet monuments, the Russian language and the Russian minority). Intertextuality shows a chain of media articles in which Russia is criticising Estonia's education policies when Estonia is trying to increase the use of Estonian in this system and to diminish the use of Russian in this system. The Russian former coloniser tries to interfere when Estonia is removing former colonial structures, such as the following statement: "The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued a statement calling the Estonian government's decision last week not to grant four Tallinn secondary schools the right to continue teaching predominantly in Russian "unconstitutional." (ERR, 2013). Condemnations from the Russian government are usual since the start of the transition in 2007 (of the language of instruction in secondary schools). The Estonian post colonial Discourse collides here with the 'universal values' of the Russian Discourse. Both Discourses show negative interdiscursivity, since they have different perceptions on values, history and language. This interdiscursivity regarding language is visible in this quote, with the post colonial Discourse trying to diminish the presence of Russian, while the Russian Discourse tries to retain this language for the local Russians that use it as a first language. The Russian government is following the situation the Estonian government policies. The Estonian government on the other hand, gives some space to for other Discourses to exist, but only within its framework. "The Ministry of Education and Science said that it considers the application for the

conservation of education in Russian as unjustified, because in accordance with the law and with the Russian school itself, it planned for the transition of teaching from Russian to Estonian. They can, however, still negotiate about the future of Russian schools. The Minister of Education said that he would not be against schools which are supported by Russia (Strnad, 2013; Voice of Russia, 2010). However even with this funding, public and private schools in Estonia are obliged to follow the national instructions, regarding language of instruction. The post colonial Discourse remains therefore dominant compared to the Russian Discourse.

#### 5.4: CONCLUSION

The results show us some interesting and unexpected results. The monumental indicator has different objects. What the Lihula Monument, Bronze Soldier and the 'Narva' process have in common, is that in all these objects, the post colonial Discourse has been dominant in the Estonian policy to erase the colonial structures. Another thing these research objects have in common is the local Discourse that is challenging the decision making of the Estonian government. This local Discourse can be Russian, as well as Estonian. The Estonian government has been willing to compromise with the local municipality regarding the Lihula Monument, the Lenin Statue and the Bronze Soldier Statue. These research objects display the power relations of Discourses in Estonia regarding the monuments: The Estonian government is dominant in its decision making, but is willing to make concessions to the local municipalities, therefore being able to diminish the presence of colonial structures significantly. Regarding the influence of Russia: The Russian Discourse that has been present in these research objects has been trying to influence the Estonian post colonial political policy. The Lihula Monument showed some interesting discursive loops. The Estonian post colonial Discourse is often intertwining with the European Discourse, but the Lihula Monument has shown this is not always the case. Local ethnocentric Discourses contain some elements that are too extremist for the European Discourse and that overlap with the post colonial Discourse, such as their view on the Second World War. The Bronze Soldier also saw an interference of Russia, this time with actions rather than words. These Russian actions confirm that Russia still sees Estonia as a formerly colonised country that has to respect certain values and norms that were normal during the Soviet era, otherwise Russia has to intervene. This political domination has not been present, however. The Russian government has tried to influence the Estonian government. However, the Estonian government has shown they are able to implement measures amid these interferences. The Russian justified war for example, did not change the Estonian policy. The post colonial Discourse has been dominant over the local and Russian Discourse in this aspect. Both these Discourses, especially the local Discourse still has influence however, as the compromises (relocation of the monuments instead of remove) showed. With this relocation, the monuments were still stripped of their importance in central territories of course, diminishing their symbolism. What does raise attention is the importance of the European Discourse in this contested arena. The influence of the European Union in this indicator is bigger than expected. The European Discourse has been very present and dominant, both limiting and protecting the Estonian policy. The colonial structures are not completely erased however, since they continue to be visible at less visited places.

The analysis of the education indicator has been surprising. The most surprising aspect of this research unit is the dominance of the local Discourse since the regaining of independence. This is partly based on the institutionalisation of this system in the Soviet era. Therefore, both objects (basic & secondary) are leaning towards the local

Discourse. This local Discourse has been challenged in the secondary school system by the post colonial Discourse, but even this law that has been approved is not erasing the colonial language in the education system. The gradual transition also showed the Estonian government is treating this subject carefully. Russian children still have the opportunity to have a significant amount, or even a majority of their lessons in Russian. The local, as well as the Russian Discourse have protested this decision to change the secondary education system, but without effect. Nevertheless, the Estonian government has not been able (or even willing) to really diminish this colonial language from its schools, creating a situation in which many of the Russian schoolchildren will be more fluent in Russian than in Estonian. This situation is especially strange, when comparing it to other research units, such as the monumental research unit or the economic relationship, which has a fierce battle between different Discourses on different levels.

The economic relationship is based on the energy sector (gas). This gas sector was characterised by a very unequal economic relationship between Estonia and Russia. Estonia has some other sectors in which they are dependent (coal and oil), but the situation with the gas is the most dependent, in terms of data (Russia is the only supplier of Estonia's gas) and knowledge (Russia owns the only Estonian firm and the entire infrastructure). This is a classical situation in which the post colonial state has become independent, but is still dependent on the coloniser. However, because Estonia pays market prices, Russia has no bargaining chip to influence Estonia (Berg, 2012). This situation is a classic example of a dependent situation that the coloniser uses to retain influence in its former colony. The fact that Russia is not trying to use this advantage, says Estonia has made progress in diminishing the economic dependency on Russia. This sounds strange, because of the data that show the dependency on Russian gas. But the selling at market prices has taken away a large chunk of that 'bargaining chip'. This is different than expected, because data shows a very different perspective. Estonia has been able to contain the economic dependency, but has not been able to completely erase the economic colonial structures. The Estonian government has been able to erase the symptoms of this economic dependency, but has not been able to cut this colonial structure.

In the next chapter we will use these results to answer the main question. This main question can be answered by combining the results from the three indicators, in order to get a holistic and integral perspective on the ability of the Estonian government to implement their post colonial policy and to what extent they are able to diminish the colonial structures in Estonia.

## CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The results of the analysis have given us valuable information to what extent Discourses are present and dominant in the areas of research. These Discourses help us to understand what the power relations are between the Estonian government, local governments, the EU and Russia. This chapter will start with the answer of the main question. After this paragraph we will discuss the recommendations and limitations of this master thesis

This aim of this thesis is to gain an ‘integral and holistic’ perspective on the Estonian government policy. The question is to what extent Estonia is able to implement a ‘post colonial policy’ in which the Estonian government is able to diminish existing colonial structures. The three different indicators (monuments, education, and relation) create an opportunity to look at the policy from a holistic view. This holistic view is currently lacking in the literature. The dominance and power relations of the Estonian government in these indicators can also be measured by the use of the Discourse analysis, which allow us to measure to what extent the Estonian government really is independent and to what extent other Discourses have power in the areas of research.

### 6.1: MAIN QUESTION

The aim of this chapter is to get an answer to the question whether the Estonian government has the ability of the Estonian government to implement a policy that diminishes the colonial structures in the country. This will be done by the answering of the main question:

*Main question: To what extent is Estonia capable of becoming more independent in cultural, political and economic realms from its former coloniser, the Soviet Union (now Russia), by erasing, influencing or altering the colonial structures that have been laid and institutionalised in the colonial Soviet era (1944-1991), by exploiting their national border?*

This master thesis is based on three indicators (which in effect are small case studies (hierarchical comparing case study), as explained Chapter 1) and the answering of this main question is needed to compare and merge these indicators into one answer that bases these different results of the indicators. A short summary will be given of the results of the three indicators below that show the different results between the indicators.

These three indicators all have been researched and analysed and differ substantially from each other. In the ‘monument’ indicator the Estonian government is very aggressive and dominant. Research has shown that the Estonian government has been able to ‘relocate’ specific monuments that gained a lot of media attention, such as the Bronze Soldier, the Lihula Monument and the Lenin Statue in Narva. This relocation shows that the Estonian government is dominant in the decision making, but it also shows that other actors also have a say in the decision making. The Estonian government does not have total dominance, but Estonia is able to diminish the ‘presence’ of these post colonial structures, without erasing them.

The ‘education’ indicator shows an indicator in which Estonia has not implanted a real policy that tries to erase or diminish the presence of Russian in Estonia. The Estonian government has only implemented some laws that emphasises Estonian in classes. These policies are not sufficient to erase or diminish the presence of Russian in the Estonian education system. Much of the policy is delegated to local municipalities in Estonia (regarding language of instruction), while the Estonian national government has the ‘final deciding shot’ about the policy

(such as the new law). This is a situation in which the Estonian government does not erase or diminish the use of Russian in class (and in society), because young children continue to learn and speak the language.

The 'relation' indicator expresses a strong desire of the Estonian government to diminish the economic dependency of Russia, by trying in different ways to diminish the dependency on Russian energy, especially gas. This economic relation between Russia and Estonia shows the unequal power relations between Estonia and Russia. By paying market prices Estonia has been able to neutralise the symptoms of this unequal power relation, since Russia does not use this unequal relationship for political dominance, but Estonia has not been able to cut this economic colonial structure.

This summary shows three very different outcomes in each indicator in terms of commitment and dedication (education), partial success (monuments) and the retaining of the structure (economic relation). Estonia is therefore not becoming integrally, but only partially becoming more independent. The holistic analysis of the Estonian government teaches us that Estonia's policy is very different in different actors. This master thesis shows the Estonian government policy does not have an integral policy regarding colonial structures. This lack of an integral policy that approaches colonial structures from a unilateral approach results in different policies with different dominant Discourses in that area. Another reason for the different outcomes is the different challenging Discourses. The different indicators have different 'arenas of contestation'. These results create a situation in which there is no 'general' statement that includes all indicators regarding the question whether Estonia is 'becoming more independent in social political and economic realms from its former coloniser'. The answer to this statement is, is that is depends on the 'realm' to what extent Estonia is becoming more independent.

A limitation of this thesis is therefore that conducting an integral analysis in which the ability of the Estonian government to cut colonial structures is difficult, since no generalisation of an integral analysis is possible. The approach of this thesis hampered the opportunity for a generalisation, since the context has been very important for the case study. The results could be different if another former Soviet state, such as Latvia or Georgia would be the case of this thesis. The generalisation of the post colony policy of the three indicators however, is also hindered by the variable Estonian policy, concerning these indicators. This analysis will not have an integral result, because the 'Estonian government policy' is based on different 'sub-policies', regarding different indicators. This different policy, together with the different power relations of the 'contested arena's' of the indicators hinder the making of an integral analysis. Russia, local municipalities or the European Union have different power and dominance, concerning the different indicators. The holistic view that this thesis has been trying to offer is a view that analyses the integral Estonian policy as fragmented and inconsequent. This could also be a subject for new research. There has not been done research that tries to understand and uncover the deeper lying reasons and causes behind the differences in the Estonian government policy regarding the different areas of research. The results of this thesis can be starting point for the research what the factors are behind the fractured Estonian government post colonial policy.

## 6.2: RECOMMENDATIONS

This thesis has gained valuable information regarding the areas that have been researched, as well as the holistic perspective this thesis has offered, in which the Estonian government is trying to diminish the presence of co-

lonial structures in Estonia. The societal relevance of this thesis has been about the approach of the Estonian government regarding the colonial structures that polarises Estonia internally and externally. These recommendations are therefore directed towards the Estonian government. The government needs to ‘walk a fine line’ more between different ethnic groups in Estonia, instead of the current policy. The polarisation of the Estonian society by the Estonian government policy shows that Estonians and Russians have different perceptions on history, language, norms and values. These differences are extremely difficult to cover, especially in a multi-ethnic state like Estonia (while the government perceives it as a mono-ethnic state). The aggressive post colonial Discourse that has dominated its policy regarding monuments has created a partition in Estonia between different ethnic groups and has increased difficulties with Russia, as well as with the EU in specific cases. It is recommended Estonia tries to lose the ethnocentric and restorational aspects of this policy, since they create tensions in the country. President Ilves has tried to create a ‘3<sup>rd</sup> Discourse’: “A few days ago, I found a webpage with several snapshots of Tallinn, set up by a young woman called Maria, under an extremely relevant heading –”We are Russians, but our homeland is Estonia”. Thank you, Maria! An honest look will tell us that most of our Russian-speaking compatriots have been on Estonia’s side during the troubled nights and days of the past week. You were with all of us, on the side of order and public safety, and I thank you for that. Let us not be misled by looters who acted in the shadow of the night – they would have taken their opportunity to steal sooner or later. They will be handled efficiently by our police and our courts”. This type of rhetoric is needed to create new boundaries in Estonia that includes both ethnic Estonians and ethnic Russians that are willing to integrate and take part in the society. The attenuating of the post colonial policy is needed to create an environment in which both ethnic Russians and ethnic Estonians can prosper. On the other hand, the Estonian policy regarding its education is too ‘loose’. It is recommended Estonia tightens this education system to diminish the role of the Russian language (not erasing it!). This bi-lingual curriculum needs to be adapted in order to give the Russian population more opportunities to integrate and to take part in society. Knowledge of the Estonian language is vital for the integration of Russians in the Estonian society. With a better fluency in Estonian, these people will also have more job prospects in Estonia. With this current situation, Russian majority cities are the ‘exteriorised interior’. In these areas, the majority of people is more fluent in Russian than in Estonian, speaks Russian on a daily base and knows Estonian only from a few school lessons. The Estonian government needs to walk a fine line between Russians and Estonians in Estonia. On the one hand, it needs to give the Russian community specific autonomy and liberty to express their selves (retain some of the post colonial structures). On the other hand, the Estonian government integrates these Russians. This means the Estonian government needs act like a civil government for all Estonians, not only ethnic Estonians. The government needs to create new narratives and Discourses (‘the 3<sup>rd</sup> Discourse’) that emphasise the ‘civil Estonian’. This 3<sup>rd</sup> Discourse could also improve the relationship with the Russian government, which is protesting or condemning Estonia when it Estonia is discriminating the Russian minority or ‘touching’ the Russian legacy.

Regarding the economical relationship this thesis recommends to continue the search for other gas resources. The current situation remains a depending one for Estonia. The cutting of the colonial structures in order to become more independent from Russia is needed. This need can be explained by looking towards other post Soviet states that are dependent on gas. Countries like Kyrgyzstan, Ukraine and the Belarus are politically dominated by

Russia, due to the economic dependency. Russia has not used the economic dominance over Estonia, but these other examples show Russia is capable of doing so.

The results of the three independent indicators show striking differences regarding dominant Discourses. The Estonian government has a different policy regarding different indicators in this research. The monumental policy for example, is very aggressive and aims to be 'restorational': To remove the monuments that have been erected in the Soviet era and to replace them with national monuments with different symbols, while the Estonian government has a very liberal policy towards the education system. In this system, the Estonian government does not have a policy to erase these colonial structures from its education system. The use of the Russian language in the Estonian education system is institutionalised in Estonia. This different approach is striking and interesting, because it gives an insight to what extent Estonia does have a 'national' policy, instead of different policies in different research areas that have been created due to actualisation and intensification. This is an aspect that has not been researched yet. For co-researchers it can be interesting and valuable to research the reason, cause or motivations of these gaps between different government policies in Estonia,

Another interesting phenomenon that was not expected is the influence of the European Union on the decision making of Estonia. Estonian government officials have been limiting their post colonial policy within the framework of the European Union. Estonia is part of the EU and the NATO, which gives Estonia 'protection' from Russia. This thesis has shown that Estonia is willing to go far in order to frame its own policy (and Discourse) into the European universal norms and values. The speeches and interviews of senior government officials such as Ansip, Ilves, Ojuland and Paet show the submission of Estonia in regarding to the European Union and the desire to be part of the European Union. This thesis is researching to what extent Estonia is able to cut the colonial structures that have been laid and institutionalised in the colonial Soviet era, therefore excluding the European Union. Nevertheless, this thesis can be a starting point for co-researchers to base their research on the relationship of Estonia and the European Union and to what extent there is a parallel between the situation of Estonia in the Soviet Union and the contemporary situation of Estonia in the Soviet Union.

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