

## A P P E N D I X A

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### *Variables, Construction of Indexes, and Questions*★

★This appendix contains the questions posed in the survey and presents the variables used in the reported analyses. In order to facilitate interpretation of the results of the multivariate analyses that are presented in Appendix B, all variables have been recoded so that they run from 0 to 1 (but please note that in the figures and tables presented in the chapters in this book, the results have been stated in percent).

#### **Independent Variable**

Present “nationality”—Estonian, Swedish, or Canadian—constitutes the independent variable. As for the multivariate analyses in Appendix B the independent variable has been encoded as two dummies, namely, “Swedish” and “Canadian.” The Estonians make up the reference group:

*Swedish* (001)

1.00 = Swedish nationality

0.00 = other nationality (i.e., Canadian or Estonian)

*Canadian* (001)

1.00 = Canadian nationality

0.00 = other nationality (i.e., Swedish or Estonian)

**Control Variables***Sex (02)*

0.00 = Male

1.00 = Female

*Year of birth (03)*

0.00 = 1915–20

1.00 = 1921–25

*Place of Birth (04)*

0.00 = city

1.00 = countryside

**Dependent Variables**

Most value dimensions are measured with indices. The construction of the indices is supported both by theoretical arguments and empirical analysis (principal component analysis). All in all, a large number of principal component analyses have been performed, with the purpose of examining many different combinations of variables. These analyses are not reported here, in order to save space. Most of the indices are based on more than one interview-question. But there are also some value dimensions that are measured with a variable based on one single interview question.

*Civic Values**Political Interest*

This index is based on three different questions, posed to the respondents, on political interest:

(063) How important is politics in your life? (Q28).5

1.00 = very important

0.67 = rather important

0.33 = not particularly important

0.00 = not important at all

(065) When you discuss political matters, is it then above all together with relatives and friends or can it happen that you also discuss politics

with people you only meet occasionally and who you therefore don't know that well? (Q29)

0.50 = only with relatives and close friends

1.00 = also with people I do not know very well

0.00 = I never discuss politics

(067) How interested would you say you are in politics? (Q31)

0.00 = not at all

0.33 = not particularly

0.67 = some interest

1.00 = interested a great deal

The values on the three original variables are added. The index is constructed so that it runs from "0.00" ("interested in politics to a minimum extent," i.e., the respondent scored "0.00" on all three questions) to "1.00" ("interested in politics to a maximum extent," i.e., the respondent scored "1.00" on all three questions).

#### *Political Activity*

This index is based on two questions regarding political activity:

(095) Do you regularly read the daily newspaper? (Q46)

0.00 = never

0.33 = not regularly

0.67 = a few times a week

1.00 = every day

(098) When you yourself have a strong opinion, do you then try to persuade your relatives, friends, or former colleges to share your opinion? (Q49)

1.00 = often

0.67 = now and then

0.33 = seldom

0.00 = never

The values on the two original variables are added. The index is constructed so that it runs from "0.00" (a minimum of political activity, i.e., the respondent has answered "0.00" on both questions) to "1.00" (a maximum of political activity where the respondent has answered "1.00" on both questions).

*Political Virtue Values**The importance of active citizens?*

This index is constructed on the basis of four different interview questions.

(092) There are different opinions regarding how active a citizen in a democracy ought to be. Some people say that most citizens should participate actively while others consider that an active minority is preferable. Do you agree that most citizens in a democracy *ought* to participate in political life? (Q43)

0.00 = disagree completely

0.33 = slightly agree

0.67 = agree to a certain extent

1.00 = agree completely

(0100) The good citizen should be active in civic associations (i.e., “civil society”) (Q50).B

1.00 = very important

0.67 = fairly important

0.33 = not so important

0.00 = not important at all

(0101) The good citizen should actively try to influence policymaking (Q50)

1.00 = very important

0.67 = somewhat important

0.33 = not so important

0.00 = not important at all

(0102) The good citizen should think more about others than about himself (Q50).D

1.00 = very important

0.67 = somewhat important

0.33 = not so important

0.00 = not important at all

The values on the four original variables are added. The index is constructed so that it runs from “0.00” (a minimum of “activity” is considered important for the citizen, i.e., the respondent has answered “0.00” on all four questions) to “1.00” (a maximum of activity is

desirable in a citizen where the respondent has answered “1.00” on all four questions).

*Is it important for citizens to comply with rules and regulations?*

This index is based on three different interview questions:

(096) Why and how do you think one should use one’s right to vote? (Q47)

0.00 = you should not vote because it is no use

0.50 = if there are alternatives serving your own interests

0.50 = to express content/discontent with the political elite

1.00 = it is a duty as a citizen

(099) The good citizen should always follow the laws (Q50).A

1.00 = very important

0.67 = somewhat important

0.33 = not so important

0.00 = not important at all

(0103) The good citizen should vote in the public elections (Q50).E

1.00 = very important

0.67 = somewhat important

0.33 = not so important

0.00 = not important at all

The values on the three original variables are added. The index is constructed so that it runs from “0.00” (a minimum of importance is attributed to following rules and regulations, i.e. the respondent has answered “0.00” on all three questions) to “1.00” (a maximum of importance is attributed to following rules and regulations, i.e. the respondent has answered “1.00” on all three questions).

*Is it important for citizens to reach autonomous opinions?*

This variable is based on one question:

(0104) The good citizen should have an opinion regardless of others (Q50).F

1.00 = very important

0.67 = somewhat important

0.33 = not so important

0.00 = not important at all

*General Efficacy*

*Does the respondent feel that people of his kind has a say about what the parliament and the government do, particularly through the general elections?*

This variable is based on one question:

(068) To have a say about political decisions (Q32)

0.00 = fully agree with the statement that “despite the general elections, people like myself have nothing to say about what the government and the parliament do.”

0.33 = somewhat agree with the statement that “despite the general elections, people like myself have nothing to say about what the government and the parliament do.”

0.67 = somewhat agree with the statement that “not least through the general elections, people like myself can influence the parliament and the government.”

1.00 = fully agree with the statement that “not least through the general elections, people like myself can influence the parliament and the government.”

*Trust*

*Do you trust people close-by?*

This index is based on three different interview questions:

(014) When you have done something requiring cooperation with people outside your family, do you have the feeling that it will be accomplished? (Q1)

0.00 = Surely not

0.33 = Probably not

0.67 = Probably

1.00 = Certainly

(016) Do you think that, in the future, there will *always* be people that you can count on and who will be there for you? (Q3)

0.00 = Strongly doubtful

0.33 = Not certain

0.67 = Fairly certain

1.00 = Completely certain

(048) How much do you trust your family (Q20).1

0.00 = not at all

0.25 = not very much

0.50 = neither trust nor distrust

0.75 = a lot

1.00 = completely

The values on the three original variables are added. The index is constructed so that it runs from “0.00” (a minimum of trust in people close-by, i.e., the respondent has answered “0.00” on all three questions) to “1.00” (a maximum of trust in people close-by, i.e., the respondent has answered “1.00” on all three questions).

*Do you trust people in general?*

This index is based on three different interview questions:

(017) Generally speaking, would you say that most people try to be helpful? (Q4)

0.00 = No, they look out for themselves

0.33 = Sometimes

0.67 = Fairly often

1.00 = Most of the time

(019) Would most people try to take advantage of you (use you) given the opportunity? (Q6)

0.00 = would take advantage of me

1.00 = would be decent and fair

(028) (Q11) Most of us would like to think that every person is good and honest. Experiences in life can, on the other hand, show that is not the case. In general, would you say that most people can be trusted?

0.00 = can never be too cautious

1.00 = most can be trusted

The values on the three original variables are added. The index is constructed so that it runs from “0.00” (a minimum of trust in people in general, i.e., the respondent has answered “0.00” on all three questions) to “1.00” (a maximum of trust in people in general, i.e., the respondent has answered “1.00” on all three questions).

*Do you trust people in your country of residence?*

This index is based on three different interview questions (which are adapted to the country where the respondent lives):

(049) How much do you trust Swedes/Canadians/Estonians? (Q20).2

- 0.00 = not at all
- 0.25 = not much
- 0.50 = neither trust nor distrust
- 0.75 = trust quite a bit
- 1.00 = trust completely

(050) How much do you trust Estonians (Estonians in exile)? (Q20).3

- 0.00 = not at all
- 0.25 = not much
- 0.50 = neither trust nor distrust
- 0.75 = trust quite a bit
- 1.00 = trust completely

(051) How much do you trust immigrants/Russians? (Q20).4

- 0.00 = not at all
- 0.25 = not much
- 0.50 = neither trust nor distrust
- 0.75 = trust quite a bit
- 1.00 = trust completely

The values on the three original variables are added. The index is constructed so that it runs from “0.00” (a minimum of trust in people in the country of residence, i.e., the respondent has answered “0.00” on all three questions) to “1.00” (a maximum of trust in people in the country of residence, i.e., the respondent has answered “1.00” on all three questions).

*Have people you trusted disappointed you?*

This variable is based on one question:

(015) Has it ever happened that people you trusted disappointed you? (Q2)

- 0.00 = often
- 0.33 = sometimes
- 0.67 = seldom
- 1.00 = never



*Tolerance*

*To what extent does the respondent defend political rights for political extremists?*

This variable is based on one question:

(027) Some people believe that organizations holding extreme opinions should be deprived of their freedom of speech and their right to meet. Others, on the other hand, believe that it is important that these organizations are also entitled to speak up. What is your opinion? (Q10)

0.00 = should be deprived

0.33 = usually should be deprived

0.67 = usually not should be deprived

1.00 = under no circumstances should be deprived

*Solidarity*

*If witnessing an act of shoplifting or small theft, would the respondent report that to the staff?*

This variable is based on one question:

(025) Sometimes, without wanting it, you can become involved in very unpleasant situations, ones where many people do not know how to react or what to do. If you were a witness to shoplifting, what would you do? (Q8)

0.00 = nothing, or tell my family and friends

1.00 = report it to the staff

*If witnessing assault or mistreatment, would the respondent report that to the police?*

This variable is based on one question:

(026) If you were a witness to mistreatment (an assault), what would you do? (Q9)

0.00 = nothing, or tell my family and friends

1.00 = report it to the police

*What is considered to be the main reason that certain individuals in the country of residence remain in poverty?*

This variable is based on one question (originally two questions, 029 and 030)

“There are people in this country who live under sparse economic conditions. Out of the following factors, which reason do you consider to be the most important and the second most important?”

- 1.00 = The major reason is “laziness and lack of will power” and the second most important is “lack of planning.” Or: the major reason is “lack of planning” and the second most important is “laziness and lack of will power.”
- 0.00 = Other answers. That is, these respondents have not mentioned just laziness and lack of planning as the main reason or the second most important one, but also “bad luck,” “unjust society,” “inevitable part of modern progress” or “other reasons.”

### *Achievement*

*Should efficiency, competence, and individual achievement be rewarded economically?*

This variable is based on two questions:

(033) Imagine two persons, of the same age, doing practically the same job. Do you think that it is fair or unfair that the person who is more proficient and more efficient is better paid than the other one? (Q14)

1.00 = fair to reward efficiency

0.00 = not fair to reward efficiency

(069) Do you think that incomes should be more equal, or that there should be more incentives for individual effort? (Q33)

0.00 = more equal

1.00 = more incentives for individual effort

For the variable used in the analyses the respondent has been attributed “1.00” if the answer on both questions was “1.00” (i.e., that it is fair to reward efficiency and that there should be more incentive for individual effort). Others have been attributed “0.00.”

### *State Values*

#### *The Responsibility of the State*

*Should the responsibility for well-being primarily rest on the individual himself or on the state?*

This variable is based on one question:

(070) Do you think that every individual should take most of the responsibility for providing for himself, or that the state should take the most responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for? (Q34)

1.00 = individual should provide for himself

0.00 = the state should ensure that everyone is provided for

*Confidence in Institutions*

*To what extent does the respondent confide for political and societal institutions in the country of residence?*

This index is based on eight different interview questions:

(079) Confidence in the armed forces (Q37).1

0.00 = not at all

0.33 = not much

0.67 = quite a lot

1.00 = great deal

(080) Confidence in the education system (Q37).2

0.00 = not at all

0.33 = not much

0.67 = quite a lot

1.00 = great deal

(081) Confidence for the police (Q37).3

0.00 = not at all

0.33 = not much

0.67 = quite a lot

1.00 = great deal

(082) Confidence in the parliament (Q37).4

0.00 = not at all

0.33 = not much

0.67 = quite a lot

1.00 = great deal

(083) Confidence in the government (Q37).5

0.00 = not at all

0.33 = not much

0.67 = quite a lot

1.00 = great deal

(084) Confidence in leading politicians (Q37).6

0.00 = not at all

0.33 = not much  
 0.67 = quite a lot  
 1.00 = great deal

(085) Confidence in the public administration (Q37).7

0.00 = not at all  
 0.33 = not much  
 0.67 = quite a lot  
 1.00 = great deal

(086) Confidence in the party system (Q37).8

0.00 = not at all  
 0.33 = not much  
 0.67 = quite a lot  
 1.00 = great deal

The values on the eight original variables are added. The index is constructed so that it runs from “0.00” (a minimum of confidence in the political and societal institutions, i.e., the respondent has answered “0.00” on all eight questions) to “1.00” (a maximum of confidence in the political and societal institutions, i.e., the respondent has answered “1.00” on all eight questions).

### *The Routes to Success*

*Are actual merits important for occupational success?*

This index is based on two different interview questions:

(020) Different people have different opinions about what is important in order to get a good position in society. What is your opinion as to the importance of formal education? (Q7).1

1.00 = very important  
 0.50 = rather important  
 0.00 = not important at all

(021) How important is it to work hard to achieve a good position in society? (Q7).2

1.00 = very important  
 0.50 = rather important  
 0.00 = not important at all

The values on the two original variables are added. The index is constructed so that it runs from “0.00” (actual merits of minimal importance, i.e., the respondent has answered “0.00” on both questions) to “1.00” (actual merits of maximum importance, i.e., the respondent has answered “1.00” on both questions).

*How important is knowing the right people/coming from the “right” family background to occupational success?*

This index is based on two interview questions.

(022) Different people have different opinions about what is important in order to achieve a good position in society. What is your opinion as to the importance of knowing the right people? (Q7).3

1.00 = very important  
 0.50 = rather important  
 0.00 = not important at all

(024) Is it important to come from the “right” family background? (Q7).5

1.00 = very important  
 0.50 = rather important  
 0.00 = not important at all

The values on the two original variables are added. The index is constructed so that it runs from “0.00” (knowing the right people/coming from the right background of minimal importance, i.e., the respondent has answered “0.00” on both questions) to “1.00” (knowing the right people/coming from the right background of maximum importance, i.e., the respondent has answered “1.00” on both questions).

*Different people have different opinions about what is important in order to achieve a good position in society. What is your opinion on the importance of having a large network of social contacts?*

This variable is based on one question:

(023) Is it important to have a large network of social contacts? (Q7).4

1.00 = very important  
 0.50 = rather important  
 0.00 = not important at all

*Perceptions about Public Authorities**Attitudes toward public institutions.*

This index is based on two different interview questions:

(089) In considering your own view of state authorities and institutions, how would you characterize your own feelings with respect to these institutions? (Q40)

0.00 = care very little about what happens

0.33 = show some interest

0.67 = show quite a bit of interest

1.00 = care very much about what happens

(091) How would you characterize your own behavior toward state institutions/authorities, local authorities and administrations? (Q42)

0.00 = try to avoid them as much as possible

1.00 = does not cause me any problems to make contact with them

The values on the two original variables are added. The index is constructed so that it runs from "0.00" (minimal contact/interest for public institutions, i.e., the respondent has answered "0.00" on both questions) to "1.00" (maximum of contact/interest for public institutions, i.e., the respondent has answered "1.00" on both questions).

*The attention paid by public institutions and elected representatives to the general opinion of ordinary people:*

This index is based on two interview questions:

(093) In general, how much attention do you think that authorities pay to what ordinary people think when they make their decisions? (Q44)

0.00 = no attention at all

0.33 = not much

0.67 = some attention

1.00 = good deal of attention

(094) In general, how much attention do you think that the persons in parliament pay to the opinion of their voters when they make decisions? (Q45)

0.00 = no attention at all

0.33 = not much

0.67 = some attention

1.00 = good deal of attention

The values on the two original variables are added. The index is constructed so that it runs from "0.00" (minimal attention, i.e., the respondent has answered "0.00" on both questions) to "1.00" (maximal attention, i.e., the respondent has answered "1.00" on both questions).

*Is competition between political parties beneficial to the political system?*

This variable is based on one question:

(090) Political parties are on the one hand a necessity in a democracy, but on the other hand the struggle for votes is sometimes considered as too dominating. Would you agree that competition among many political parties makes the political system stronger? (Q41)

0.00 = disagree

0.33 = agree just a little

0.67 = agree mostly

1.00 = agree fully

#### *Fundamental Characteristics of Social Life*

*The respondents were asked whether they thought that society in general was fair.*

This index is based on three different interview questions:

(087) Societal resources are always scarce and many people can, therefore, consider it difficult to satisfy different interests at the same time. Do you agree that when one group in society gains something, it is necessary that other groups lose something? (Q38)

0.00 = fully agree

0.33 = mostly agree

0.67 = mostly disagree

1.00 = disagree completely

(088) Generally speaking, would you say that this country is run by a few large interests looking out for themselves, or that it is run for the benefit of all people? (Q39)

0.00 = few large interests

1.00 = for the benefit of all the people

(097) How do you perceive the distance between influential and ordinary people? (Q48)

0.00 = very large

0.50 = not that large

1.00 = it is the ordinary people that are influential

The values on the three original variables are added. The index is constructed so that it runs from “0.00” (minimum of justice in society, i.e., the respondent has answered “0.00” on both questions) to “1.00” (maximum of justice in society, i.e., the respondent has answered “1.00” on both questions).

Life Control-Values

*To which extent do the respondents feel they are engaged and involved in their own lives?*

This index is based on three different interview questions:

(052) Do you often have the feeling that you do not care about what is happening around you? (Q21)

0.00 = very often

0.25 = rather often

0.50 = sometimes

0.75 = seldom

1.00 = never

(053) Do you often feel that the things you are doing in your everyday life lack meaning? (Q22)

0.00 = very often

0.25 = rather often

0.50 = sometimes

0.75 = seldom

1.00 = never

(057) I often have a feeling of being outside; as someone not having anything to fulfil in society (Q26)

0.00 = very often

0.25 = rather often

0.50 = sometimes

0.75 = seldom

1.00 = never

The values on the three original variables are added. The index is constructed so that it runs from “0.00” (minimum feeling of involvement in life, i.e., the respondent has answered “0.00” on all three questions) to “1.00” (maximum involvement in life, i.e., the respondent has answered “1.00” on all three questions).



To which extent do the respondents feel that they can cope with and influence their own lives?

This index is based on four different interview questions:

(054) Do you mostly find it easy to handle problems that appear in everyday life? (Q23)

0.00 = never

0.25 = seldom

0.50 = sometimes

0.75 = most of the time

1.00 = always

(055) Do you mostly know how to behave when you find yourself in different situations in your everyday life? (Q24)

1.00 = always

0.67 = most of the time

0.33 = sometimes

0.00 = seldom/never<sup>1</sup>

(056) Does it ever happen that you feel that you not are completely free to decide for yourself in life? (Q25)

0.00 = very often

0.25 = rather often

0.50 = sometimes

0.75 = seldom

1.00 = never

(058) Do you often have conflicting feelings and thoughts? (Q27)

0.00 = very often

0.25 = rather often

0.50 = sometimes

0.75 = seldom

1.00 = never

The values on the four original variables are added. The index is constructed so that it runs from "0.00" (minimum feeling of influence in life, i.e., the respondent has answered "0.00" on all four questions) to "1.00" (maximum feeling of influence in life, i.e., the respondent has answered "1.00" on all four questions).

## **Notes**

\*This appendix has been prepared by Dr. Per Adman, Department of Government, Uppsala University.

1. Out of the respondents, no one answered “never.” As a consequence, this category and “seldom” were collapsed.

## A P P E N D I X B

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### *Multivariate Analyses*

This section reports on the *multivariate analyses* of all the different sorts of values, or dependent variables, that are included in the study.<sup>1</sup> In all of the analyses the following control variables are included: gender, age, and place of birth (in a city or in the countryside). Where the dependent variable is dichotomous, logistic regression analysis has been performed. In other cases linear regression analysis (Ordinary Least Squares, OLS) has been undertaken.

In order to save space, the tables report the regression coefficients and level of statistical significance for the independent variable (“nationality”) only, and not for the control variables. Furthermore, the results of several multivariate regression analyses are often reported in the same table (see, e.g., table 1.d. that reports the results for four different dependent variables, or in this case four different dimensions of trust).

Here all the variables are recoded so that they run from 0 to 1.<sup>2</sup> That is, their minimum value is 0.00, and their maximum value is 1.00. The independent variable, “nationality,” is encoded as two dummy variables, one dummy representing Swedes and one representing Canadians. The home Estonians constitute the reference group (for more detailed information concerning the construction of the variables, see Appendix A).

*Concerning the linear regression analyses (OLS):* “Adj. R-2” refers to the adjusted R-squared. “B” refers to unstandardized regression coefficients. As all the variables run from 0.00 to 1.00 the regression coefficients can be interpreted as percentage differences. For instance: in the “political interest-row” in table A.1 later we find that B for Swedes is 0.21. This means that we predict that Swedes living in Sweden instead of Estonia causes 21 percentage points higher political interest than

Estonians, controlling for gender, age, and place of birth. In the same row we find that  $B$  for Canadians is 0.20. This value shall be interpreted as that we predict that Canadians *have* 20 percentage points higher political interest than the Estonians, controlling for gender, age, and place of birth. In other words, Swedes and Canadians are on about the same political interest level, while Estonians show lower levels of political interest.

*Concerning the logistic regression analyses:* “R-2” refers to a pseudo R-2 measure.<sup>3</sup>  $B$  is the regression coefficient. “Proc. diff. Swedes” and “Proc. diff. Canadians” are measures that are constructed in order to facilitate interpretation of the effects of the independent variables. For instance, “Proc. diff. Swedes” refers to the percentage difference between the probability that Swedes and the probability that Estonians score “1.00” on the dependent variable, holding the control variables at their means.

For instance: in table A.6 later the “Proc. diff. Swedes”—value in the second row is “-40.9.” In other words, the predicted probability that Swedes report shoplifting to the staff is 40.9 percentage points lower than for Estonians. Analogously the value “-21.7” for “Proc. diff. Canadians” in the same row shall be interpreted in this way: the predicted probability that Canadians report shoplifting to the staff is 21.7 percentage points lower than for Estonians. In other words, Estonians seem to be most likely to report shoplifting. Swedes are least likely to report shoplifting, and Canadians are somewhere in between.

### Civic Values

**Table A.1** Political interest (linear regression analysis [ordinary least squares, OLS])

	<i>B, Swedes</i>	<i>B, Canadians</i>	<i>Adj. R-2</i>	<i>N</i>
Political interest	0.21***	0.20***	0.179	285
Political activity	-0.03	-.04	0.020	288

\*\*\* Significant at 0.01 level; \*\* Significant at 0.05 level; \* Significant at 0.1 level.

**Table A.2** Political virtues (linear regression analysis [OLS])

	<i>B, Swedes</i>	<i>B, Canadians</i>	<i>Adj. R-2</i>	<i>N</i>
Citizens activity	-0.03	0.03	0.015	280
important	0.03	0.06***	0.009	291
Citizen should follow laws	0.07**	0.04	0.065	289
Citizen should form independent opinions				

\*\*\* Significant at 0.01 level; \*\* Significant at 0.05 level; \* Significant at 0.1 level.

**Table A.3** General efficacy (linear regression analysis [OLS])

	<i>B, Swedes</i>	<i>B, Canadians</i>	<i>Adj. R-2</i>	<i>N</i>
People like myself can exert through the general elections	0.11**	0.40***	0.227	285

\*\*\* Significant at 0.01 level; \*\* Significant at 0.05 level; \* Significant at 0.1 level.

**Table A.4** Trust (linear regression analysis [OLS])

	<i>B, Swedes</i>	<i>B, Canadians</i>	<i>Adj. R-2</i>	<i>N</i>
Trust people close-by	0.02	0.10***	.074	273
Trust people in general	0.30***	0.20***	0.146	261
Trust people of the same nationality	0.04	-.03	0.022	243
Been disappointed in people whom one trusted	01	0.02	0.000	290

\*\*\* Significant at 0.01 level; \*\* Significant at 0.05 level; \* Significant at 0.1 level.

**Table A.5** Tolerance (linear regression analysis [OLS])

	<i>B, Swedes</i>	<i>B, Canadians</i>	<i>Adj. R-2</i>	<i>N</i>
Political extremists should be deprived of political rights	0.12***	0.27***	0.132	276

\*\*\* Significant at 0.01 level; \*\* Significant at 0.05 level; \* Significant at 0.1 level.

**Table A.6** Solidarity (logistic regression)

	<i>B, Swedes</i>	<i>Proc. diff. Swedes</i>	<i>B, Canadians</i>	<i>Proc. diff. Canadians</i>	<i>R-2</i>	<i>N</i>
Report shop-lifting to the staff	-2.99***	-40.9	-2.14***	-21.7	0.155	278
Report assault to the police	-0.11	-1.7	1.6**	11.4	0.058	274
Individual himself is responsible for being poor	0.15	2.2	0.65	11.5	0.032	216

\*\*\* Significant at 0.01 level; \*\* Significant at 0.05 level; \* Significant at 0.1 level.

**Table A.7** Equality (logistic regression)

	<i>B, Swedes</i>	<i>Proc. diff. Swedes</i>	<i>B, Canadians</i>	<i>Proc. diff. Canadians</i>	<i>R-2</i>	<i>N</i>
Efficiency and individual achievement should be rewarded	-0.53	-6.3	-0.62	-7.6	0.026	279

\*\*\* Significant at 0.01 level; \*\* Significant at 0.05 level; \* Significant at 0.1 level.

### State Values

**Table A.8** The responsibility of the state (logistic regression)

	<i>B, Swedes</i>	<i>Proc. diff. Swedes</i>	<i>B, Canadians</i>	<i>Proc. diff. Canadians</i>	<i>R-2</i>	<i>N</i>
Individual responsible for welfare	1.16***	16.3	2.48***	23.5	0.140	285

\*\*\* Significant at 0.01 level; \*\* Significant at 0.05 level; \* Significant at 0.1 level.

**Table A.9** Confidence in public institutions (linear regression [OLS])

	<i>B, Swedes</i>	<i>B, Canadians</i>	<i>Adj. R-2</i>	<i>N</i>
Confidence in public institutions (political and social)	0.05*	0.14***	0.124	231

\*\*\* Significant at 0.01 level; \*\* Significant at 0.05 level; \* Significant at 0.1 level.

**Table A.10a** How to attain success in society (linear regression [OLS])

	<i>B, Swedes</i>	<i>B, Canadians</i>	<i>Adj. R-2</i>	<i>N</i>
Actual merits	0.00	0.02	0.013	287
Knowing the right people/right family background	-0.17***	-0.16***	0.101	284

\*\*\* Significant at 0.01 level; \*\* Significant at 0.05 level; \* Significant at 0.1 level.

**Table A.10b** How to attain success in society (logistic regression)

	<i>B, Swedes</i>	<i>Proc. diff. Swedes</i>	<i>B, Canadians</i>	<i>Proc. diff. Canadians</i>	<i>R-2</i>	<i>N</i>
Large social network	1.60**	18.4	0.75	6.0	0.084	283

\*\*\* Significant at 0.01 level; \*\* Significant at 0.05 level; \* Significant at 0.1 level.

**Table A.11** Attitudes toward authorities (linear regression [OLS])

	<i>B, Swedes</i>	<i>B, Canadians</i>	<i>Adj. R-2</i>	<i>N</i>
Perceptions of public authorities	0.11***	0.195***	0.088	283
Public authorities and elected representatives pay attention to public opinion	0.12***	0.28***	0.341	271
Party competition benefits the political system	.07	.18***	.092	276

\*\*\* Significant at 0.01 level; \*\* Significant at 0.05 level; \* Significant at 0.1 level.

**Table A.12** How fair is society? (linear regression [OLS])

	<i>B, Swedes</i>	<i>B, Canadians</i>	<i>Adj. R-2</i>	<i>N</i>
How fair is society?	0.27***	0.31***	0.246	260

\*\*\* Significant at 0.01 level; \*\* Significant at 0.05 level; \* Significant at 0.1 level.

**Table A.13** How important are different things in life? (linear regression [OLS])

	<i>B, Swedes</i>	<i>B, Canadians</i>	<i>Adj. R-2</i>	<i>N</i>
How important is work?	-0.07***	-0.07***	0.034	290
How important are spare time activities and social contacts?	0.05**	0.09***	0.079	290
How important is religion?	-0.10**	0.01	0.043	290

\*\*\* Significant at 0.01 level; \*\* Significant at 0.05 level; \* Significant at 0.1 level.

### Life Control-Values

**Table A.14** Life Control-Values (linear regression [OLS])

	<i>B, Swedes</i>	<i>B, Canadians</i>	<i>Adj. R-2</i>	<i>N</i>
High life-involvement	-0.08***	0.10***	0.124	285
Can cope with and influence life	0.00	0.09***	0.080	285

\*\*\* Significant at 0.01 level; \*\* Significant at 0.05 level; \* Significant at 0.1 level.

### Notes

1. In the chapters earlier there are only figures and tables based on *bivariate analyses*.
2. Please note that in the figures and tables presented in the chapters earlier the results have been stated in percent.
3. This particular pseudo R-2 measure is defined as:  $R-2 = 1 - LL1 / LL0$ , where LL1 is the log-likelihood value for the full model and LL0 is the log-likelihood



value for the “null model” (i.e., a model with an intercept only). For a discussion of this and other pseudo R<sup>2</sup> measures, see Hagle and Mitchell, 1992, especially pp. 764–765

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Hagle, Timothy M. & Glenn E. Mitchell, II. 1992. “Goodness-of-Fit Measures for Probit and Logit.” *American Journal of Political Science* 36: 762–784.

## NOTES

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### **One Socialized Culture and Institutional Change: Introducing the Discussion**

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1. Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, 1963, *The Civic Culture. Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
2. Cf. Harry Eckstein, 1997, "Social Science as Cultural Science, Rational Choice as Metaphysics" in Richard J. Ellis, Michael Thompson (eds.), *Culture Matters. Essays in Honor of Aaron Wildavsky*, Boulder: Westview Press, 25; Larry Diamond, 1999, *Developing Democracy towards Consolidation*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 165.
3. Karl Mannheim, 1952, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd. 286.
4. Cf. Russell Dalton, 2000, "Citizen Attitudes and Political Behavior," *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 33, no. 6/7, August–September 2000, 914; Brian Barry, 1970, *Sociologists, Economists and Democracy*, London: Macmillan, 52.
5. Talcott Parsons, 1937, *The Structure of Social Action*, New York: McGraw Hill; Harry Eckstein, 1992, *Regarding Politics. Essays on Political Theory, Stability, and Change*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 265–285.
6. Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel, 2005, *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy. The Human Development Sequence*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; cf. Charles Lockhart, 1997, "Political Culture and Political Change," in Richard J. Ellis and Michael Thompson (eds.), *Culture Matters. Essays in Honor of Aaron Wildavsky*, Boulder: Westview Press, 91.
7. M.K Jennings and Richard Niemi, 1974, *The Political Character of Adolescence: the Influence of Family and Schools*, Princeton: Princeton University Press; Anders Westholm, 1991, *The Political Heritage. Testing Theories of Family Socialization and Generational Change*, Uppsala University (diss.).
8. James Coleman, 1960, *The Adolescent Society*, New York: The Free Press; Almond and Verba, *The Civic Culture*; Eckstein, *Regarding Politics*, 265–285.
9. Coleman, *The Adolescent Society*.
10. Richard, M. Merelman, 1991, *Partial Visions. Culture and Politics in Britain, Canada, and the United States*, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press; Li

- Bennich-Björkman, 1999, "Känslomakaren. Populärkulturens makt och medborgarrollens förändring," *Civilsamhället*, SOU 1999: 84.
11. Carole Pateman, 1970, *Participation and Democratic Theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; cf. Robert Putnam, 2000, *Bowling Alone. The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, New York: Simon & Schuster; Per Adman, 2004, *Arbetslöshet, arbetsplatsdemokrati och politiskt deltagande*, Uppsala University: Skrifter utgivna av Statsvetenskapliga föreningen:158 (diss.).
  12. Aaron Wildavsky, 1987, "Choosing Preferences by Constructing Institutions: A Cultural Theory of Preference Formation," *American Political Science Review*, 81: 3-21.
  13. Harry Eckstein and Ted Gurr, 1975, *Patterns of Authority: A Structural Basis for Political Inquiry*, New York: John Wiley and Sons.
  14. Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, 251.
  15. Barry, *Sociologists, Economists and Democracy*, 52.
  16. Admittedly, this amalgamation of different schools within the broad scope of institutionalism could be regarded as too much of a simplification. However, the divisions within the institutionalist perspective are of less theoretical interest here than the profound differences between the culturalists and the rationalists regarding the questions of adaptability, relearning, and cognitive coherence.
  17. Jon Elster, 1991, "Rationality and Social Norms," *Archives Europeenes de Sociologie*, XXXII: 109.
  18. Margaret Levi, 1997, "A Model, a Method, and a Map," Lichbach, Mark Irving, and Alan S. Zuckerman (eds.), *Comparative Politics. Rationality, Culture, and Structure*, Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 22; see also Sun-Ki Chai, 1997, "Rational Choice and Culture: Clashing Perspectives or Complementary Models of Analysis?" in Ellis and Thompson (eds.), *Culture Matters*.
  19. Gabriel A. Almond, 1990, *A Discipline Divided*, Newbury Park, California: Sage, 146-147. Almond claims that Inglehart's results of a slowly moving shift toward post-materialist attitudes is a further example of the "plasticity" of political culture. But Inglehart's theory is a truly culturalist one, resting on the assumption of early socialization as the major explanation for the generational pattern showing in the data. If by plasticity implies culture's ability to change comparatively fast given new institutional conditions, Almond could be right. But the controversy stands between those who attribute individual early socialization a decisive role over the course of life, and those who deny it.
  20. Donald P. Green and Ian Shapiro, 1994, *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory. A Critique of Applications in political Science*, New Haven: Yale University Press; Herbert Simon, 1995, "Rationality in Political Behavior," *Political Psychology*, vol. 16, no. 1.
  21. Aaron Wildavsky, 1987, "Choosing Preferences by Constructing Institutions," 3-21; cf. Elinor Ostrom, 1990, *Governing the Commons. The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
  22. Kathleen Thelen and Svein Steinmo, 1992, "Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics," in Svein Steinmo, Kathleen Thelen, and Frank Longstreth (eds.), *Structuring Politics. Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis*,

- Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Junko Kato, 1996, "Review Article: Institutions and Rationality in Politics—Three Varieties of Neo-Institutionalism," *British Journal of Political Science*, 26: 553–582. For an overview see Kristen Renwick Monroe (with Kristen Hill Maher), 1995, "Psychology and Rational Choice Theory," *Political Psychology*, vol. 16, no. 1.
23. Herbert Simon, 1995, "Rationality in Political Behavior," 60.
24. Monroe, (with Kristen Hill Maher), 1995, "Psychology and Rational Choice Theory," 5.
25. Richard Rose, William Mishler, and Christian Haerpfer, 1998, *Democracy and Its Alternatives. Understanding Post-Communist Societies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 143.
26. Alex Inkeles and David H. Smith, 1974, *Becoming Modern. Individual Change in Six Developing Countries*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 10.
27. In the literature, there is an established division between life-cycle effects, periodic effects, and generational effects. Only the latter two produce change.
28. Monroe (with Kristen Hill Maher), "Psychology and Rational Choice Theory"; William M. Reisinger, Arthur H. Miller, Vicki L. Hesli, and Kristen Hill Maher, 1994, "Political Values in Russia, Ukraine, and Lithuania: Sources and Implications for Democracy," *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 24: 183–223; William Reisinger, Arthur H. Miller, Vicki L. Hesli, 1995, "Public Behavior and Political Change in Post-Soviet States," *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 57, no. 4, November 1995; William Mishler and Richard Rose, 1996, "Trajectories of Fear and Hope. Support for Democracy in Post-Communist Europe," *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 28, no. 4, January; James L. Gibson, 1996, "A Mile Wide But an Inch Deep (?): The Structure of Democratic Commitments in the Former USSR," *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 40, no. 2, May 1996; James Alexander, 1997, "Surveying Attitudes in Russia. A Representation of Formlessness," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 30, no. 2; Donna Bahry, Cynthia Boaz, Stacy Gordon Burnett, 1997, "Tolerance, Transitions and Support for Civil Liberties in Russia," *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 30, no. 4, August 1997; Pamela Waldron-Moore, 1999, "Eastern Europe at the Crossroads of Democratic Transition. Evaluating Support for Democratic Institutions, Satisfaction with Democratic Government, and Consolidation of Democratic Regimes," *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 32, no. 1, February.
29. J.W. Berry, 1997, "Immigration, Acculturation and Adaptation," *Applied Psychology. An International Review*, vol. 6; David Sam Lackland, 2000, "Psychological Adaptation of Adolescents with Immigrant Background," *Journal of Social Psychology*, vol. 140, no. 1, February.
30. Ada Finifter and Bernard M. Finifter, 1989, "Party Identification and Political Adaptation of American Migrants in Australia," *Journal of Politics*, vol. 51, no. 3, August; Zvi Gitelman, 1982, *Becoming Israelis: Political Resocialization and American Immigrants*, New York: Praeger; cf. Eva Hamberg, 2000, *Livsåskådningar religion och värderingar i en invandrargrupp. En studie av Sverigeungrare*, Ceifo: Skriftserien nr. 85.
31. Tom W. Rice, and Jan L. Feldman, 1997, "Civic Culture and Democracy from Europe to America," *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 59, no. 4, November.

32. Jack Gray, in Archie Brown and Jack Gray (eds.), *Political Culture and Political Change in Communist States*, London and New York, 265.
33. Stephen White, 1984, "Soviet Political Culture Reassessed," in Archie Brown and (ed.), *Political Culture and Communist Studies*, London: St Anthony's /Macmillan Series, 77.
34. Stephen Whitefield and Geoffrey Evans, 1999, "Political Culture versus Rational Choice: Explaining Responses to Transition in the Czech Republic and Slovakia," *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 29, no. 1, January.
35. Reisinger, et al., "Political Values in Russia, Ukraine, and Lithuania," 183–223.
36. Inkeles and Smith, 1974, *Becoming Modern*, 9.
37. Alexis de Tocqueville, 1848(1969), *Democracy in America*, New York: Doubleday Anchor Press; Robert, N. Bellah et al., 1985, *Habits of the Heart. Individualism and Commitment in American Life*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
38. Brown and Gray (eds.), *Political Culture and Political Change in Communist States*, 9, Brown, "Introduction," 2.
39. Eckstein, "Social Science as Cultural Science, Rational Choice as Metaphysics," 31.
40. See Wildawsky, "Choosing Preferences by Constructing Institutions," 3–21; also Michael Thompson, Richard Ellis, and Aaron Wildawsky, 1990, *Cultural Theory*, Boulder: Westview Press.
41. Thompson, Ellis, and Wildawsky, 1990, *Cultural Theory*, 216.
42. Robert, D. Putnam, 1993, *Making Democracy Work. Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press; Putnam, *Bowling Alone*.
43. Rice and Feldman, 1997, "Civic Culture and Democracy from Europe to America."
44. For example, Brown, and Gray (eds.), *Political Culture and Political Change in Communist States*, 8–9; Mary McCauley, 1984, "Political Culture and Communist Politics: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," Archie Brown (ed.), *Political Culture and Communist Studies*. In the same edited volume see also Stephen White, "Soviet Political Culture Reassessed."
45. White, Stephen, 1984, "Soviet Political Culture Reassessed,"65.
46. Toivo Raun, 1997, "Estonia: Independence Redefined," in Ian Beemer and Ray Tares (eds.), *New States, New Politics. Building the Post-Soviet Nations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 406.
47. Mrs. Leida Marley, the person in question, deserves much gratitude for constantly helping the "team" while they were in Toronto, not only in overcoming the initial threshold of distrust and reluctance, which proved a tough task, but also for her assistance in practical and social matters.
48. For one of the best volumes on political participation and its determinants see Sidney Verba, Kay Lehman Schlozman, Henry E.Brady, 1995, *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
49. Sven Reinans, 1986, "Balterna i Sverige—några demografiska aspekter," *De första båtflyktningarna. En antologi om balterna i Sverige*, Stockholm: Statens Invandrarverk, 70 (my translation). Cf. Raimo Raag and Virve Raag, 1992, *Över stormande hav/*

- Üle tormise mere. Estniskit liv och leverne i Kumla 1944–1991*, Örebro: Örebro Läns Museum, 39.
50. Bernhard Kangro, 1976, *Estland i Sverige*, Lund: Eesti Kirjanike Kooperativ, 42; cf. Reinans, “Balterna i Sverige—några demografiska aspekter.”
  51. Reinans, Sven, “Balterna i Sverige—några demografiska aspekter,” 72 (my translation).
  52. Kangro, *Estland i Sverige*, 42.
  53. Kangro, *Estland i Sverige*, 42 (my translation).
  54. McCauley, Mary, 1984, “Political Culture and Communist Politics: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back”, Archie Brown (ed.), *Political Culture and Communist Studies*, London: St Anthony’s/Macmillan Series McCauley, 16.
  55. McCauley, Mary, “Political Culture and Communist Politics,” 16.
  56. Eckstein, *Regarding Politics. Essays on Political Theory, Stability, and Change*, 268.
  57. The in-depth interviews were mainly conducted by the research assistants Annika Tamra and Sofie Holmström, who have both been of tremendous help in making this study possible. The Canadian exiles have unfortunately been left out of the in-depth interviews, since it proved practically impossible to return once more to Canada after the original survey had been made.
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  59. Maurice Halbwachs, 1981 (1950), *The Collective Memory*, New York and Cambridge: Harper and Row; James Booth, 1999, “Communities of Memory: On Identity, Memory and Debt,” *American Political Science Review*, vol. 93, no., 2; Bo Rothstein, 2000, “Trust, Social Dilemmas and Collective Memories,” *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, vol. 12, no. 4. Cf. Smith M. Rogers, 2003, *Stories of Peoplehood. The Politics and Morals of Political Membership*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
  60. Kjell Bergman and Berith Jakobsson, 1984, *Ester i Göteborg. Om identitetens bevekelsegrunder*, Göteborg: Etnologiska institutionen, 61.
  61. Anu Narusk, 1995, *Every-Day Life and Radical Social Changes in Estonia. A Sociological-Empirical Overview of Changes in Estonian’s Life Values, Attitudes, Living Conditions and Behavior during the Transition from Soviet to Post-Soviet*, Tallinn, 100.

## **Two The Context of Early Socialization: Estonia between the Two Wars**

1. Estonia and the other Baltic states attracted the interest of contemporary journalists and “travellers” who wanted to see for themselves these small states at the crossroads of East and West. MacCallum Scott was a British journalist who visited Estonia’s capital Tallinn in 1925 and was struck by the city’s wild atmosphere as compared to the orderly Finnish capital Helsinki. About Tallinn (Reval) he wrote that “(t)he crazy walls, the unplanned, crooked streets, the anachronisms, the

- mediaeval smells, the antiquarian lumber of Reval are repugnant to Helsingfors, which is as spick and span as a motor-car." See MacCallum A. Scott, 1925, *Beyond the Baltic*, London: Thornton Butterworth Limited, 248. Other journalists who wrote about the region were Hampden J. Jackson, *Estonia* (1948), London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd. and *The Baltic* 1940, Oxford: Clarendon Press. Owen Rutter published *The New Baltic States and Their Future. An Account of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia*, London: Methuen & Co, Ltd. in 1925. Cf. the later description of Estonia by Alfred Bilmanis (1944) in "Grandeur and Decline of the German Balts," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 22, no. 4: 50–80.
2. See Ants Oras, 1949, *Slagskugga över Balticum*, Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 16; David M. Crowe, 1993, *The Baltic States and the Great Powers. Foreign Relations 1938–1940*, Boulder: Westview Press, 4–5; Walter Kolarz, 1953, *Russia and Her Colonies*, London: George Philip and Son Limited, 113.
  3. Jackson, *The Baltic*.
  4. Harry Eckstein, 1997, "Social Science as Cultural Science, Rational Choice as Metaphysics," in Richard J. Ellis and Michael Thompson (eds.), *Culture Matters. Essays in Honor of Aaron Wildavsky*, Boulder: Westview Press, 31–32.
  5. Robert D. Putnam, 2000, *Bowling Alone. The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 48.
  6. Interview 6, born 1924, Sweden. A complete list of interviewees is available from the author.
  7. Interview 11, born 1917, Sweden.
  8. Interview, 5, born 1925, Sweden.
  9. Interview 9, born 1920, Sweden. After Estonian independence in 1991, no such explosion in civil society activities has occurred. Instead, the organizational passivity of Estonia as well as other states transiting from communism is one of the major drawbacks from a democratic point of view. See, e.g., Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, 25.
  10. Interview 13, born 1924, Sweden.
  11. See, e.g., Alex Inkeles, 1968, *Social Change in Soviet Russia*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, for an analysis of the Russian mentality.
  12. Bilmanis, "Grandeur and Decline of the German Balts," 56.
  13. Andrejs Plakans, 1974, "Peasants, Intellectuals and Nationalism in the Russian Baltic Provinces, 1820–90," *The Journal of Modern History*, March–December, 459; Michael H. Haltzel, 1981, "The Baltic Germans," in Edward C. Thaden Thaden (ed.), *Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland 1855–1914*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 111.
  14. Nicholas Hope, 1994, "Interwar Statehood: Symbol and Reality," in Graham Smith (ed.), *The Baltic States. The National Self-Determination of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania*, London: Macmillan Press, 47.
  15. Juhan Kahk and Enn Tarvel, 1997, *An Economic History of the Baltic Countries*, Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 107.
  16. John Gibbons, 1939, *Keepers of the Baltic Gates*, London: Robert Hale Ltd, 158.
  17. Rutter, *The New Baltic States and Their Future*, 244.
  18. Interview 8, born 1924, Sweden.

19. Expressive as opposed to egoistic or selfish individualism is used by Robert Bellah and his associates (1985).
20. Interview 9, born 1920, Sweden.
21. Marju Lauristin and Peeter Vihalemm (eds.), 1997, *Return to the Western World. Cultural and Political Perspectives on the Estonian Post-Communist Transition*, Tartu: Tartu University Press, 271.
22. Swedish egalitarianism was also a barrier to individual achievement, Aino points out. The refugees from Estonia were taken care of, but if someone as a result of education and hard work managed to rise socially, the Swedes were not so kind anymore. "You noticed the jealousy." Interview 8, born 1924, Sweden.
23. Interview 8, 1924, Sweden.
24. Interview 8, 1924, Sweden.
25. Interviews 5, 6, 7 and 8.
26. Interview 8, born 1924, Sweden.
27. Interview 6, born 1924, Sweden.
28. Interview 9, born 1920, Sweden. By "balt" she is referring to the Baltic German group, not people of a general Baltic origin.
29. Interview 2, born 1922, Estonia.
30. Interview 5, born 1925, Sweden, cf. interview 4, born 1922, Estonia. However, the teachers were quite authoritarian.
31. Interview 3, born 1924, Estonia.
32. Interview 9, born 1920, Sweden.
33. Interview 9, born 1920, Sweden.
34. Interviews 3, 4.
35. Interview 2, born 1922, Estonia.
36. Interview 5, born 1925, Sweden.
37. Hampden J. Jackson, 1940, *The Baltic*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 237.
38. Erik Nerep, 2001, "Från en union till en annan—Estlands rättsliga dilemma," i Bernitz, Ulf, Sverker Gustavsson, Lars Oxelheim (eds.), *Europaperspektiv 2001. Östutvidgning, majoritetsbeslut och flexibel integration*, Göteborg: Santerús förlag, 62.
39. Interview 6, born 1924, Sweden.
40. Jackson, *The Baltic*, 237.
41. Interview 7, born 1917, Sweden.
42. Interviews 1, 2, 3, 4.
43. Written recollections of "vanaisa" (grandfather), anonymous. Owned by the author.
44. Interview 8, born 1924, Sweden; interview 9, born 1920, Sweden; and interview 14, born 1924, Sweden.
45. Interview 5, 1925, Sweden.
46. Interview 6, born 1924, Sweden.
47. Interview 7, born 1917, Sweden and interview 9, 1920, Sweden.
48. Interview 8, born 1924, Sweden.
49. The high esteem of education can also be noticed in the Estonian communities in exile, which has been analyzed as an indication of the upward social mobility



- of this ethnic group. Immediately after arriving in Sweden, or in the Displaced persons camps (DP) in Germany, the Estonians started schooling activities and study circles. Estonian children of a working-class origin have also been over-represented among those with a higher education, “Ester” i Ingvar Svanberg and Harald Runblom (eds.), *Det mångkulturella Sverige. En handbok om etniska grupper och minoriteter*, Stockholm: Gidlunds förlag, 60. “Education was valued in itself. I have felt that myself with my daughters since I became a widow early in life and suffered economic hardships, but that the girls should finish high school and continue after that; it was never even questioned. It is some mysterious cultural peculiarity,” says Eva in interview 9.
50. See, e.g., Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, 1963, *The Civic Culture. Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press; Harry Eckstein, 1966, *Division and Cohesion in Democracy: A Study of Norway*, Princeton: Princeton University Press; James Coleman, 1960, *The Adolescent Society*, New York: The Free Press; Uri Brofenbrenner, 1970, *Two Worlds of Childhood*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
  51. Interview 3, born 1924, Estonia.
  52. Interviews 8, 9, and 10.
  53. Interview 4, born 1922, Estonia. In interview 15, hard work and individual initiative as one of the dominating norms in school (as well as in the family) returns.
  54. Interview 3, 1924, Estonia; interview 2, 1922, Estonia.
  55. Interview 11, born 1917, Sweden.
  56. Interview 10, born 1919, Sweden.
  57. Sebastian Haffner notices time and again in his memoirs from Germany under the 1930s the importance played by the publicly displayed nationalism and anti-Semitism of the Nazis. There was recurrent marching in the streets, torches, singing, and flags. *Geschichte eines Deutschen. Die Erinnerungen 1914–1933*, in Swedish translation, 2003.
  58. See, e.g., interviews 1,3,5,6,7.
  59. Interview 1, born 1916, Estonia.
  60. Interview 6, born 1924, Sweden.
  61. Interview 3, born 1924, Estonia.
  62. Interview 11, born 1917, Sweden.
  63. Interview 6, born 1924, Sweden.
  64. Interview 7, born 1917, Sweden.
  65. Interview 9, born 1920, Sweden.
  66. Interview 10, born 1919, Sweden.
  67. The ethnic relations in post-Communist Estonia (and also Latvia) have attracted considerable interest. See, e.g., Juan L. Linz and Alfred Stepan, 1996, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, Chapter 20; Paul Kolstoe, 1995, *Russians in the Former Soviet Republics*, London: Hurst and Company; Aili Aarelaid-Tart, 2006, *Cultural Trauma and Life Stories*, Helsinki: Kikimora Publications; Jeff Chinn and Robert Kaiser, 1996, *Russians as the New Minority. Ethnicity and Nationalism in the Soviet Successor States*, Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press; Rein Ruutsoo, 2002, “Discursive Conflict and Estonian Post-Communist Nation-Building,” in Marju Lauristin and

- Mati Heidmets (eds.), *The Challenge of the Russian Minority. Emerging Multicultural Democracy in Estonia*, Tartu: Tartu University Press; Vello Pettai and Klara Hallik, 2002, "Understanding Processes of Ethnic Control: Segmentation, Dependency and Co-operation in Post-Communist Estonia," *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 8, no. 4: 505–529.
68. Aarelaid-Tart, *Cultural Trauma and Life Stories*, 197.
69. Interview 7, born 1917, Sweden.
70. Interview 9, born 1920, Sweden. In response to a question regarding relations with the Russians, the respondent Eva also explains that the present-day situation in Estonia is quite different, since these days the Russians stubbornly refuse to learn the Estonian language whereas, at that time, the Russians did not exhibit such an attitude but were "generous, or broad-minded and wise."
71. Interview 9, 1920, Sweden.
72. Interview 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13.
73. Interview 5, born 1925, Sweden.
74. Interview 8, born 1924, Sweden.
75. Interview 10, born 1919, Sweden.
76. Interview 11, born 1917, Sweden.
77. Interview 12, born 1924, Sweden.
78. Cf., e.g., Jonas Linde, 2004, *Doubting Democrats? A Comparative Analysis of Support for Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe*, Örebro: Örebro Studies in Political Science 10, Chapters five and six.
79. For an extensive study on the political impact of the Veterans during the 1930s see Andres Kasekamp, 2000, *The Radical Right in Interwar Estonia*, London: Macmillan.
80. Hope, "Interwar Statehood: Symbol and Reality."
81. Interview 1, born 1916, Estonia.
82. Interview 4, born 1922, Estonia.
83. Interview 8, born 1924, Sweden.
84. Lennart Weibull and Sören Holmberg, 1997, "Two Young Democracies and an Old One," in Lauristin and Vihalemm (eds.), *Return to the Western World*.
85. It was after this coup that the Communist party was banned in Estonia.
86. Interview 3, 1924, Estonia. Evi does not like to speak about her father's Communist background, or about the shootings. This is still sensitive information.
87. Again, Latvia followed a similar path and declared a state of emergency in spring 1934. In Lithuania, democracy survived only from 1920 to 1926, six years.
88. The VAPS was an organization of veterans from World War I which benefited in their propaganda from the executive weakness that signified the political system at the time.
89. Kasekamp, *The Radical Right in Interwar Estonia*, 154–155.
90. Jan-Åke Dellenbrant 1991, "The Re-Emergence of Multi-Partism in the Baltic States," in Sten Berglund and Jan-Åke Dellenbrant (eds.), *The New Democracies in Eastern Europe. Party Systems and Political Cleavages*, Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 81–82.
91. Rein Ruutsoo, 2002, *Civil Society and Nation Building in Estonia and the Baltic States. Impact of Traditions on Mobilization and Transition 1986–2000—Historical and Sociological Study*, Rovaniemi: Acta Universitatis Lapponiensis, 59.

92. Georg Von Rauch, 1970, *The Baltic States. The Years of Independence. Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania 1917–1940*, London: Hurst and Company, 156.
93. Von Rauch, 1970, *The Baltic States*; David J. Smith, 2003, "Estonian Independence and European Integration," *The Baltic States Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania*, London: Routledge, 19–20.
94. The literature on the breakdown of democracies in Europe in the period between the two world wars is huge. A book that takes up the question of why some democracies survived during these troublesome years while others succumbed is Gerard Alexander, 2002, *The Sources of Democratic Consolidation*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
95. Interview 5, born 1925, Sweden.
96. Interview 5, born 1925, Sweden, interview 6, 1924, Sweden.
97. Interview 7, born 1917, Sweden, cf. interview 9, 1920, Sweden.
98. Interview 11, born 1917, Sweden.
99. Bo Rothstein, 2003, *Sociala fällor och tillitens problem*, Stockholm: SNS förlag.

### **Three Multicultural Canada and the Welfare State Sweden: Home to Estonians in Exile**

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1. Arvo Horm, 1961, "Estonians in the Free World," in Evald Uustalu (ed.), *Aspects of Estonian Culture*, London: Boreaus Publishing Co., 287.
2. See, e.g., the statistics in Ronald Inglehart, 1997, *Modernization and Post-Modernization. Cultural, Economic and Political Change in 43 Societies*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
3. J.L. Granatstein and Sune Åkerman (eds.), 1994, *Welfare States in Trouble: Historical Perspectives on Canada and Sweden*, Swedish-Canadian Academic Foundation; Per Bauhn, Christer Lindberg, and Svante Lundberg, 1995, *Multiculturalism and Nationhood in Canada*, Lund: Lund University Press.
4. J.L. Granatstein, 1994, "Canadian Social Policy: From Laissez-Faire to Safety Net to ...?" in Granatstein and Åkerman (eds.), *Welfare States in Trouble*, 123.
5. Jack Quarter, 1992, *Canada's Social Economy. Co-operatives, Non-profits and other Community Enterprises*, Toronto: James Loriman & Company.
6. Karl Aun, 1985, *The Political Refugees. A History of the Estonians in Canada*, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 57.
7. Emil Uddhammar, 1993, *Partierna och den stora staten. En analys av statsteorier och svensk politik under 1900-talet*, Stockholm: City University Press; Brian Palmer, 2000, *Wolves at the Door: Existential Solidarity in a Globalizing Sweden*, Harvard: Harvard University Press; Cecilia Garme, 2001, *Newcomers to Power: How to Learn to Sit on Somebody else's Throne*, Uppsala Universitet: Department of Government.
8. Freda Hawkins, 1989, *Critical Years of Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared*, Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
9. Joy Cohnstaedt, 1992, *Multiculturalism and Canadian Culture and Communication Policies*, The Nordic Association for Canadian Studies Text Series, volume 4, 2.
10. Hawkins, *Critical Years of Immigration*.

11. Cohnstaedt, *Multiculturalism and Canadian Culture and Communication Policies*, volume 4, 2.
12. Hawkins, *Critical Years of Immigration*.
13. Cohnstaedt, *Multiculturalism and Canadian Culture and Communication Policies*, volume 4, 12; Varpu Lindström, 1994, "The Development of Multicultural Policy in Canada," in Granatstein and Åkerman (eds.), *Welfare States in Trouble*, 45.
14. Hawkins, *Critical Years of Immigration*.
15. Charles Taylor, 1989, *Sources of the Self. The Making of Modern Identity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, where he discusses the importance of identity and recognition in modern societies.
16. This text often relies on the work by Karl Aun, one of the Estonians in Canada, who was part of the multicultural effort at acknowledging ethnic histories.
17. Lindström, "The Development of Multicultural Policy in Canada," in Granatstein and Åkerman (eds.), *Welfare States in Trouble*, 48.
18. A potentially unfortunate consequence of a policy of multiculturalism, discussed mainly among political philosophers and theorists, is that the ideas behind multiculturalism tend to lead to the cornerstone of liberal democracy—the individualistic foundation of rights—being replaced by a more doubtful and blurred rights system. Cf. Brian Barry, 2000, *Culture and Equality. An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism*, Cambridge: Polity Press; Will Kymlicka, 1995, *Multicultural Citizenship*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
19. Robert N. Bellah et al., 1985, *Habits of the Heart. Individualism and Commitment in American Life*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 153. Cf. the concept "collective memory," which today is quite fashionable but basically identifies the same phenomenon: that shared memories tend to bind people together occasionally with the effect of facilitating collective action.
20. Bellah et al., 1985, *Habits of the Heart*.
21. Karin Borevi, 2002, *Välfärdsstaten i det mångkulturella samhället*, Department of Government: Uppsala University, on the logics of ethnos and demos (in particular Chapter 1). A similar topic is addressed by Juan L. Linz, and Alfred Stepan, 1996, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, on the chapter on the clashing nation-building and democracy-building logics played out in Estonia and Latvia after the second independence in 1991 (Chapter 20).
22. Freda, Hawkins, *Critical Years of Immigration*.
23. John W. Berry, Rudolf Kalin, and Donald M. Taylor, 1977, *Multiculturalism and Ethnic Attitudes in Canada*, Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 223.
24. Lindström, "The Development of Multicultural Policy in Canada," in Granatstein and Åkerman, (eds.), *Welfare States in Trouble*, 48, 46.
25. Uddhammar, *Partierna och den stora staten. En analys av statsteorier och svensk politik under 1900-talet*; Garne, *Newcomers to Power*; cf. Torsten Svensson, 1994, *Socialdemokratins dominans. En studie av den svenska socialdemokratins partistrategi*, Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis (diss.).
26. Torsten Svensson, 2001, *Marknadsanpassningens politik. Den svenska modellens förändring 1980–2000*, Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis; Paula Blomqvist and

- Bo Rothstein, 2000, *Välfärdsstatens nya ansikte. Demokrati och marknadsreformer inom den offentliga sektorn*, Stockholm: Agora.
27. In the extensive literature on the roots and types of welfare states, the Swedish case falls into the social-democratic category, mainly since social allowances includes everyone (regardless of previous work life affiliation); the principle of universalism as opposed to selectivity has been a guiding star and benefits and rights are connected to the individual, not the family or household. Gösta Esping-Andersen, 1990, *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; cf. Paul Pierson, 2000, "Three Worlds of Welfare State Research," *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 33, no 6/7, August–September, 791–821.
  28. Eva Lithman Lundberg, 1987, *Immigration and Immigrant Policy in Sweden*, Stockholm: Svenska institutet, 7; Borevi, *Välfärdsstaten i det mångkulturella samhället*, 151, 73–85.
  29. Lithman Lundberg, *Immigration and Immigrant Policy in Sweden*, 10.
  30. Dag Blanck and Mattias Tydén, 1994, "Becoming Multicultural? The Development of a Swedish Immigrant Policy," in Granatstein and Åkerman (eds.), *Welfare States in Trouble*, 54.
  31. See, e.g., Thomas Gür, 1996, *Staten och nykomlingarna. En studie av den svenska invandarpolitikens idéer*, Stockholm: City University Press; Blanck and Tydén, "Becoming Multicultural? The Development of a Swedish Immigrant Policy," in Granatstein and Åkerman (eds.), *Welfare States in Trouble*, 62–63; Borevi, *Välfärdsstaten i det mångkulturella samhället*, 151.
  32. Surprisingly enough, the Estonian group's demand for cultural autonomy and integration rather than assimilation was treated quite favorably by the Swedish authorities at the time. For example, the Estonians established their own schools; a privilege that had been denied to other ethnic or religious groups, and was regarded in stark contrast to the Swedish attempts toward egalitarianism and social integration through the school system.
  33. Blanck and Tydén, 1994, "Becoming Multicultural? The Development of a Swedish Immigrant Policy," in Granatstein and Åkerman (eds.), *Welfare States in Trouble*, 57, Lithman Lundberg, *Immigration and Immigrant Policy in Sweden*, 10. For thorough analyses of the ideas and objectives behind Swedish immigrant policy, see Thomas Gür, *Staten och nykomlingarna. En studie av den svenska invandarpolitikens idéer*.
  34. Blanck and Tydén, "Becoming Multicultural? The Development of a Swedish Immigrant Policy," in Granatstein & Sune Åkerman (eds.), *Welfare States in Trouble*, 64.
  35. Pieter Bevelander, Benny Carlsson, and Mauricio Rojas, 1997, *I krusbärslandets storstäder. Om invandrare i Stockholm, Göteborg och Malmö*, Stockholm: SNS förlag, 193; cf. Christer Lundh et al., 2002, *Arbete? Var god dröjl!*, Stockholm: SNS förlag, for a comprehensive overview of the state of immigration research and empirical results.
  36. Per Adman and Per Strömblad, 2000, *Utanför demokratin? Del 3. Resurser för politisk integration*, Integrationsverkets rapportserie, 16; Per Strömblad, 2003, *Politik på*

- stadens skuggsida*, Uppsala Universitet: Skrifter utgivna av Statsvetenskapliga föreningen, 152.
37. Lundh, *Arbete? Var god dröj!*. This tendency was already visible in the 1990s. Thomas Gür and Jonas Hellman, 1996, *En stjälpande hand—om invandrarföretagares villkor i Sverige*, Stockholm: Ekonomifakta, 10; Pieter Bevelander, Benny Carlsson, and Mauricio Rojas, 1997, *I krusbärslandets storstäder. Om invandrare i Stockholm, Göteborg och Malmö*, Stockholm: SNS förlag.
  38. See Thomas and Hellman, 1996, *En stjälpande hand—om invandrarföretagares villkor i Sverige*, for such a view. For an analysis with a broader perspective, see R. Light and Parminder Bachau, 1993, *Immigration and Entrepreneurship: Culture, Capita and Ethnic Networks*, New Brunswick, N.J: Transaction Publishers.
  39. Aun, *The Political Refugees. A History of the Estonians in Canada*, 57.
  40. Lithman Lundberg, *Immigration and Immigrant Policy in Sweden*, 7.
  41. Raimo Raag and Harald Runblom (eds.), 1988, *Estländare i Sverige. Historia, språk, kultur*, Uppsala: Uppsala Multiethnic Papers 12, 9.
  42. Told in written recollections by L. Sild, Toronto, to the author.
  43. Raimo Raag, 1988/1990, “Ester,” in Ingvar Svanberg and Harald Runblom (eds.), *Det mångkulturella Sverige. En handbok om etniska grupper och minoriteter*, Stockholm: Gidlunds, Centrum för multi-etnisk forskning vid Uppsala universitet, 59.
  44. See Karl Aun, 1985, *The Political Refugees*, 20. The United States of America also admitted a large number of Estonians under the Displaced Persons Act. See Jaan Pennar (with Tõnu Parmin and P. Peter Rebane), 1975, *The Estonians in America 1627–1975. A Chronology and Fact Book*, New York: Oceana Publications Inc, 31.
  45. Bernhard Kangro, 1976, *Estland i Sverige*, Lund: Eesti Kirjanike Kooperativ, 44 (my translation); Anders Berge, 1992, *Flyktingpolitik i stormakts skugga. Sverige och de sovjetryska flyktingarna under andra världskriget*, Uppsala: Centre for Multiethnic Research, 99.
  46. Helga Kestell, 1991, “Estländare” (my translation), Bror-Erik Ohlsson and Ingrid Kuldvere Ungerson, *Nybyggare i folkhemmet. Invandrarminnen från Norra Södermanland*, Stadsarkivet, Eskilstuna: Lokalhistoriska sällskapet i Norra Södermanland.
  47. The period after World War II ended was for Sweden a sensitive one, since the intentions of the Soviet Union was not really known and Sweden was not officially allied with any great power. Cf. Caroline Taube, 2001, *Constitutionalism in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. A Study in Comparative Constitutional Law*, Uppsala: Iustus förlag, 34.
  48. Taube, *Constitutionalism in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania*, 34.
  49. Kangro, *Estland i Sverige* (my translation), 44.
  50. Berge, *Flyktingpolitik i stormakts skugga*, 35–36.
  51. Aun, *The Political Refugees*, 26.
  52. After the failed revolt in Hungary in 1956, Sweden behaved in a similarly selective way when accepting Hungarian refugees. An intellectual elite group of individuals were chosen, that is, those believed to be of use to the Swedish state (and society). See Mari-Ann Karupää, 1994, *En koffert i Tallinn. Estniska pensionärer i Stockholm*, FOU-rapport 1994: 4, 11.

53. Hawkins, *Critical Years of Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared*, 38.
54. Milda Danys, 1986, *DP: Lithuanian Immigration to Canada after the Second World War*, Toronto: Toronto Multicultural Historical Society of Ontario, 76.
55. Aun, *The Political Refugees*, 22–23.
56. Written recollections of “Vanaisa,” anonymous. Owned by the author.
57. Aun, *The Political Refugees*, 143.
58. Aun, *The Political Refugees*, 147.
59. Karupää, *En koffert i Tallinn. Estniska pensionärer i Stockholm*, 4, 3.
60. Raag, Raimo, 1999, *Från allmogemål till nationalspråk: Språkvård och språkpolitik i Estland från 1857 till 1999*, Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 291.
61. Raag, “Ester,” in Ingvar Svanberg och Harald Runblom (eds.), *Det mångkulturella Sverige. En handbok om etniska grupper och minoriteter*, 60.
62. Personal communication, David Papp, Stockholm, November 27, 2005.
63. Kerstell, “Estländare” (my translation), Bror-Erik Ohlsson and Ingrid Kuldvere Ungerson, *Nybyggare i folkhemmet. Invandrarminnen från Norra Södermanland*, 55–56.
64. Raag, “Ester,” in Ingvar Svanberg och Harald Runblom (eds.), *Det mångkulturella Sverige. En handbok om etniska grupper och minoriteter*, 60; Gür, *Staten och nykomlingarna*, 86, cf. Ann M. Walko, 1989, *Rejecting the Second Generation Hypothesis. Maintaining Estonian Ethnicity in Lakewood, New Jersey*, New York: AMS Press, 135.
65. Walko, *Rejecting the Second Generation Hypothesis*, 135.
66. Kristel Karu, 1997, *Ethnic Identity in Different Contexts and Generations: The Case of Estonians in Estonia and Sweden*, Tartu University (unpublished masters thesis), 46.
67. Walko, *Rejecting the Second Generation Hypothesis*, 124.
68. Told in written recollections by L. Sild, Toronto, to the author.
69. Cf. Karupää, *En koffert i Tallinn. Estniska pensionärer i Stockholm*: 4, 17.
70. Raag, “Ester,” in Ingvar Svanberg och Harald Runblom (eds.), *Det mångkulturella Sverige. En handbok om etniska grupper och minoriteter*, 60.
71. Kjell Bergman and Berith Jakobsson, 1984, *Ester i Göteborg. Om identitetens bevekelsegrunder*, Göteborg: Etnologiska institutionen; Raag, 1999, *Från allmogemål till nationalspråk*, 292; cf. Walko, *Rejecting the Second Generation Hypothesis*, 120.
72. For example, Horm, “Estonians in the Free World,” Evald Uustalu (ed.), *Aspects of Estonian Culture*, 292. The Swedish policy with respect to private schools or schools with a religious or ethnic affiliation was very restrictive until the beginning of the 1990s, when a definite sea change took place. But besides the Estonian school, a few other early examples exist, such as the Jewish Hillel-school in Stockholm. Borevi, *Välfärdsstaten i det mångkulturella samhället*: 151, 189.
73. Horm, “Estonians in the Free World,” in Evald Uustalu (ed.), *Aspects of Estonian Culture*; cf. *Fyrtio år i Sverige. Estniska Kommittén 1944–1984*, 1984, Andres Küng (ed.), Stockholm: Estniska Kommittén, 14.
74. The fact that Estonians have been a well-organized group is confirmed by many sources. Blanck and Tydén, “Becoming Multicultural?,” 59; Karupää, 1994, *En*

- koffert i Tallinn. Estniska pensionärer i Stockholm*: 4, 48. Karupää interviewed forty Estonian senior citizens in Sweden, all about eighty years old. Of these, thirty-one were members of organizations and active, and twenty-six of those in Estonian associations.
75. See chapter two, page 25.
76. Horm, "Estonians in the Free World," in Evald (ed.), *Aspects of Estonian Culture*.
77. Cf. the American Estonians described in Walko, *Rejecting the Second Generation Hypothesis*, 134.
78. Karu, *Ethnic Identity in Different Contexts and Generations*, 48.
79. Both Walko, *Rejecting the Second Generation Hypothesis* and Karu, 1997, *Ethnic Identity in Different Contexts and Generations* find a positive correlation between level of education and ethnic identity in immigrant communities, including the Estonian. The higher the education, the stronger the ethnic feelings.
80. Kjell Bergman and Berith Jakobsson, 1984, *Ester i Göteborg. Om identitetens bevekelsegrunder*, Göteborg: Etnologiska institutionen, 70.
81. Aun, *The Political Refugees*, 155.
82. Walko, *Rejecting the Second Generation Hypothesis*, 111.

#### **Four The Exile Communities: A Surprising Gap in Civicness**

1. Kjell Bergman and Berith Jakobsson, 1984, *Ester i Göteborg. Om identitetens bevekelsegrunder*, Göteborg: Etnologiska institutionen; Karl Aun, 1985, *The Political Refugees. A History of the Estonians in Canada*, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd.
2. Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, 1963, *The Civic Culture. Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*, New Jersey, Princeton: Princeton University Press. For interesting discussions on the need for a balance between subcultures, see, Harry Eckstein, 1998, *Lessons for the "Third Wave" from the First. An Essay on Democratisation*, available at the Center for the Study of Democracy, UC Irvine's homepage [www.democ.uci.edu/democ/papers/lessons.htm](http://www.democ.uci.edu/democ/papers/lessons.htm).
3. For an illustrative example, see Tom W. Rice and Jan L. Feldman, 1997, "Civic Culture and Democracy from Europe to America," *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 59, no. 4, November.
4. Cf. Eckstein, *Lessons for the "Third Wave" from the First*, who writes that "(d) emocratic political culture coexists, and probably is based on, a more general culture, in which major themes are (a) high *social trust* and (b) what might be called 'civicness': the tendency to act 'horizontally' viz cooperatively, with others rather than 'vertically' through hierarchical relations, such as patron-client relationships."
5. Olof Petersson et al., 1998, *Demokrati och medborgarskap*, Stockholm: SNS förlag, 129–132.
6. The three dimensions are observable when a dimensions analysis is done (principal components analysis with varimax rotation). Except for the last dimension,



- they are additive indexed variables. A detailed description of the original variables is found in the appendix.
7. WVS has been headed by professor Ronald Inglehart for many years. Today, the surveys involve research teams in many countries and are continuously expanded. The origins can be traced back to the beginning of the 1980s and the European Value Survey (EVS).
  8. Cf. Ronald Inglehart, 1997, *Modernization and Post-Modernization. Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Appendix.
  9. Bo Rothstein, 2000, "Trust, Social Dilemmas and Collective Memories," *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, vol. 12, no. 4; Eric M. Uslaner, 2002, *The Moral Foundations of Trust*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
  10. Missing data for the variable "if people in general can be trusted" is 30 people (261 out of 291 have answered). For the variable "if you trust inhabitants in your own country" missing data is 48 people (243 out of 291 have answered). This indexed variable is based on three questions, and missing data is most frequent for the question of whether you trust Estonians/Estonians in exile (41 people). All the analyses have also been done without including the question where the missing values are most frequent. The results do not differ in any substantial way from those reported earlier. It could further be stated that the four dimensions of trust are discernible when a dimensions analysis (principal components analysis with varimax rotation) is made.
  11. These dimensions appear reasonably well when a dimensions analysis (principal components analysis with varimax rotation) is conducted.
  12. Bo Rothstein, 2003, *Sociala fällor och tillitens problem*, Stockholm: SNS förlag, 189–193; Kumlin Staffan and Bo Rothstein, 2005, "Making and Breaking Social Capital. The Impact of Welfare-State Institutions," *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 38, no. 4, May.
  13. The Canadian-Estonians' support for the Canadian political system and public institutions is also touched upon, albeit through more impressionistic observations, in a history of the Estonians in Canada. Politicians were, e.g., regarded as naïve but not corrupt, and public programs were appreciated. Aun, *The Political Refugees*, 147.
  14. In the statistical analysis, education, income, and gender have been controlled for and do not affect the correlation.

### **Five Did Civic Commitment Survive Communism?**

1. *Cultural Life in Soviet Estonia*, 1977, 8.
2. *Soviet Estonia*, 1980, 58.
3. Alex Inkeles, 1968, *Social Change in Soviet Russia*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, xii.

4. Archie Brown, 1974, *Soviet Politics and Political Science*, London: Macmillan, in Archie Brown and Jack Gray (eds.), 1977/79, *Political Culture and Political Change in Communist States*, London and New York: Macmillan; Stephen White, 1979, *Political Culture and Soviet Politics*, London: Macmillan; Archie Brown (ed.), 1984, *Political Culture and Communist Studies*, London: St. Anthony's/Macmillan Series.
5. Vera Dunham, 1976, *In Stalin's Time. Middleclass values in Soviet fiction*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Mary McCauley, 1984, "Political Culture and Communist Politics: One Step Forward Two Steps Back," in Archie Brown (ed.), 1984, *Political Culture and Communist Studies*; Martin McCauley, 1993, *The Soviet Union 1917–1991* (second ed.), London: Longham Publishers.
6. Romuald Misiunas and Rein Taagepera, 1993, *The Baltic States. Years of Dependence 1940–1990*, London: Hurst and Company, 70–71.
7. Tõnu Parming and Elmar Järvesoo, 1978, *A Case Study of a Soviet Republic. The Estonian SSR*, Boulder: Colorado, Westview Press, 6; Walter Kolartz, 1953, *Russia and Her Colonies*, London: George Philip and Son Ltd, 112.
8. Cf. Mart Laar, 1992, *War in the Woods. Estonia's Struggle for Survival 1944–1956*, Washington DC: The Compass Press, 53.
9. Kolartz, Walter, 1953, *Russia and her Colonies*, 108; Brian D. Silver, 1978, "Language Policy and the Linguistic Russification of Soviet Nationalities," Jeremy R. Azrael (ed.), *Soviet Nationality Policies and Practices*, New York: Praeger Publishers, 250. Eders Wimbusch, 1978, "The Great Russians and the Soviet State: The Dilemmas of Ethnic Dominance," in Azrael (ed.), *Soviet Nationality Policies and Practices*, 350.
10. Cf. Kolartz, *Russia and Her Colonies*, 108–109.
11. Misiunas and Taagepera, 1993, *The Baltic States. Years of Dependence 1940–1990*, 127. It should be noted that the author Rein Taagepera himself was an exile Estonian who had no reason to underestimate the role of the Diaspora.
12. See chapter three.
13. Laar, *War in the Woods. Estonia's Struggle for Survival 1944–1956*.
14. For example, Jan-Åke Dellenbrant, 1991, "The Re-Emergence of Multi-Partism in the Baltic States," in Sten Bergund and Jan-Åke Dellenbrant (eds.), *The New Democracies in Eastern Europe. Party Systems and Political Cleavages*, Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 84.
15. Misiunas and Taagepera, *The Baltic States*, 1993, 130.
16. Ole Norgaard (ed.), 1994, *De baltiske lande efter uafhængigheden. Hvorfor så forskellige?* Århus: Politica, 32.
17. Raymond A. Bauer, Alex Inkeles, and Clyde Kluckhohn, 1957, *How the Soviet System Works. Cultural, Psychological and Social Themes*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 214.
18. Amir Weiner, 2006, "The Empires Pay a Visit: Gulag Returnees, East European Rebellions, and Soviet Frontier Politics," *Journal of Modern History*, 78, June: 333–376.
19. In this respect, there was a crucial difference between Estonia and her Baltic neighbor Latvia, the consequences of which may provide a partial explanation

- for the greater difficulties Latvia experiences today in establishing functioning state structures and public administration. While the Estonian Communist-Party (CP) could continue to serve, albeit cautiously, as a safeguard and defender of Estonian interests against the Russian central government, the end of the 1950s witnessed a large purge of homegrown Latvian Communists within the Latvian CP. The central Party's harsh reaction followed attempts by the Latvian CP to "latvianize" the party and establish stronger Latvian control over local industries. The 1959 purge placed Latvia in an even worse position than before, since it effectively erased the Latvian CP's chances of defending Latvian interests. (Anatol Lieven, 1993, *The Baltic Revolution. Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and the Path to Independence*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 97; Misiunas and Taagepera, 1993, *The Baltic States. Years of Dependence 1940–1990*, 145–146). "Many Latvians attribute the caution of Latvian moves to independence, and the poor quality of much of the Latvian establishment in our own time, to the lingering effects of the purge of 1959–60," writes Lieven (97). It is pointed out that the large purge affected not only the national but also the regional and municipal levels, and that several thousand indigenous Party representatives were excluded. "The pattern of disproportionately low representation of native-born Latvians in leadership positions was paralleled at lower levels," conclude Misiunas and Taagepera (146).
20. Dellenbrant, "The Re-Emergence of Multi-Partism in the Baltic States," Sten Bergund and Jan-Åke Dellenbrant, (eds.), *The New Democracies in Eastern Europe*, 86; Toivo Raun, 1997, "Estonia: Independence Redefined," in Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras (eds.), *New States, New Politics. Building the Post-Soviet Nations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 410.
  21. Seweryn Bialer, 1988, "The Conditions of Stability in the Soviet Union," in Terry Thompson and Richard Sheldon (eds.), *Soviet Society and Culture. Essays in Honor of Vera S. Dunham*, Boulder: Westview Press, 256.
  22. Inkeles, *Social Change in Soviet Russia*, 83. Cf. Aili Aarelaid-Tart, 2000, "Political Generations in Estonia: A Historical Background to the Formation of the Contemporary Political Scene," in Janina Frentzel-Zagórska and Jacek Wasilewski (eds.), *The Second Generation of Democratic Elites in Central and Eastern Europe*, Warsaw: Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences.
  23. Cf. Inkeles, *Social Change in Soviet Russia*, 79.
  24. Raun, "Estonia: Independence Redefined," in Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras, (eds.), *New States, New Politics. Building the Post-Soviet Nations*, 412.
  25. Misiunas and Taagepera, *The Baltic States. Years of Dependence 1940–1990*, 195.
  26. Cf. Archie Brown, 1974, *Soviet Politics and Political Science*, London: Macmillan.
  27. In the exile communities, particularly in the Canadian settlement in Toronto, the issue of visits to occupied Estonia became quite an emotive issue, separating the Estonian groups into adversary camps for and against. Those taking a more liberal stand were accused of disloyalty by their adversaries, who claimed that they indirectly supported the occupation power with their visits.
  28. Aun, *The Political Refugees*.

29. For the expression “communities of memories” see Robert N. Bellah et al., 1985, *Habits of the Heart. Individualism and Commitment in American Life*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
30. Lieven, *The Baltic Revolution. Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and the Path to Independence*, 95.
31. Lieven, *The Baltic Revolution. Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and the Path to Independence*, 93.
32. Misiunas and Taagepera, *The Baltic States. Years of Dependence 1940–1990*, 244.
33. James R. Millar, 1988, “The Little Deal: Brezhnev’s Contribution to Acquisitive Socialism,” in Terry Thompson and Richard Sheldon (eds.), *Soviet Society and Culture. Essays in Honor of Vera S. Dunham*, Boulder: Westview Press, 6.
34. Misiunas and Taagepera, *The Baltic States. Years of Dependence 1940–1990*, 209.
35. Lieven, *The Baltic Revolution. Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and the Path to Independence*, 97.
36. Tõnu Parming and Elmar Järvesoo, 1978, *A Case study of a Soviet Republic. The Estonian SSR*, Boulder: Colorado, Westview Press, xiii.
37. These three dimensions are observable when a dimensions analysis is conducted (principal components analysis with varimax rotation). Except for the last dimension, they are all additive indexed variables. A detailed description of the original variables is available on request.
38. Mikko Lagerspetz, Erle Rikmann, and Rein Ruutsoo, 2002, “The Structure and Resources of NGOs in Estonia,” *Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, vol. 13, no. 1, March, 73–87.
39. Marju Lauristin and Triin Vihalemm, 1997, “Estonian and Swedish Values,” in Marju Lauristin and Peter Vihalemm (eds.), *Return to the Western World. Cultural and Political Perspectives on the Estonian Post-Communist Transition*, Estonia: Tartu University Press, 253.
40. Lennart Weibull and Sören Holmberg, 1997, “Two Young Democracies and an Old One,” in Lauristin and Vihalemm (eds.), *Return to the Western World*, 216.
41. Peter Vihalemm, Marju Lauristin, and Ivar Tallo, 1997, “Development of Political Culture in Estonia,” in Lauristin and Vihalemm (eds.), *Return to the Western World*, 199.
42. For an insightful analysis of the informal economy, see, Alena Ledeneva, 1998, *Russia’s Economy of Favours: “Blat” Networking and Informal Exchange*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
43. Inkeles, *Social Change in Soviet Russia*, 181.
44. Anu Realo and Juri Allik, 1999, “A Cross-Cultural Study of Collectivism: A Comparison of American, Estonian, and Russian Students,” *Journal of Social Psychology*, vol. 139, no. 2: 133–143.
45. Lauristin and Vihalemm, “Estonian and Swedish Values,” in Lauristin and Vihalemm (eds.), *Return to the Western World*, 256.
46. Not surprisingly, in the middle of the 1990s it is a small minority of Estonians who declared themselves to be “leftist” on a left-right scale, while a large percentage positioned themselves to the right. Weibull and Holmberg, “Two Young

- Democracies and an Old One,” in Lauristin and Vihalemm (eds.), *Return to the Western World*, 224.
47. Triin Vihalemm, 1997, “Changing Discourses on Values in Estonia,” in Lauristin and Vihalemm (eds.), *Return to the Western World*, 271.
  48. See chapter two.
  49. See Donna Bahry, Cynthia Boaz, and Stacy Gordon Burnett, 1997, “Tolerance, Transitions and Support for Civil Liberties in Russia,” *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 30, no. 4, August; James, L. Gibson, 1996, “A Mile Wide But an Inch Deep (?): The Structure of Democratic Commitments in the Former USSR,” *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 40, no. 2, May.
  50. For Estonia and the other Baltic states, Richard Rose’s repeated Baltic Barometers are invaluable sources. *New Baltic Barometer I–IV*, (1992, 1995, 1996, 2000), Studies in Public Policy, Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde.
  51. Richard Rose, William Mishler, Christian Haerpfer, 1998, *Democracy and Its Alternatives. Understanding Post-Communist Societies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press; see also Janos Kornai, Bo Rothstein, and Susan Rose-Ackerman (eds.), 2004, *Creating Social Trust in Post-Socialist Transition*, London: Palgrave/Macmillan.
  52. Åse B. Grodeland, Tatyana Koshechkina, William I. Miller, 1998, “Foolish to Give and Yet More Foolish not to Take—In-depth Interviews with Post-Communist Citizens on Their Everyday Use of Bribes and Contacts,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 50, no. 4.
  53. For example, Eva Hoffman, 1993, *Exit into History. A Journey through the New Eastern Europe*, London: Vintage Publishers; Slavenka Drakulic, 1993, *How We Survived Communism and Even Laughed*, New York: Harpers Collins, for general and detailed analysis and descriptions of the everyday life under Communism.
  54. Grodeland and Miller, 1998, “Foolish to Give and Yet More Foolish not to Take—In-depth Interviews with Post-Communist Citizens on Their Everyday Use of Bribes and Contacts,” 660.
  55. Multivariate regression analyses have been done consistently in the analysis. Gender, age, and the place of growth (rural or urban) have been controlled for. Generally, with a few exceptions, the results have not been affected by including these control variables; i.e., the effect of the “institutional context during adulthood” remains.
  56. In short, political development and in particular the move toward democracy is seen as intimately connected to structural factors such as economic development and prosperity, the level of education, urbanization, and industrialization. Ronald Inglehart’s theory of economic affluence, spread comparatively evenly across the population as a prerequisite for value change supportive of democratization, is a modern version of this. See, e.g., Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel, 2005, *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy. The Human Development Sequence*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, and *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. For an earlier and still highly influential classic see, Seymour Martin Lipset, 1960, *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*, New York: Doubleday.

57. James Alexander, 1997, "Surveying Attitudes in Russia. A Representation of Formlessness," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 30, no. 2; Bahry and Boaz, Burnett "Tolerance, Transitions and Support for Civil Liberties in Russia"; Gibson, James, L., 1996, "A Mile Wide But an Inch Deep (?): The Structure of Democratic Commitments in the Former USSR", *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 40, No. 2, May.
58. Gibson, "A Mile Wide But an Inch Deep (?)," 417.
59. Kjell Bergman and Berith Jakobsson, 1984, *Ester i Göteborg. Om identitetens bevekelsegrunder*, Göteborg: Etnologiska institutionen, 64 (my translation). In a volume about Poles in American exile, similar sentiments are described concerning the alienation between the émigrés and those Poles who lived their lives in Communist Poland. Mary Patrice Erdmans, 1998, *Opposite Poles. Immigrants and Ethnicity in Polish Chicago, 1976–1990*, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 93–105.
60. In many of her essays, the Croatian writer Slavenka Drakulic analyzes the Communist experience from an everyday perspective, emphasizing how conditions and lives were shaped by the lack of heating and the bad fabric of available clothing. "I sat in many kitchens—because the kitchen was always the warmest room in the badly heated apartments—and listened to the fate of the women, cooked with them, drank coffee if they had any and heard them speak about their children and their husbands, of how they hoped to be able to buy a new fridge, a new stove or a new car (...) Ours was trivial, we saw it from below. But the trivial is political." Drakulic, Slavenka Drakulic, 1994, *Hur vi överlevde kommunismen med ett leende på läpparna*, Stockholm: Ordfront, 20 (my translation). English title: *How We Survived Communism and Even Laughed* (1993). For very insightful reflections on the Communist era and the transition from Communist rule, see Hoffman, *Exit into History*.

## **Six Political Culture under Institutional Pressure**

1. Agnis Balodis, 1986, "Baltutlämningen," *De första båtflyktingarna. En antologi om balterna i Sverige*, Stockholm: Statens Invandrarverk.
2. Bernhard Kangro, 1976, *Estland i Sverige*, Lund: Eesti Kirjanike Kooperativ, 44–45; Raimo Raag and Virve Raag, 1992, *Över stormande hav/Ule tormise mere. Estniskt liv och leverne i Kumla*, Örebro: Örebro Läns Museum, 35.
3. Balodis, "Baltutlämningen," 63 (my translation).
4. Raag and Raag, *Över stormande hav/Ule tormise mere*, 54.
5. Harry Eckstein, 1992, *Regarding Politics. Essays on Political Theory, Stability, and Change*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 276.
6. Harry Eckstein, 1997, "Social Science as Cultural Science, Rational Choice as Metaphysics," in Richard J. Ellis and Michael Thompson (eds.), *Culture Matters. Essays in Honor of Aaron Wildavsky*, Boulder: Westview Press, 29.

7. Admittedly, it is not clear whether a more general culture is referred to or whether the culture is identified as political culture.
8. Raimo Raag, 1988/1990, "Ester," in Ingvar Svanberg and Harald Runblom (eds.), *Det mångkulturella Sverige. En handbok om etniska grupper och minoriteter*, Stockholm: Gidlunds, Centrum för multietnisk forskning vid Uppsala universitet, 60 (my translation).
9. Karl Aun, 1985, *The Political Refugees. A History of the Estonians in Canada*, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 22–23.
10. Interviews 8, 9, 10.
11. Interview born 8, 1924, Sweden.
12. Interview 6, born 1924, Sweden.
13. Interview 7, born 1917, Sweden.
14. Interview 9, born 1920, Sweden.
15. Henrik Berggren and Lars Trägårdh, 2006, *Är svensken människa? Gemenskap och oberoende i det moderna Sverige*, Stockholm: Norstedts.
16. Stephen Whitefield and Geoffrey Evans, 1999, "Political Culture versus Rational Choice: Explaining Responses to Transition in the Czech Republic and Slovakia," *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 29, no. 1, January: 153; cf. Larry Diamond, 1999, *Developing Democracy towards Consolidation*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 164–165. Almond, Gabriel, A., 1990, *A Discipline Divided*, Newbury Park, California: Sage, 149–150.
17. Steven Hitlin, 2003, "Values as the Core of Personal Identity: Drawing Links Between Two Theories of Self," *Social Psychology Quarterly*, vol. 66, no. 2, 118–137.
18. See Monika Ardelt, 2000, "Still Stable After All These Years? Personality Stability Theory Revisited," *Social Psychology Quarterly*, vol. 63, no. 4, 392–405. Ardelt argues that earlier results on personality stability could be the effect of methodological artefacts to a considerable degree. In particular, she argues for the longitudinal investigation of the effect on personality of institutional change: "First, ideally, it would be most promising to study personality before and after unexpected, drastic changes in people's social environments ..." (401). Her preferred design resembles the one in this study, except for the fact that "before" had to be analytically constructed rather than empirically measured, which no doubt is a limitation.
19. Toivo Raun, 1997, "Estonia: Independence Redefined," in Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras, (eds.), *New States, New Politics. Building the Post-Soviet Nations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 404.
20. Interview 14, Sweden.
21. See Archie Brown and Jack Gray (eds.), 1977/79, *Political Culture and Political Change in Communist States*, London and New York, 265.
22. John Miller, 1984, "Political Culture: Some Perennial Questions Reopened," in Brown, (ed.), *Political Culture and Communist Studies*, 184–185; Almond, 1990, 148.
23. William M. Reisinger, Arthur H. Miller, and Vicki L. Hesli, 1995, "Public Behavior and Political Change in Post-Soviet States," *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 57,

- no. 4, November 1995; Russell Dalton, 2000, "Citizen Attitudes and Political Behavior," *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 33, no. 6/7, August–September 2000, 915–916. Dalton concludes that the political cultural legacy of Communism seems to deviate strongly from the democratic apathy that prevailed after transitions from right-wing authoritarianism.
24. Aili Aareleid-Tart, 2006, *Cultural Trauma and Life Stories*, Helsinki: Kikumora Publications, 160.
25. Interview 6.
26. Peter J. Richerson and Robert Boyd, 2005, *Not by Genes Alone. How Culture Transformed Human Evolution*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
27. Bo Rothstein, 2003, *Sociala fällor och tillitens problem*, Stockholm: SNS förlag, 240.
28. See Mikko Lagerspetz, 1996, *Constructing Post-Communism. A Study in the Estonian Social Problems Discourse*, Turku: Department of Sociology, 42 for discussion on civil society under socialism.
29. Interview 6.
30. I would like to express my gratitude to Marion Smiley and Bernard Myers for directing my attention to this interesting complexity in the discussion of adaptation and resocialization.
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