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Moving the field forward: a micro–meso–macro model for critical language planning. The case of Estonia[†]

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This study investigates *de facto* language policy in Estonia. It investigates how language choices at the micro (or individual) level are negotiated within the macro (or social and historical) context: how official language policy and other features of the discursive environment surrounding language and its use in Estonia translate into real-world language behaviour and practices at a local level. This is achieved through the monitoring of language use in daily interactions of a group of university students with staff members in public and private organisations. This research also engages with the concept of practices as a meso-level of repeated activity, recently introduced into applied language studies, linking individual instances of (linguistic) behaviour with the macro social and historical context within which they occur. Such practices allow us a more complete understanding of how macro translates into micro (as in traditional top-down language planning), but also how the micro can resist the macro, and thus how behaviours in local contexts reshape wider perspectives on language issues (bottom-up language planning). This picture of language use "on the ground" forms part of a wider critical analysis of how "doing language" is managed in contemporary Estonian society, and how this management of language can be improved in order to achieve both the maintenance of (linguistic) diversity and the reduction of social inequality. In addition to contributing knowledge in language policy and planning (LPP) by offering a study on Estonia with a critical focus on local contexts, this article also moves the field forward by incorporating the latest thinking about language and its social contexts. Not only is this the first study to focus on the micro in Estonian in LPP, it is the first to apply a micro–meso–macro model specifically to LPP, overall. This multilayered approach, which includes the meso-political level of practices, allows us to advance LPP studies in powerful and productive ways. It provides a way of arriving at an *informed* understanding of why people use language in particular ways in multilingual contexts, thus permitting the formulation of LPP that can be effective and ethical in its outcomes.

Keywords: Estonian; Russian; poststructuralism; critical language policy and planning; language diaries

Introduction

This article investigates language use in Estonia from a critical language policy and planning (CLPP) perspective. It examines how language choices at the micro (or individual) level are negotiated within the macro (or social and historical) context. This is achieved

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through the monitoring of language use in daily interactions of a group of university students with staff members in public and private organisations by way of a language diary study. This research also engages with the concept of practices as a meso-level of repeated activity, recently introduced into applied language studies (Pennycook, 2010), linking individual instances of (linguistic) behaviour with the macro social and historical context within which they occur. Such practices allow us a more complete understanding of how macro translates into micro (as in traditional top-down language planning), but also how the micro can resist the macro, and thus how behaviours in local contexts reshape wider perspectives on language issues (bottom-up language planning). This picture of language use "on the ground" forms part of a wider critical analysis of how "doing language" is managed in contemporary Estonian society, and how this management of language can be improved in order to achieve both the maintenance of (linguistic) diversity and the reduction of social inequality.

Introduction to Estonia and Estonian

In order to contextualise this research, I begin with a brief look at the context for language policy and planning (LPP) in Estonia. Estonian, the national language of Estonia, has approximately 1.1 million native speakers, 950,000 of these living in Estonia itself and the remainder elsewhere (Sutrop, 2004). Estonian is a member of the Finno-Ugric branch of the Uralic family of languages, closely related to Finnish and more distantly to Hungarian (Abondolo, 1998). Estonian and its Uralic cousins are genetically unrelated to Russian, Latvian, Swedish, English or any of the other Indo-European languages, the largest linguistic grouping in Europe and the world.

Estonia was occupied by the Soviet Union in 1939, and in 1940 it was annexed. In the first period of independence from 1918, Estonian had been used throughout society, including its becoming the language of instruction at the national university, the University of Tartu, in 1919 (Kasekamp, 2010), and modernisation of Estonian took place through the 1920s and 1930s (Raun, 2001; Wright, 2004). Throughout the Soviet occupation, however, the proportion of ethnic Estonians among the population dwindled: from 88.2% in 1938 to 74.6% in 1959 to approximately 60% at re-independence in 1991 (Lieven, 1994). Given the prestige and primacy accorded to Russian throughout the Soviet Union, by the time Estonia regained independence, Estonian had become a minoritised majority language (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). That is, although Estonian was a majority language in terms of native speakers, due to the asymmetrical bilingualism which had developed during the Soviet period (Estonians had mostly become functionally bilingual; Russians, by and large, had not), the number of people who could speak Russian in Estonia overall was much greater than the number that could speak Estonian. Furthermore, a situation had developed in which Russian-speakers had to come to expect to be able to use their language with ethnic Estonians (Karklins, 1994) and Russian was thus the *lingua franca* in interethnic encounters. Russian had also been the language of social mobility (i.e. of higher professions) and administration in Soviet Estonia (Adrey, 2005; Nørgaard, Hindsgaul, Johannsen, & Willumsen, 1996).

The challenge, therefore, facing Estonian language planners in 1991 was the reversal of the gradual shift Estonian had undergone during Soviet times away from being a national language used throughout society towards chiefly informal domains. On the one hand, the reform was simple: Estonian was declared the only official language of the State and public employees were given a transitional period in which to acquire Estonian. On the other hand, LPP in Estonia has faced a formidable task: that of altering the way in which the two major ethnolinguistic groups in country – ethnic Estonians and Russian-speakers – deal with each

other on a daily basis. The challenge has been to make Estonian the language of regular interethnic communication instead of Russian.

Two LPP-related developments have thus been under way in post-Soviet Estonia. The first is the transition to Estonian as *lingua franca*, a process also known as normalisation. The second process is that of societal integration. In short, integration is about bringing ethnic Estonians and Russian-speakers together into a joint civil society that uses Estonian as the basis of communication in interethnic encounters. On the one hand, the separate societies that came to be established under Soviet rule have, to a great extent, have lost their sharp distinction from one another. On the other hand, the process has also been uneven, and, for example, there is growing social and economic marginalisation in the north-eastern Estonian region of Ida-Virumaa, where the majority is Russian-speaking and has, to this day, limited Estonian proficiency.

Theoretical introduction: poststructuralism and a micro–meso–macro approach to LPP

This research takes a poststructuralist perspective on LPP. This is used to draw explicitly on Tollefson's (1991) historical–structural approach on LPP. Specifically, this means seeing attitudes towards and instances of linguistic behaviour as always already framed (but not predetermined) by the historical and social context within which they occur – what Schiffman (1998) refers to as *linguistic culture* and Hult (2010a) terms (discursive) *TimeSpace*. Analysis of attitudes and use of language must thus take into account the *discourses* – worldviews, beliefs, perspectives, *truths* – held by the individuals in question, as shaped by their histories and social milieus. The opposing approach, what Tollefson terms the neoclassical approach, locates the origin of behaviours and attitudes solely within the individual. In other words, it allows others to *blame* minority individuals for their failure to learn a majority language (e.g. Estonian by Russian-speakers in the Estonian case) or to integrate into the wider population, that is, does not attempt to understand the (social and historical) reasons for their behaviour and beliefs. Furthermore, as it ignores context to a great extent, the neoclassical approach does not advocate attempts to create social circumstances that would be conducive to the desired attitudes and behaviours, nor is it based on the notion that beliefs (as shaped by discourses) need to come together in order to reach shared ways of doing things. The historical–structural approach, however, as will be seen, given its central tenet that attitudes and behaviour are contingent, requires beginning with the context when trying to understand how beliefs and behaviours are influenced.

The historical–structural approach thus locates the micro as always occurring within the macro. While LPP includes the activities of governing bodies or top-down (traditional) language policy, not only government-level activities regulate and influence the linguistic makeup and functioning of a society (Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008), but other macro-level features or discourses also affect how people use language. Furthermore, micro-level features such as the choices of individuals also play an important role. While no micro activity can ever exist outside the macro environment, and thus individual choices cannot ever be seen as completely "free", there is nevertheless room for creativity, and discourses do indeed change over time, not least because of individual movement within these structures to prolong, resist, or restructure existing ways of interacting with the world (Baldauf, 2008; Canagarajah, 2006; Chua, 2008; Chua & Baldauf, 2011; Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008; Paciotto & Delany-Barmann, 2011). In terms of language management activities, this human creativity is referred to as bottom-up or de facto language policy (Shohamy, 2006). As Shohamy (2006) notes, "[l]anguage policy manifests itself not only through

such items as policy documents and test materials but also through the language used [by individuals] in the public space" (p. 133).

In this sense, it can be said that this article takes a quasi-ethnographic approach to LPP, where "ethnography is about what 'is'" (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 153) as opposed to traditional policy and planning studies "about how things 'ought to be'" (p. 153). Canagarajah (2006) explains: "While LPP operates from the macro-social level of state and international institutions, ethnography focuses on the micro-level of interpersonal relationships, conversation, and everyday life" (p. 153). In terms of how language is managed, micro studies:

> … can bring out tension in the role of institutions at different levels of society, and the ensuing compromises in realizing the policy [… .] [They] may examine [policy's] consequences for the relevant communities and social groups; the ways in which what is on paper shapes everyday life and interpersonal relationships; the consistency with which it is implemented in diverse localities […]; and the fresh, unexpected problems a policy creates. (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 158)

What is important to note here is the assertion that the results of language management practices may be unpredictable, emerging differently across different sections of the community, especially where there are "divergent interests […] between institutional and autonomous actors […] [D]ifferent groups and individuals [may] often use the public space as a place where they can reject, protest against and negotiate the status of languages" (Shohamy, 2006, p. 125). These outcomes can be uncovered and assessed by micro-level investigation: by studying what linguistic behaviour is actually occurring in people's daily lives.

Nevertheless, the critical perspective of this article entails an analysis of how more socially equitable outcomes might be achieved. The purpose in doing bottom-up language policy research, then, is to be able to locate "tensions between policy and practice" (p. 161), providing feedback on how official language management practices could be revised to bring about more balanced results: "Rather than being detrimental to policy, these tensions can also offer possibilities for local communities to negotiate or resist policies in their favour" (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 164). Any language policy study that is critical in its approach, thus, needs to take the local context into account for it to be effective (Baldauf, 2008; Chua & Baldauf, 2011; Hogan-Brun, 2010, 2011; Moriarty & Pietikäinen, 2011; Paciotto & Delany-Barmann, 2011): as Baldauf (2008) asserts, "[m]acro-level planning requires micro-level planning not only for its implementation but also to ensure that it responds to local needs" (p. 34). In the cases of Francoist Spain (Chua & Baldauf, 2011; Ferrer, 2000) and Soviet Estonia (Skerrett, 2007a, 2007b, 2010b), for example, attempts to impose the language of the regime were ultimately unsuccessful as these were in direct conflict with the local contexts, producing resistance rather than compliance. The Singaporean government's language policy to eliminate Chinese dialects and encourage Mandarin, for instance, could nevertheless be considered rather successful, despite a co-emergent shift to English, as the use of dialects has declined and the use of Mandarin increased (Chua, 2004). On the other hand, the limited but reasonably successful revival among interested groups (although not among the wider communities in question) of Welsh (Edwards & Newcombe, 2005) and Māori (Amery, 2001) have been effective because of the engagement at the local level that has taken place (Chua & Baldauf, 2011). Nevertheless, Võro (a language closely related to Estonian spoken in the country's south-east) revival efforts have been stunted, given the pervasiveness of the competing discursively framed interests of national and European *versus* local identities (Brown, 2005, 2009), although Koreinik (2011) notes that the language "is still perceived by local people as the rightful rural community language in the Võru area" (p. 243).

For the case of Estonia, then, the needs of those people that the language policy affects need to be examined. This type of critical approach means locating areas where patterns of difficulties emerge in being able to live out one's daily life with Estonian alone, especially where these pose potential health or safety concerns. For Russian-speakers, this entails identifying segments of the population that are not functioning within the linguistic regime as envisaged by (official, macro) language policy. Here, micro research can assist in acquisition planning by providing an indication of where and with whom Estonian teaching is failing. It also tells us, in the case of older individuals who are not using Estonian, about segments of the population that still require public services in Russian. In both Estonian- and Russian-speaking cases, potential inequalities can be located in the lives of people in Estonia; in both cases the management of language has failed to achieve the outcome of Estonian as a functioning interethnic *lingua franca* can be located. Thus, as Chua and Baldauf (2011) note, in order "for language planning to be effective […] [it needs] to examine activities at a local or micro level" (p. 936). The research reported in this article specifically investigates these tensions between macro policies and discourses and individual, everyday behaviour.

Yet is the micro (individual behaviour)–macro (policy, discourses) model sufficient to analyse, explain and, perhaps most importantly, influence behaviour? In recent times in critical applied language studies in general, and language policy in particular, there has been an interest also in the meso level, or that of *practices*: "[f]ocus has shifted towards the local, the grounded, the particular" and there is a "growing interest in the practices of everyday life" (Pennycook, 1994; 2010, p. 1). In the recent (2010) and, indeed, first major work to address the issue of practices in relation to discourse and linguistic behaviour (although discourses are said to do "derive" from practices already in Pennycook, 1994 (p. 130)), these practices, Pennycook writes, are "bundles of activities" and the "central organizations of social life" (p. 2). While relatively new to language studies, the concept of practices has been influential in the social sciences and the humanities already for some years. The notion of behaviour and its associated norms being (re)produced by the repetition of particular actions over time was perhaps first most famously argued by Butler (1990, 1993) in relation to gender. Butler terms the *practice* of gender "performativity". In other words, "there is nothing authentic about gender, no 'core' that produces [it]" (Jagose, 1996, p. 84). Gender is therefore "performatively constituted by the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results" (Butler, 1990, p. 25).

Bringing this understanding of behaviour as regulated by practices back to the issue of language, this means seeing language as something that is produced in its doing rather than the result of a pre-existing system; it "takes us away from a notion of language as a pregiven entity" (Pennycook, 2010, p. 2) towards seeing "language as a product of the embodied social practices that bring it about" (p. 9). While these practices do pre-exist, in a sense, they do not do so in a static or *essential* way. Although certainly not uncontroversial, the concept of discrete languages as a myth of modern linguistics has existed for some time (Alptekin, 2002; Harris, 1990; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Rajagopalan, 1997). For many linguists, the Chomskyan concept of Universal Grammar and its reliance on an underlying structure of language have lost ground to theories which see language as a much more socially contingent phenomenon (Rajagopalan, 2006; Skerrett, 2010a). From a poststructuralist perspective, the notion of the "native speaker" upon which the idea of a discrete language relies, furthermore, has been revealed to be a fiction; the native speaker is the product of arbitrary "we–they" distinctions and leaves no room for more blurry variation in language use such as code-switching, code-mixing, bilingualism, varying levels of proficiency, dialects and so forth (Coulmas, 2005). As Rajagopalan (1997) asserts, a

"language" is "that which the native speaker knows *qua* native speaker" (p. 226). This results, thus, in a problematic circular definition and leaves unresolved issues such as:

> where exactly Hindi ceases to be and Urdu takes over, or, in what sense, Spanish may be claimed to have replaced Guaraní as someone's mother-tongue, or, what considerations would authorise the linguist to say that the speech of a Venetian and that of a Neapolitan should be considered simple variations of one and the same language. (Rajagopalan, 1997, p. 226)

One nice example of language as a contingent practice rather than a pre-existing entity is so-called Lingua Franca English, which "is difficult to describe […] *a priori*" (Canagarajah, 2007, p. 91) as it "does not exist as a system out there. It is constantly brought into being in each context of communication" (p. 91; see also Pennycook, 2010, p. 9).

Are practices then, as Pennycook (2010) suggests, "in a sense, the new discourse" (p. 23)? Discourse, in the Foucauldian sense (e.g. Foucault, 1978), accounts for regularity in behaviour: The world and people's behaviour in it are seen in particular ways (discourses) and these then constrain and produce our own behaviour. That is, people see themselves in terms of sexualities, genders, ethnicities, nationalities, citizenships, mental health statuses, criminal statuses and so on: all of these discursive structures lead us to behave in particular ways. The individual's choice in terms of how to act, then, is never fully "free", as people can never inhabit an extra-discursive environment where behaviour could be completely uninfluenced by discourse. Nevertheless, behaviour does change over time, and individuals resist and restructure discursive constructs. It seems to me, therefore, that practices do not allow scholars to do away with discourse, but they, rather, help us to understand the link between the individual and the discursive. As Schatzki (2002) contends, "the meanings of the entities amid and through which humans coexistingly live *derive from activity*" (p. 56, emphasis is mine; see also Pennycook, 2010): thus, practices are a *meso*-political level of activity linking the *micro*-level behaviour of the individual with the *macro*-level discursive structures that frame this. Practices produce the appearance of structure (discourse) through repetition. Foucault (1972) contends that "practices systematically form the objects of which they speak" (p. 49), that is, discourses. Practices are therefore *not* the new discourse; instead, they help us to understand how discourses come about as well as continue to exist. As Pennycook similarly suggests, "practices bridge the gap between individual behaviour and social and cultural structure, while also drawing attention to the importance of repeated activity" (p. 28); "they are always social, always historical and always local" (p. 46). That is, they are always discursive, in the sense that the discursive framework *is* the local socially and historically contingent context.

Specifically, in terms of language, grammar is thus "the repeated sedimentation of form as a result of ongoing [doing of language]. People produce language as a result of local practices" (Pennycook, 2010, p. 41). It can begin to be seen that rather than being entities, languages and their varieties are the results of "the doing of language in particular localities" (p. 71); "we start with local practices and look at their linguistic instantiation" (p. 77). As Jørgensen (2008) similarly suggests, "speakers use features not languages" (p.166); that is, the micro behaviour draws on the meso features which simultaneously make up and are regulated by the macro "language" (or the idea that this "language" exists or should exist). The discourses of discrete language and language-related identities which maintain language use are supported by repeated (linguistic) acts that appear similar: "discourse is […] the condition by which language as a structure or a system exists" (Pennycook, 1994, p. 116). But it is important to also be mindful that linguistic change is

constantly being brought about by individual innovation – intentional or otherwise – and there are, thus, inevitable shifts in the meso- and macro-level frameworks.

The purpose of this study was to gather data on actual language use "on the ground" in Estonia. Primarily this was done by having participants whose everyday language of communication in public places is Estonian carry a language diary or log book. Participants were to record details of every interaction with sales or service staff in public and private organisations over a period of four weeks. A log was used to record language use in this way in order to measure the extent to which Estonian has become the *lingua franca* or language of interethnic communication between ethnic Estonians and Russian-speakers. The aim of the study, thus, is to examine the ways in which actual linguistic behaviours and practices are shaped by, but also resist and reshape, current Estonian language policy.

Methodology

Participants were recruited in two phases from among postgraduate students enrolled at the Institute of Estonian Language and Culture at Tallinn University. The second phase was run in order to increase the number of participants and thus also the amount of data collected. The aim of the language diary project was to capture a snapshot of actual language use in contemporary Estonia. Given post-independence LPP, which have sought to normalise the use of Estonian as a *lingua franca* between speakers of different languages in the country, the interest in particular was to investigate the relationship between the use of Russian and that of Estonian for interethnic communication. In order to develop a valid image of present-day language practices, and to be able to conduct statistical analyses to build a theoretical model of the factors influencing linguistic behaviour, it was planned to have approximately 15 participants completing the language diaries over the four-week period. In stage 1, nine students participated, while in stage 2 there were five, bringing the final total to 14 (13 female; 1 male).

Measures

The language diary contained 50 double-sided pages, each page providing for one log entry (see Appendix for a sample page). Each entry had two central questions, one concerning the Estonian ability of the staff member, the other about the successfulness of the interaction, to which participants responded along a four-point Likert-type scale (a true Likert scale has five response choices ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree"; American Psychological Association, 2007). The log also included:

- an approximate indication of the age of the staff member they were dealing with (to keep the choices to a minimum for participants when completing the diary, this was set as a three-point Likert-type scale;
- participants also rated their own language competence on a five-point scale), their gender, their seniority in the organisation (ATTENDANT, SUPERVISOR, MANAGER);
- their likely ethnolinguistic background (ESTONIAN, RUSSIAN, OTHER);
- the geographic location within Estonia and particular city or town (CENTRE *versus* SUBURB);
- whether it was a private or public organisation and the nature of the business of the organisation;
- whether the interaction was indoors or outdoors;
- whether the interaction was initiated by the participant or the staff member;

- whether the staff member greeted the participant and if so in which language (NONE, ESTONIAN, RUSSIAN, OTHER);
- whether there were overhearers within earshot (ALONE, WITHIN EARSHOT, NOT WITHIN EARSHOT) and
- the approximate length of the conversation as well as the topic.

This information was to be provided by participants with a simple tick in a box or a very short written answer after the respective question. Also, participants, where appropriate, were to provide free-form information on how the communication was managed (e.g. could greet the customer in Estonian, but switched to Russian to discuss a particular topic). Completion of the free-form field was inconsistent across participants, however, and its content is not analysed in this article.

Hypotheses

The independent variables recorded in the language diaries were as follows:

- age of participant;
- gender of participant;
- Estonian proficiency of participant;
- Russian proficiency of participant;
- English proficiency of participant;
- time of interaction;
- length of interaction;
- city of interaction;
- location within city of interaction;
- whether interaction is indoors or outdoors;
- type of organisation where interaction occurs;
- gender of interlocutor;
- age of interlocutor;
- mother tongue of interlocutor;
- interlocutor's role within organisation;
- presence of others;
- whether the participant or the interlocutor started the interaction and
- whether it was a sales or service-type transaction

It is hypothesised that the model based on these independent variables would account for a significant amount of the variance in, firstly, the proficiency of Estonian of the interlocutor and, secondly, the degree of success in carrying out the transaction (dependent variables 1 and 2). Finally, the proportions of greeting types (dependent variable 3: NONE, ESTONIAN, RUSSIAN, ENGLISH) are hypothesised to be significantly different from each other for city and native language of the interlocutor. This is based on the assumption that many Russian-speaking staff members may be unable to speak Estonian fluently enough to engage in conversation with customers and thus often simply do not greet Estonian-speakers in any language, given the shift away from (and even legal requirement against, in many cases) the use of Russian with Estonian-speaking clients. Russian-speakers are thus hypothesised to offer no greeting more often than native Estonian interlocutors. In areas of high concentration of Russian-speakers, such as Ida-Virumaa and Harjumaa (the capital region) outside Tallinn (the capital), it is hypothesised, nonetheless, that there will be a

greater proportion of greetings in Russian than elsewhere. As proficiency in Estonian is significantly lower in Harjumaa outside Tallinn, the areas of the region that do not include the capital are considered separately in the following analysis and are referred to simply as Harjumaa.

Results

Statistical analyses were conducted using the package IBM SPSS Statistics v.19.

Descriptive statistics

The mean Estonian proficiency of the interlocutor as perceived by the participants was 2.76 (on a scale 0 = NO COMMUNICATION to 3 = GOOD; SD = .67), and the mean success of the interaction, regardless of the Estonian proficiency of the interlocutor, was 2.87 (in response to the question, "were you able to get by?" on a scale 0 = NOT AT ALL to 3 = YES, WELL; SD = .47). The difference between the two means is statistically significant, $t(660) = -5.55$, $p < .001$, $r = .07$. The mean length of interaction was 4.05 minutes (SD = 7.74 minutes; min. 1 minute; max. 90 minutes).

Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 is that the model based on the independent variables would account for a significant amount of the variance in the proficiency of Estonian of the interlocutor. A standard multiple regression analysis was conducted. The criterion (dependent variable) was Estonian proficiency of the interlocutor. The predictors were all the independent variables from the diary.

The predictors explained a significant 37.1% of variance in the proficiency of the Estonian of the interlocutor, $R = .60$, $R^2 = .37$, $R^2_{adj} = .34$, $F(22, 457) = 12.24$, $p < .001$. Variables that made a statistically significant contribution to overall variance are shown in Table 1.

A Chi-square test comparing the number of native Russian-speaking and the number of native Estonian-speaking participants who recorded interactions in Ida-Virumaa (Table 2) was statistically significant, $\chi^2(1) = 26.23$, $p < .001$. Similarly, a Chi-square test

Table 1. Summary of (significant) variables contributing to variance in Estonian proficiency of the interlocutor.

Language (NOT RUSSIAN *versus* RUSSIAN)	6.86%***
Language (NOT UNKNOWN/OTHER *versus* UNKNOWN/OTHER)	1.36%**
Sex of participant	0.76%*
City (NOT HARJUMAA *versus* HARJUMAA)	2.31%***
INDOORS *versus* OUTDOORS	3.84%***
Overhearers (NOT BEYOND EARSHOT *versus* BEYOND EARSHOT)	0.62%*
Initiator (PARTICIPANT *versus* INTERLOCUTOR)	0.5%^
Shared variance	18.19%
Overall variance accounted for by model	37.1%

*$p < .05$
**$p < .01$.
***$p < .001$.
^ = marginally insignificant.

investigating whether native Estonian-speakers were more likely to have interactions with interlocutors in parts of Harjumaa outside Tallinn (Table 2) was statistically significant, $\chi^2(1) = 38.27$, $p < .001$.

A path analysis was conducted to investigate the mediating effects of the Russian proficiency of the participant on the Estonian proficiency of the interlocutor, in a model incorporating the variables city (NOT IDA-VIRUMAA *versus* IDA-VIRUMAA) and the perceived native language of the interlocutor (Figure 1). Firstly, a correlation was established between language of interlocutor (NOT RUSSIAN *versus* RUSSIAN) and city (NOT IDA-VIRUMAA *versus* IDA-VIRUMAA), $r = .15$, $p < .001$. A multiple regression was then performed with Russian proficiency of the participant as the criterion, and language of the interlocutor (NOT RUSSIAN *versus* RUSSIAN) and city (NOT IDA-VIRUMAA *versus* IDA-VIRUMAA) as the predictors, which explained 16% of the variance in the Russian proficiency of the participant. Finally, a simple linear regression was performed with the Russian proficiency of the participant as the predictor and the Estonian proficiency of the interlocutor as the criterion, but this explained just 0.2% of the variance of the Estonian proficiency of the interlocutor and was not significant. The model thus cannot account for the seemingly high incidence of Estonian proficiency among interlocutors in Ida-Virumaa because of the lack of statistical significance of the final path.

A two-way factorial ANOVA showed, nevertheless, that there was indeed a significant interaction between the independent variables perceived language of the interlocutor (NOT RUSSIAN *versus* RUSSIAN) and the Russian proficiency of the participant on the dependent variable, the Estonian proficiency of the interlocutor. Specifically, the 2 (perceived language of interlocutor) x 3 (Russian proficiency of participant) ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of (perceived) language of the interlocutor, $F(1,614) = 41.31$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .06$, such that native Estonian-speaking staff members had higher Estonian proficiency ($M = 2.97$; SD = .25) than Russian-speaking interlocutors ($M = 2.50$; SD = .90). There was also a main effect for Russian proficiency of the participant, $F(2,614) = 5.03$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .01$. This was followed up with pairwise contrasts where familywise error rate was controlled at $\alpha = .05$ with a Bonferroni adjustment. A significant difference emerged between FAIR Russian proficiency ($M = 2.91$; SD = .45) of the participant and GOOD proficiency ($M = 2.73$; SD = .70), $p < .01$, but not between FAIR and NATIVE ($M = 2.77$; SD = .67), $p = .229$, or between GOOD and NATIVE levels of proficiency, $p = .190$. A Helmert contrast (a Helmert contrast compares the mean of one condition to the overall mean of all other conditions combined; Field, 2009) revealed a significant difference, however, between fair proficiency and any higher level (GOOD and NATIVE), $p < .05$. As noted already and as can be seen from the non-parallel lines in Figure 2, there was an interaction between the two independent variables tested in the ANOVA. The interaction was significant, $F(2,614) = 6.29$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .02$.

Table 2. Percentage of interactions by first language of participant and region of interaction (Ida-Virumaa and Harjumaa).

	Estonian	Russian
Ida-Virumaa	0	6.1
Outside Ida-Virumaa	100	39.9
Harjumaa	16.1	0.8
Outside Harjumaa (inc. Tallinn)	83.9	99.2

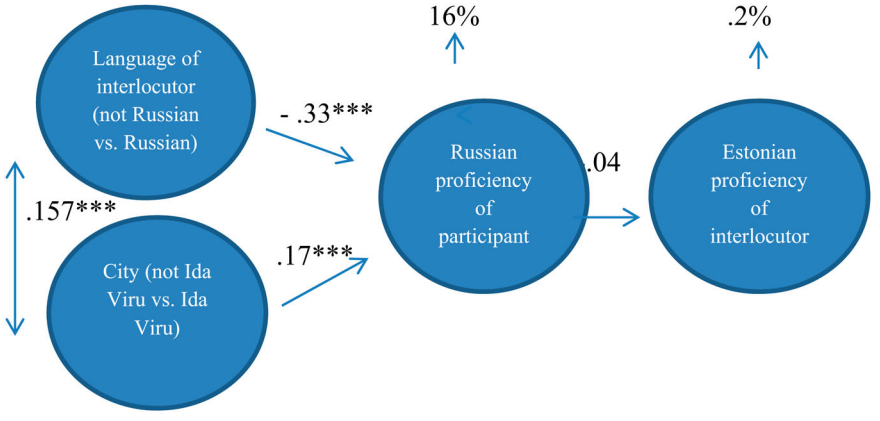

Figure 1. Effect language of interlocutor (NOT RUSSIAN *versus* RUSSIAN) and location of interaction (NOT IDA-VIRUMAA *versus* IDA-VIRUMAA) on Estonian proficiency of interlocutor mediated by Russian proficiency of participant.

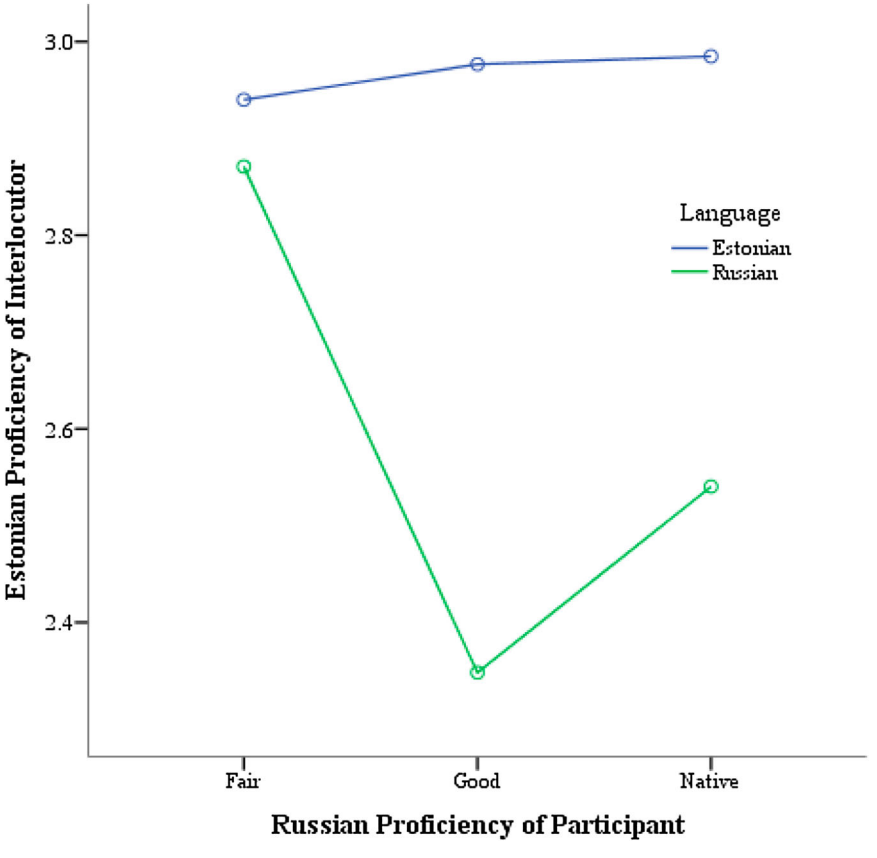

Figure 2. Estonian proficiency of interlocutor according to perceived native language of interlocutor and Russian proficiency of participant.

Table 3. Summary of (significant) variables contributing to success of the transaction.

Language (NOT RUSSIAN *versus* RUSSIAN)	3.77%***
City (NOT HARJUMAA *versus* HARJUMAA)	3.79%***
INDOORS *versus* OUTDOORS	3.02%***
Initiator (PARTICIPANT *versus* INTERLOCUTOR)	0.6%*
Age of interlocutor	0.65%*
Shared variance	18.53%
Overall variance accounted for by model	33.1%

*$p < .05$.
***$p < .001$.

Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 is that the model based on the independent variables would account for a significant amount of the variance in the degree of success in carrying out the transaction. A standard multiple regression analysis was conducted. The criterion (dependent variable) was the success of the transaction with the staff member, regardless of his or her Estonian proficiency. The predictors were all the independent variables from the diary.

The predictors explained a significant 33.1% of variance in the degree of success in carrying out the transaction, $R = .57$, $R^2 = .33$, $R^2_{adj} = .29$, $F(22, 456) = 10.27$, $p < .001$. Variables that made a statistically significant contribution to overall variance are shown in Table 3.

Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 is that the proportions of greeting types (NONE, ESTONIAN, RUSSIAN, ENGLISH) would be significantly different from each other for city and native language of the interlocutor. A set of two Chi-square tests was conducted to determine if the proportions of greeting types (NONE, ESTONIAN, RUSSIAN, ENGLISH) were significantly different from one another for city and native language of the interlocutor. See Table 4 for the proportions of greeting types by location. The differences in proportions were statistically significant, $\chi^2(9) = 134.35$, $p = < .001$. A follow-up Chi-square test looking only at HARJUMAA (outside Tallinn) *versus* NOT HARJUMAA (outside Tallinn) revealed statistically significant differences, $\chi^2(3) = 131.86$, $p < .001$. The differences in proportions of greetings by (perceived) native language of the interlocutor (Table 4) were statistically significant, $\chi^2(6) = 83.29$, $p < .001$.

A loglinear analysis was conducted to investigate any interaction between the three variables: the city of interaction, the native language of the interlocutor and the Estonian

Table 4. Percentage of greeting types by city and native language of interlocutor.

	None	Estonian	Russian	English
Tallinn	11.4	87	1.2	0.4
Harjumaa (except Tallinn)	27.9	44.1	27.9	0
Ida-Virumaa	6.7	86.7	6.7	0
Elsewhere in Estonia	0	100	0	0
All Estonia except Harjumaa/Tallinn	11.1	87.2	1.4	0.3
Estonian	8.1	91.6	0.3	0
Russian	18.6	72.6	8.8	0
Other/unknown	11.1	77.8	5.6	5.6

proficiency of the staff member. The K-way results of the analysis indicate whether removing the effects of any of the variables or their interactions will alter the overall ability of the model to fit the data (Field, 2009). The main effects of the variables were revealed to be significant, $\chi^2(8) = 7953.20$, $p < .001$. The two-way interactions between the variables were also found to be significant, $\chi^2(21) = 386.25$, $p < .001$. Finally, the three-way interaction between city, native language of interlocutor and Estonian proficiency of the interlocutor was significant, $\chi^2(18) = 24.99$, $p < .05$, meaning that there is a combined effect between all three variables.

Discussion

The aim of hypothesis 1 was to test the strength of the given model in predicting the Estonian proficiency of a sales or service staff member. Overall, the model was statistically significant, accounting for almost 40% of variance in the interlocutor's ability to use Estonian, almost half of this variance being shared among the different predictors in the model. The strongest unique predictor of whether or not the staff member would be able to communicate well in Estonian was, unsurprisingly, his or her native language (NOT RUSSIAN *versus* RUSSIAN) as perceived by the participant, uniquely accounting for almost 7% in the overall variance of language use. The other variables which, individually, made statistically significant contributions were the following (Tables 1 and 3): the GENDER of the participant, with the one male participant recording lower instances of Estonian use; the city (NOT HARJUMAA *versus* HARJUMAA; baseline TALLINN), with lower incidence of Estonian in locations in Harjumaa outside Tallinn; whether the transaction was indoors or outdoors, with lower Estonian proficiency recorded in locations outdoors; and language (NOT OTHER/UNKNOWN *versus* OTHER/UNKNOWN), with lower Estonian usage for those staff members whose native language was unable to be ascertained by the participant, or when the language was not Estonian or Russian. Whether the interaction was initiated by the participant or by the interlocutor was slightly below statistical significance, with interactions initiated by the staff member being less likely to result in usage of Estonian.

As city (NOT IDA-VIRUMAA *versus* IDA-VIRUMAA) did not significantly predict usage of Estonian – which is contrary to theoretical expectations based on the generally low Estonian proficiency of residents of the region – a test was carried out to ascertain if participants with Russian as their native language were more likely to have recorded interactions in Ida-Virumaa. The expectation was that speakers with the ability to get by in Russian, particularly native speakers, even if they usually carry out transactions in public in Estonian, may manage interactions in Ida-Virumaa in a mixed manner (i.e. with code-mixing on the part of either speaker) which may not have been reported as such in the diary (another alternative is that native Russian-speakers falsified the reports in order to avoid creating a negative impression of the Russian-speaking area). Similarly, given the significant contribution to the model of the variable for interactions in cities in Harjumaa (outside Tallinn), a test was carried out to investigate if native Estonian-speaking participants were more likely to have frequented this region than native Russian-speakers, which would support the theory that Russian-speaking participants "manage" with Russian-speaking interlocutors in Estonian more successfully than native Estonian-speakers. Participants whose native language was not Estonian were indeed statistically more likely to have interactions occurring in Ida-Virumaa. Their ability to get by using their Russian proficiency may well be an important factor in why these interactions were seen by the participant as successful in terms of the proficiency of the interlocutor. The significance of the interaction having taken place elsewhere in Harjumaa is telling, however. Those participants with Estonian

as their mother tongue were more likely to frequent other towns in Harjumaa outside Tallinn than their native Russian-speaking counterparts. While Tallinn can be seen as a somewhat normalised (i.e. where Estonian has become the regular language of interethnic communication) environment, in other localities in Harjumaa – the county with the second highest proportion of Russian-speakers in Estonia, and the second lowest proportion of non-ethnic Estonians without proficiency in Estonian – Russian still has a role as *lingua franca*, according to the results. This is especially the case given the higher incidence of interethnic encounters. Communicating elsewhere in Estonia did not significantly influence the outcome of interactions.

To further investigate the theory that the use of Estonian would be moderated by the Russian proficiency of the participant when language of the interlocutor was Russian and the transactions took place in Ida-Virumaa, a path analysis was designed and carried out. As this failed to explain the outcome to any degree of statistical significance, but revealed significant correlations between the specific variables, an analysis of variance based on the same factors excluding city (IDA-VIRUMAA) was conducted. This showed that there is indeed an effect for Russian proficiency of the participant on the use of Estonian by the staff member, and that there is also an effect for the perceived native language of the staff member (the latter also revealed in the regression analysis), and that there is a significant interaction between these two variables, as theorised about the interactions in Ida-Virumaa. Furthermore, when the participant's Russian proficiency was low, the use of Estonian by the staff member was significantly higher than when the participant could speak Russian to either a good or native level. The lowest level of Estonian usage was with participants who spoke an intermediate level of Russian, the interlocutor's Estonian then improving slightly with native speakers of Russian. This supports the suggestion that native Russian-speakers "manage" the interaction in Estonian differently than native Estonian-speakers. It also suggests that Russian maintains a particular *lingua franca* status when a minimum level of Russian proficiency is present in the ethnic Estonian customer, particularly in locations in Harjumaa outside Tallinn.

An interaction occurring outdoors significantly decreased the likelihood that the interlocutor would be able to speak Estonian. Similarly, having overhearers beyond earshot significantly decreased the likelihood that the staff member would speak Estonian. This result suggests that Russian-speaking staff members are more likely not to display Estonian proficiency when it is less likely that they will be observed. Although this does not hold true for the relationship between overhearers within earshot *versus* not (baseline ALONE), it may be that seeing people present but knowing that they cannot "supervise", the staff member's language use induces reluctance to speak Estonian. This may, indeed, be related to Estonia's supervisory system of language requirements and inspections (e.g. the operations of the Language Inspectorate, a State institution operating under the Ministry of Education and Research which oversees compliance with minimum language proficiency requirements for individuals employed in both the private and public sectors). The marginal significance of the staff member being the one to initiate the conversation also makes sense: being the first one to speak asserts a certain degree of control over the direction the discussion will take. Finally, the fact that the other/unknown category for language of the interlocutor predicted less usage of Estonian simply suggests that there are non-native speakers of Estonian whose accent is apparently non-native but also apparently not Russian-like. Given the beginning of the arrival of non-Slavic immigrants to Estonia in the years following independence, this type of situation – where the staff member's Estonian is likely to be limited, considering the difficulty of the language for speakers not of a Finnic background – can be expected to increase in frequency. Languages that are typologically distant (such as

Finno-Ugric languages for speakers of Indo-European languages) are generally considered more difficult and time-consuming to learn (Odlin, 2003).

Hypothesis 2 investigated the ability of the same model to predict success in carrying out a transaction with a sales or service staff member, regardless of his or her ability to use Estonian. The mean success rate was, indeed, significantly (statistically) greater than the ability of staff members, overall, to use Estonian. The model explained, however, less variance in the outcome (success) than in hypothesis 1 (Estonian proficiency): approximately one-third of variance for this second hypothesis, just over half of this being shared among the variables. The set of variables that contributed to the model was very similar but not identical to the first hypothesis. Again, perceived native language of the staff member was a significant unique predictor, accounting for almost 4% of the variance in success. However unknown/other language was not a significant factor for success: this phenomenon may be due to there being less resistance on the part of ethnic Estonians to manage the transaction if they are not sure or do not believe that their interlocutor is a native Russian-speaker. It could also be that code-mixing is involved, and in those cases, English may be included since young Estonians generally know English well and they have a positive attitude towards it. City was again significant for Harjumaa (less likely to be successful in Harjumaa outside Tallinn) and again not significant for Ida-Virumaa. Also in line with the results for the first hypothesis was the indoors/outdoors variable, suggesting that the lack of observers outdoors may lead to less cooperation between the two transactors as well as the increased reluctance to use Estonian on the part of the staff member, as already suggested. Initiator of the transaction was statistically significant for the success outcome (it was marginally insignificant for Estonian proficiency), with the transaction less likely to be successful if initiated by the staff member. This supports the suggestion made earlier that, when the interlocutor begins the conversation, he or she is more likely to be in control. This control, when the attendant is unable to speak Estonian fluently, may well result in less success, or at least more frustration on the part of the customer, leading her or him to judge the event as less successful. New to this hypothesis was the age of the interlocutor as a significant contributor to the outcome variance. It is not surprising that age has an effect on the ability to carry out a transaction, given the lower Estonian proficiency found among many older Russian-speakers. It is therefore curious that age was not statistically significant for Estonian proficiency (hypothesis 1). It may well be that young age acts as a buffer to communication breakdown when Estonian proficiency is low. The transactors, when young, may have other resources (perhaps other languages, e.g. English) with which they can resolve the interaction.

The final hypothesis investigated the relationship of several variables to the different greetings made by the sales and service staff members to the participants (ESTONIAN, NONE, RUSSIAN, ENGLISH). Overall, the model – looking at greeting as a function of language of the staff member and location – was significant, and interactions between all factors were revealed, meaning that all variables together contribute significantly to the outcome. The hypothesis that Russian-speaking staff members are less likely to offer any greeting at all than their ethnic Estonian counterparts was supported: the former group gave no greeting almost 19% of the time while for the latter it was under 9%. This is in line with the kind of empty verbal interethnic communication zone in public places, which I hypothesise is the result of the changing sociolinguistic environment, for instance:

- attitudes: (young) ethnic Estonians are reluctant to speak Russian;
- abilities (young ethnic Estonians often cannot speak Russian; native Russian-speakers' proficiency has increased in recent years overall but this may be insufficient to carry out a conversation) and

- legal environment (staff must have a minimum ability in Estonian when they deal with the public and thus may be reluctant to speak to native Estonian-speakers at all if their proficiency is relatively low. Russian-speakers may also be reluctant to comply with requirements of the officially Estonian linguistic regime).

The regional breakdown of greetings revealed that, beyond Tallinn, Harjumaa, and Ida-Virumaa, the initial contact with staff members is always in Estonian, supporting the notion that Harjumaa (including parts of Tallinn) and Ida-Virumaa are areas that still require careful and critical attention in terms of local practices and thus language policy. Harjumaa emerged as an area of conflicting practices: less than half of greetings were in Estonian, almost 28% were in Russian, and the same amount was without a greeting. Almost 90% of greetings in Tallinn were recorded in Estonian, and a similar proportion was supported for Ida-Virumaa. The hypothesis that greetings would occur in Russian in areas of high concentration of Russian-speakers was, thus, not supported. The Ida-Virumaa result needs to be interpreted in the context of the interaction between the language of the participant and that of the interlocutor, as previously noted. Significantly, however, there was only one greeting recorded in English, which occurred in Tallinn. There were no greetings offered in English by Russian-speakers, an important finding, as English has been forecast to become the new language of interethnic communication in Estonia.

Discourses and practices of inclusion and exclusion

Discourses sustain and are sustained by practices, which are repeated sets of activities or instances of behaviour. The discourses sustain the practices in the sense given in the historical–structural approach: ways of seeing the world, truths held by the individual produce and constrain behaviour. Yet, at the same time, this continuity of activity supports the initial discursive structure and reifies the belief in the truth contained therein. Certainly, discourses do not predetermine behaviour or practices. Human agency – to restructure, resist, and prolong practices and discourses – results in changes to both discourses and practices over time. Indeed, in the business of LPP, it is acknowledged that language use can be planned and therefore influenced by the actions of individuals themselves and others. LPP can thus occur either top-down – initiated by government agencies – or bottom-up, brought about by the actions of individuals at the local level.

It therefore stands to reason that a new discourse cannot simply be introduced. In the Estonian case, it can be seen that many Russian-speakers hold an entirely different view of their and their language's status in the country to that of ethnic Estonians. While new discourses have been put into place officially (Estonian is the only official language), these have not translated into new worldviews for many Russian-speakers, especially for those who lived there during the Soviet period. These new discourses can certainly be said to be partially incorporated into the worldviews/discourses of young Russian-speakers, in that many of them see Estonian as the legitimate national language and that Estonia, as one Russian-speaking informant in an earlier study noted, is "still the country of the Estonian people" (Skerrett, 2011, p. 12). Current language policy aims to place Estonian as the language of regular interethnic communication – that is, it aims to bring about the *normalisation* of Estonian. This result is closely related to and supported by the integration process, which aims to bring the ethnic Estonian and Russian-speaking communities, previously separated by the Soviet system, together into one civic society that functions on the basis of the Estonian language while at the same time preserving proficiency, education and some official usage of minority languages. As was seen in the results of this research,

current everyday language practices are often not conducive to integration: on the contrary, there is at times an entire lack of communication between members of the two groups. Russian-speakers, furthermore, are less likely to speak Estonian well when they cannot be overheard, and ethnic Estonian participants in the study did not record a single instance of having visited Ida-Virumaa.

In order for integration (and thus also normalisation, both considered useful from the CLPP perspective of this article) to come about, discourses supportive of these perspectives have to be promoted among both ethnolinguistic communities. A discourse potentially amenable to both communities can be termed a discourse of inclusion, while one that would maintain separation would be a discourse of exclusion. Practices – everyday repeated behaviours – that are informed by discourses of inclusion and serve to sustain them are similarly practices of inclusion, with practices of exclusion supporting the existing discursive disjuncture. A prime example of discourses of exclusion supported by practices of exclusion in the present sociolinguistic reality is the empty verbal communication zone in public places which emerged from this study: discourses (the policy/legal environment; attitudes of ethnic Estonians and Russian-speakers alike about how they and their interlocutor *should* speak) do not support practices of the use of a mutually acceptable *lingua franca* (including any type of mixed code). This was particularly the case in the degree of success of transaction being significantly lower with older interlocutors, which points to a continuation of Soviet-era discourses and a resultant effect on present-day practices. In other words, then, discourses and practices of inclusion need to take into account the social and historical context of both communities in order to work towards a common understanding.

Critical language policy and planning

CLPP (and the critical theory project in general), by definition, rejects implicit LPP and much of explicit LPP, precisely because of the way they *uncritically* accept the present and/or the (planned) future sociolinguistic situation. The critical approach, as it has been set out in this article, requires a questioning of the very categories related to language and its use (e.g. the language itself and ethnic and national identities in that these govern acceptable ways of using language) as well as a concern for how LPP will have an effect on the lives of the people which the policy and planning relate to. CLPP, thus, entails a view of language not only reflecting social relations, but also producing them at the same time (Pennycook, 2006). Pennycook (2006) contends that CLPP entails an "historical understanding of language use", a "focus on local contexts of language use" and "a non-essentialist stance emphasizing appropriation and hybridity" (p. 68). This article has used a behaviour-practices-discourse model to fulfil these conditions. Discourses constraining practices and behaviour are shaped by social and historical milieus, which are always local. Practices are constituted by local behaviours, and these practices help then to maintain but also to reshape discourses over time.

Indeed, it is difficult for (uncritical) macro-level LPP alone to bring about the desired outcomes (e.g. normalisation and integration). Although LPP aims to maintain or change the linguistic status quo, as Coulmas (2005) contends, "the future is slippery territory" (p. 188). This is true, not only for Estonia, but for many other polities' policies where LPP has been examined and assessed. As Baldauf (1993) asserts, planned and unplanned LPP very often coexist and "the language planner ignores the unplanned aspects of a situation at his/her risk" (p. 82). What is more, polities often present a distorted picture of how monolingual the area actually is, leading to unplanned and undesired outcomes. In the USA,

for example, while the country has no official national language, although English was declared the "common and unifying" language by the Senate in 2006 (Feder, 2010, p. 1; Salinas, 2007, p. 93), little is done to protect or promote minority languages, and language shift to English among immigrants occurs quickly (Ricento, 1996). Majority discourses also tend to promote fear of minority languages (and the potential attendant loss of power and privilege), as evidenced by recent moves to make English the official language of the US government (Montopoli, 2011). This type of LPP has, however, led to a situation in which the government itself suffers from a critical shortage of foreign language speakers (Hsu, 2011). Indeed, the acceptance of the sociolinguistic status quo is common in English-speaking countries; this is unsurprising, given the discourses surrounding English which bolster the attractiveness of the language.

As Sloboda, Szabó-Gilinger, Vigers, and Šimičić (2010) argue in the cases of the Czech Republic, Wales and Hungary, language policy requires commitment from the micro level in order to be, ultimately, successful. In the Czech and Hungarian cases, majority populations have resisted minority language signage in areas where the minorities are present. In these two cases as well as in that of the USA, governments are forced to grapple with resistance to practices they see as desirable because of discourses they have promoted (English-only in the US case) or have allowed to exist (i.e. the lack of tolerance for diversity in the Czech Republic and Hungary). One further example is English education policy in Taiwan, where the government has promoted a discourse of the value of English (education), yet has not implemented the educational practices to satisfy parents' and students' expectations that have emerged as a result of the discourse (Chen, 2011). People are less likely to go along with policies that are, firstly, imposed without their support and, secondly, seen to deviate from what would be expected in the local context (Sloboda et al., 2010). Such policies, Sloboda et al. (2010) contend, "usually provoke negative evaluations […] [and] can thus result in widely shared social problems" (p. 111) . Similarly, Linn (2010) observes that when there is a "chasm between the voices from above [the macro; discourse] and the voices from below [the micro; the local] […] the danger [is] that the voices [will] end up speaking past each other", but that when the voice from below is "heard", therein "lies agreement and effective policy" (p. 126). Taylor-Leech (2011) contends that macro policy must "find resonance with a range of stakeholders within the polity" (p. 303). In her discussion of language use in marketing in Ireland – although not directly related to government policy – language choice in advertising is still constrained by macro discourses. Kelly-Holmes (2010) notes the importance of this "new, multilayered approach" (p. 25) to LPP, which acknowledges the need for an integration of micro and macro perspectives, especially given the propensity for the micro to alter the macro over time. Musk (2010) highlights the ongoing way in which language use is "performed" (p. 41; as does this article) in a Welsh school, and how this is reflective and productive of language-related discourses, thus also including the meso-level of activity in his analytical framework. As he notes, language use is "constituted by both language practices and the discursive constructions of these practises […] [Discourses can then be] recontextualized and also renegotiated" (p. 59).

From the perspective advocated in this article, it is therefore not productive to argue for a one-size-fits-all national policy. It makes little theoretical or practical sense to implement the same language policy in (for example) Estonia's three largest cities: Tallinn, Tartu and Narva:

- Tallinn is a largely bilingual city with a small majority of ethnic Estonians, many of whom are bilingual (but not among the youngest generation).

- Tartu has a small minority population of Russian-speakers who are bilingual, and a largely monolingual ethnic Estonian majority.
- And the population of Narva, being the largest city of Ida-Virumaa, is almost entirely made up of monolingual Russian-speakers.

A top-down language policy approach (which the current policy, to a great extent, is) cannot deal with the sociolinguistic differences among these locations. Although there is some regional minority language recognition (the right to use Russian with local authorities), in terms of the wider goals of normalisation and integration, much of the Ida-Virumaa region remains linguistically, economically, and socially isolated and marginalised, particularly in Narva. As Shohamy (2009) contends, language policies can often be based on "simplistic notions of languages as devices for social cohesion" and the contention that "immigrants can be programmed to become totally proficient in new national languages – suggestions detached from the reality of how languages are actually learned" (p. 186). Thus while it is feasible to have the same policy outcomes in mind for the country as a whole, the implementation requires sensitivity to local discourses and practices. Toots and Idnurm (2011) note that, on the whole, Russian-speakers' attitudes have become "increasingly open-minded and tolerant" (p. 14) towards ethnic Estonians and their discourses and practices, yet Ehala and Zabrodskaja (2011) contend that interethnic attitudes are less favourable in "segregated areas of eastern Estonia" (p. 133). What is more, as seen from this study, while interethnic transactions taking place in public and private organisations are generally successful (in that business is transacted), there is often little or no communication between interlocutors. Such a situation is not conducive to real normalisation of language usage, nor does it promote societal integration, and thus LPP cannot be judged successful within the wider framework in which they purport to operate.

That is not to say, and as I have argued, that it would be desirable to make Russian a second official language of the State. Recent plans to introduce Russian as a second official language in Latvia (Straumanis, 2012) should thus also be regarded with caution. The sociolinguistic situation in Latvia is, in many ways, very similar to that in Estonia due to recent history (Soviet annexation followed by an influx of Russian-speakers and subsequent minoritisation of Latvian *vis-à-vis* majoritisation of Russian). Certain languages (in this case, English) have more appeal to (potential) speakers and thus more easily dominate alternative languages (in this case, Estonian) in the absence of (planned) LPP. In Singapore, for example, English has been promoted as a mutual *lingua franca* among the various ethnic groups of the country, and although a language of each of the major ethnic groups (Indian, Chinese and Malay: that is, speaking Tamil, Mandarin and Malay, respectively) is co-official, English is gradually invading the domains of the local languages (Chua, 2011). Tunger, Mar-Molinero, Paffey, Vigers, and Barlóg (2010) argue that in officially bilingual areas of the UK (Wales), Spain (Valencia) and Switzerland (Grisons), it is a national, dominant language rather than the official local minority (or in the case of Valencia, majority) language that engages the interest of immigrants to the regions, and that is seen as a prerequisite for both citizenship and social and cultural integration. It was for this slow yet steady decline in the overall usage of Catalan in Catalonia (May, 2001; Skerrett, 2007b, 2010b) and French in Québec (Maurais, 1997; Spolsky, 2004), given international immigration as well as domestic relocations from majority language-speaking regions, that LPP was implemented in order to attenuate language shift. Thus, again, if the meaningful maintenance of smaller yet modernised and standardised languages (such as Estonian) is considered to be important, it is necessary to consider the local contexts and the ways in which, extant discourses considered, LPP is likely to bring about

(undesired) language shift. And it is not only immigrants who need to be taken into account. In both Latvia and Estonia, the titular languages are still going through the process of normalisation, and there is the potential for this process to halt and reverse among local Russian-speakers if Russian gains State-level official status, especially given the relative strength of Russian (Schmid, 2008).

Contribution to the field of CLPP: planning discourse, planning practices

I conclude with a brief discussion of the contribution of this article to the theory of CLPP. Following recent research, this study has highlighted the importance of an awareness of the differing discourses (micro and unplanned) in the different contexts throughout a polity. These need to be taken into account when engaging in macro and planned LPP**;** in other words, it means engaging in discourse planning (Hult, 2010b; Lo Bianco, 2005). Lo Bianco (2005) gives an account of the discourse planning that occurred in Australia in 1980s when LPP was carried out to meet a set of "overarching national goals" (defined as Asian integration and multiculturalism, as well as Indigenous Reconciliation and greater English proficiency throughout society). These overarching goals were themselves decided by the government, and by giving them "prominence" in LPP, the government was engaging in the "discursive construction of reality" (p. 263). Thus, in the Estonian case, the government can certainly do more to promote more inclusive discourses by more clearly prioritising certain issues and by incorporating aspects of Russian-speakers' discourses into these. But it is more than that: besides applying the CLPP framework to Estonia, this article has also developed and related a micro–meso–macro model for Estonia. This study has, thus, provided a multilayered, worked case of CLPP, whereas the majority of other research in the field examined is more general and theoretical. This model leads to a better understanding of the linkage between individual instances of behaviour and the discourses that frame them and thus also, in the critical spirit, a clearer sense of how to implement a change so that practices and discourses would be more inclusive. Thus, it is not only discourse planning in which Estonian LPP actors need to engage, but also practices planning: prioritising inclusive goals (e.g. concepts of Estonianness, integration and acceptable usage of Estonian language) and carrying them out in inclusive ways (e.g. localised school reforms, more flexible citizenship practices, more compassionate ways of dealing with teachers from Russian schools and more sensitive media activity). And, to reiterate, to be inclusive, these new planned discourses and practices must be sensitive to existing discourses and practices, ethnic Estonian and Russian-speaking alike, in the contexts in which they are to be implemented.

Limitations and directions for future research

While the sample size of interactions in the language diary study was sufficiently large to reveal significant results, a larger sample would have more statistical power and would potentially yield larger effect sizes. The gender imbalance in the diary project is also worth addressing in future research, there having been only one male in the present study. Although there were significant effects for gender, this may be an idiosyncratic result of the particular participant. Certain results may also be experimental artefacts: for example, recording results in the diaries based on the social desirability of the participant's or the interlocutor's behaviour. It is unusual that no significant variability contributed to the model (nor is there a significant correlation between either use of Estonian or success of transaction) using the variable NOT IDA-VIRUMAA *versus* IDA-VIRUMAA. Some of the participants were native Russian-speakers who claimed to use Estonian as the default language in

public places; however, the extent that this actually holds "on the ground" is certainly questionable. Future research could repeat the project using only native Estonian-speakers to control for this factor.

Conclusion

This project paints a complex picture of language attitudes and usage in present-day Estonia. There is evidence that normalisation of Estonian has largely taken place, and interethnic communication is carried out rather uneventfully, especially in Tallinn. Nevertheless, there are tensions that emerge from the data. There is a kind of impasse in verbal interethnic communicative relations in public places. The statistical data suggest that Russian-speaking attendants are less likely to use Estonian when they cannot be overheard, especially outdoors. Russian-speaking staff members are also more likely not to offer any greeting at all to an Estonian-dominant individual than to their ethnic Estonian colleagues. The shift to an officially Estonian-only society since independence has seen Tallinn become, overall, an area in which ethnic Estonians can live their daily lives in Estonian. This linguistic shift and the laws that have promoted it appear to have brought about a social climate that is not (yet, at least) conducive to everyday general communication beyond the necessary formalities. Russian-speaking staff may very well be reacting to the supervisory and, at times, punitive nature of Estonian language policy. Ethnic Estonian attitudes, while no doubt influenced by discourses related to the occupation, are likely also to result from issues related to the continued *lingua franca* status of Russian in particular parts of the country: certainly Harjumaa, from the results of this project, and also Ida-Virumaa according to the findings of numerous other studies. The apparent minimum threshold of Russian knowledge for ethnic Estonians, below which Russian-speaking attendants will comply with attempts of the Estonian-speaker to maintain a conversation in Estonian, is likely to frustrate ethnic Estonians. This is especially the case, as the threshold appears to be quite low. The fact that no ethnic Estonian in the language diary study recorded a single interaction in Ida-Virumaa is indicative of the absence of the region from the everyday social and culture world of ethnic Estonians.

The promotion of other more inclusive discourses, such as tolerance for different ways of behaving and speaking, may promote integration and normalisation. Queering of the constructs of Estonian language and Estonian identity to include differing levels of proficiency, bilingualism and accented speech (i.e. polynomic language; Jaffe, 2007) would avoid the exclusionary effects of essentialism and invite Russian-speakers to take part in the practices of the language and the identity (i.e. moving away from an "ethnic" conception of Estonianness). There is the remaining issue of the missing *lingua franca* in public situations (the communicative void) at present but more inclusive planning in areas such as education, citizenship and the media based in more inclusive policy may well translate into more inclusive everyday language practices, ultimately, "turning language policy from a bureaucratic field into a human one" (Shohamy, 2009, p. 186).

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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Appendix. Language diary page sample

Date:_____ **Time**:_____
Approx length of interaction:_____ minutes
Location:_____ part of _____ city/town □ indoors □ outdoors
Type of organisation:
□ Public/government: area of govt. e.g. police _____
□ Private business: nature of business e.g. florist _____
Service/sales person:
□ Male □ Female
□ <20 years □ 20-50 years □ 50< years
□ Native Estonian-speaker □ Native Russian-speaker □ Other: _____
□ Non-management □ Supervisor □ Senior manager
□ Alone □ Others present out of earshot □ Others present within earshot
Interaction initiated by: □ You □ Staff member
Use of Estonian:
Greeting:
□ Greeted in Estonian □ Not greeted in Estonian. Language:_____
□ Not greeted at all
Service:
How would you rate the staff member's ability to speak Estonian?
□ Good □ Moderate □ Poor □ There was no communication
Were you able to get by (regardless of language ability)?
□ Yes, well □ Yes, but moderately □ Yes, but poorly □ Not at all
Topic of communication:_____
If communication limited, how?
(e.g. Spoke only Russian with the occasional Estonian word [if so, which words?]. Could speak basic Estonian but was unable to discuss this topic because she/he didn't have the necessary vocabulary, etc.)