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The Presence of Rhetoric: A Content Analysis of the Estonian American National Council's Documents from Estonia, 1986-1989

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The Presence of Rhetoric: A Content Analysis of the Estonian American National Council's Documents from Estonia, 1986-1989

By

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MASTER'S THESIS

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Michael Redlinger

July 24, 2017

The Presence of Rhetoric: A Content Analysis of the Estonian American National Council's

Documents from Estonia, 1986-1989

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of
Western Washington University

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Abstract

In 1991, Estonia formally gained its independence following years of public protest against the Soviet Union and its policies. In 1987, Soviet plans to expand phosphate mining operations in Estonia were made public on live television. That year, independence advocates began to incorporate the environmental grievances of protesters, who were concerned with severe and increasing industrial pollution, into underground publications and protest speeches. Protests in 1987 helped lead to the cancellation of Soviet plans to expand open-pit phosphate mining operations in the Rakvere area -- an important headwater region in eastern Estonia. The project's cancellation by the Soviet government marked a tangible victory for protesters, and mining and pollution-related grievances ostensibly remained a major aspect of the pro-independence agenda for years to come. Yet, despite the Soviet government's cancellation of the Rakvere project, the Estonian public was not appeased. Although some scholars have indicated that West-influenced environmental rhetoric played a role in the Estonian independence movement's agenda, my thesis is that nationalistic rhetoric, as propagated in the West by the Estonian American National Council, was more prevalent than environmental concerns, which played a relatively smaller part in the independence movement. Directed content analysis of the Estonian American National Council's published documents from 1986-1989 yields inconclusive results. However, nationalistic rhetorical themes far outnumber environmental themes throughout the set of documents, suggesting that environmental grievances may have been subordinated to a predominant nationalistic narrative within the documents. Further research could deepen understanding by analyzing a wider set of Estonian and Russian-language documents.

Keywords: nationalistic rhetoric, environmentalism, content analysis, Estonia

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I am also grateful every day for the love and support of my family. I would like to thank my mother and father for being so supportive of my education and my mercurial curiosity. I also thank my friend and brother, John. I am also truly thankful for my partner, Vale, who has been supportive of my research despite repeated late-night caffeine runs and early morning drives to campus over the past 2 years.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Following decades of intense resource extraction for foreign profit – resulting in severe contamination of water, air, and soil – protests erupted when Soviet government plans to mine an ecologically-sensitive headwater region in eastern Estonia leaked to the public in the mid-1980s. After public protests erupted in 1987, Soviet land management, Soviet philosophy and culture, and Soviet authority at large fell under increasingly intense scrutiny. Estonia formally gained its independence in 1991, after years of deteriorating Soviet authority.

Some authors such as Auer (1996) focus on the role of environmental grievances in the Estonian environmental and independence movements – to the degree the two can be separated. Auer (1998) rejects the argument that the Estonian independence movement used environmentalism as a "proxy" to protest "'other more important' issues," instead emphasizing the power of environmental arguments against the Soviet system (p.671). Although it very well may be the case that environmental rhetoric appealed to protestors, and that environmentally-grounded arguments garnered broad sympathy outside of Estonia, in this thesis I qualify the role played by environmental discourse. My hypothesis is that nationalistic, rather than environmental rhetoric, played the larger role in Estonian independence-related protest and discourse. I hypothesize that the protest movement as portrayed by the Estonian American National Council emphasizes nationalistic rhetoric and concerns over environmental grievances. I suggest that nationalistic rhetoric – and in this I am including that with environmental and/or socioeconomic overtones, was a factor in the political momentum which eventually led to

ethnoculturally restrictive laws on Estonian citizenship and political representation in independent Estonia.

Scholars in both political and social science have emphasized the presence of rhetoric in politics and society. While classical Greek philosophers such as Aristotle noted the power of rhetoric to convince, sophists such as Protagoras stressed the deep power of rhetoric to influence *facts* by influencing what individuals perceive to be true. More recently, some scholars such as Mikhail Bakhtin have begun to describe knowledge and "facts" as contextually contingent on language and the social spaces we create through speech and writing. Scholars in writing and public policy have analyzed how rhetoric can not only influence, but *create* the social reality needed to thrive (Gottweis, 2007 and Katz, 1993). By giving rise to particular scenarios and narratives, rhetoric can exert tremendous influence on the debate, passage, and implementation of public policies. Rhetoric may alter or even help define the course of entire policy chains.

Thus, my thesis is that nationalistic rhetoric, as circulated in the West by the Estonian American National Council's documents, overpowered[1] environmental concerns. Despite the role played by environmentalists in stirring up initial protest, I hypothesize that the Estonian American National Council documents will suggest that environmental grievances and environmental rhetoric played only a relatively small part in the documents generated to support the work of the independence movement.

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[1] In this research, the term overpower refers to the relatively larger number of themes in the documents.

For this thesis, evidence for nationalistic and environmental rhetoric was gathered via directed content analysis. The data being analyzed are documents from Estonia as compiled, translated, and published in the West by the Estonian American National Council. The set of documents seems generally intended for active (Estonian or pro-Estonian) political allies as well as potential political allies. The documents analyzed in this thesis were written several years before Estonia gained its independence and passed heritage-based and linguistically-restrictive laws on Estonian citizenship and political representation – possibly influenced by protest rhetoric such as that contained in the set of documents. The Estonian American National Council documents represent a cross section of the Estonian protest movement as presented by the Estonian American National Council. As such, the results of this thesis can not be directly generalized to Estonia or the Soviet Union at large. Instead, the results apply to documents supporting the Estonian protest movement by the Estonian American National Council. The full set of documents is enumerated in my methodology section.

Each individual document was analyzed for content[2]. Evidence for nationalistic rhetoric was gathered based on concepts from the literature on nationalism (Levinger and Lytle, 2001; Roy and Rowland, 2003; et al.). Environmental rhetoric was identified based on references to or content directly discussing Estonian environmental grievances, as described in detail by Auer (1996 and 1998) and others. The full set of key concepts for both nationalistic and environmental rhetoric is described in detail in my methodology section.

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[2] Each individual document was analyzed for content including nationalistic rhetorical themes or environmental grievances. Intertextual references were also noted, but were not counted in a separate intertextual analysis. The results section of this thesis includes a short discussion on intertextual content.

Results of the content analysis indicate that nationalistic themes are more prevalent in the documents than environmental themes. Also, they occur more times throughout the data set. Furthermore, the top nine most prevalent themes within the documents (subcategories counted separately) are nationalistic themes. In contrast, only 2 environmental grievances appear in more than 10 paragraphs throughout the documents. The data from the documents analyzed in this research corroborate the view that environmental arguments were not universally adopted by nationalistic political actors. Despite these indications, results should be treated as inconclusive, pending additional research on the impact of rhetoric on public policy (and including Russian and Estonian language sources).

Chapter 2. Review of Literature

Introduction

This thesis traces the presence of nationalistic rhetoric in the Estonian American National Council's set of translated documents from the Estonian independence movement, spanning a 3-year period from 1986 to 1989. In order to analyze nationalistic and environmental rhetoric in late-Soviet Estonia as presented to the West, this thesis employs directed content analysis to analyze the Estonian American National Council's selection of documents from Estonia, 1986-1989. In doing so I hope my research contributes to academic discussion on both nationalistic rhetoric, and the late-Soviet Estonian environmental and independence movement(s). The research also includes a brief discussion on intertextual content[3].

Thus, my review of literature will first cover rhetoric, and its potential to shape debate, as well as policy formulation and implementation. Then, I discuss nationalism and nationalistic rhetoric, seeking to distill the definitive themes in nationalistic rhetoric. Following that, I have included a section reviewing qualitative content analysis methodologies, as well as a section on the importance of intertextual content[3]. I close with a brief timeline and overview of history, including the expansion of mining, intensifying pollution, and the 1987 onset of large-scale protests in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic (E.S.S.R.).

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[3] Although intertextual references within the set of documents are noted as part of the directed content analysis employed in this thesis, the methodology does not include a full, separate procedure for analyzing the intertextual content. Instead, there is a brief discussion of intertextual references in the results section. Future research could include an in-depth intertextual analysis utilizing Russian and Estonian-language sources.

The Power of Rhetoric to Affect Policy and Debate

Scholars in both political and social science have emphasized the presence of rhetoric in politics and society. Amy Gutmann (2007) argues in an academic essay that extremist rhetoric – defined by single-mindedness and certainty – simplifies complex issues and forecloses the space for compromise, leading to demagogy and political paralysis. The presence of rhetoric in public discourse was perhaps first emphasized, however, by the classical Greek philosophers. In Plato's *Theatetus*, Socrates demonstrates and then critiques Protagoras' argument that facts are what appear to be true to us – that public facts are what we can agree on (Theatetus 152 a-c). To the sophists, rhetoric was more than merely an art of convincing because it directly affected the public perception of (and response to) facts. Although Plato ultimately rejects an essentially contingent model of truth, his sophistic contemporaries continued to present truth as fundamentally pragmatic – changing radically from one situation, discourse, or audience to another.

Analyzing rhetoric in policy and policy analysis, Danzinger (1995) relates this 'sophistic' perspective to Mikhail Bakhtin's assertion that knowledge is created linguistically and in context (including ideology and discourse). To Bakhtin, the *delivery* of information signifies its place in public discourse – and the form information takes (in language or rhetoric) cannot be cleanly separated from the creation or re-creation of the information itself (Bialostosky, 2007).

Gottweis (2007) analyzes the impact of rhetoric on debate and policy in depth. He uses Aristotle's three 'proofs' – logos, ethos, and pathos – to emphasize the role and power of rhetoric in policy argumentation, writing, and implementation. Gottweis observes that

rhetorical styles vary greatly from one policymaking regime to another. Despite the perception

that policymaking is founded on rational *logos,* Gottweis places focus on *ethos* and *pathos.* The

rhetorical style(s) in which a policy is argued and implemented "affect the dynamics,

composition of actor networks and outcomes of policy processes" (p.237).

Gottweis associates classical rhetoric with the rise of public speeches and spaces for

deliberation – and thus, with profound socio-political transformation. Within this space, like the

Greek sophists, Gottweis connects rhetoric with the ability to shape social reality by affecting

agreed-upon 'facts'. He describes the potentially transformative presence of rhetoric in policy,

implementation, and public opinion.

> The way a certain policy is depicted and defined gives rise to particular scenarios of
> interaction and involvement, describes involved actors, a particular location and timing
> for a policy development to take place. In turn, such a scenography explains and justifies
> why it is precisely that chosen scenography which is needed for a policy-making process
> to take place, to take form and to solve a problem. (p.245)

Gottweis associates public rhetoric with Austin's performative speech act theory,

arguing that rhetoric helps *create* the rationality used to justify making a certain set of decisions

(2007). Following this line of argumentation, Gottweis suggests that rhetoric may also

deliberately "bring in or leave out particular actors in a policy setting" (2007, p.245). While, in

his example, U.S. policymakers might present an issue in such a way as to deliberately mobilize

religious groups, Gottweis also notes the ability to define an issue and its solution(s) in a fashion

that essentially excludes or minimizes the impact of those same groups. In short, public rhetoric

may impact policy by implicitly constructing both the problem and its solutions.

Kenneth Burke, in his famous essay "The Rhetoric of Hitler's 'Battle,'" (1941) outlines some important rhetorical tropes used by Hitler during his rise to power. Burke shows how Hitler's rhetoric helped foster and even *generate* the social reality in which Hitler's ideology and policies were able to thrive. Burke was not alone in using Hitler as the paramount example for rhetorical creation of social reality. Katz (1993) analyzes technical writing from within Nazi Germany, emphasizing the way in which Hitler and the Nazis' rhetoric (re)produced and monopolized the 'public good'.

This thesis traces the presence of nationalistic rhetoric in the Estonian American National Council's set of translated documents from the Estonian independence movement, spanning a 3-year period from 1986 to 1989. Although the intricacies of the relationship between nationalism and environmentalism in the Estonian independence Movement are subject to continued debate, the presence of both (separate or connected) narratives within the movement is undeniable. Malloy (2009) and Auer (1996 and 1998) describe the late 1980s Estonian protest movement as having blended environmentalism and nationalistic politics. To better understand the definitive elements of nationalism in rhetoric, I will review literature on nationalism and nationalistic rhetoric in the following section.

Nationalism and Nationalistic Rhetoric

Nationalism

Nationalism and nationalism's relatedness with ethnicity remain highly divisive topics. Frequently structured by scholars as an ideological villain, nationalism returned to public

notoriety in the late 1980s and early 1990s following numerous outspoken ethno-nationalist movements in eastern Europe. These movements, broadly speaking, eventually resulted in internationally recognized independence for ex-Soviet territories such as Ukraine and the Baltic states – but at the same time degenerated into civil war and ethnic cleansing in [now former] Yugoslavia.

Dawson (2000) warns that the combination of subgroup-based environmental justice framing with existing ethnic tension – as in parts of Africa or eastern Europe – could reinforce existing schisms and foster increased instability.

Hamilton (2002) bifurcates nationalism into civic and ethnic subtypes, and argues that nationalistic discourse may appropriate environmental discourse (or vice versa) without direct contradiction. Although Hamilton sees the potential for "green nationalism" on the political stage[4], he also emphasizes the conflict between nationalistic discourse and the most prevalent political preferences of environmentalists in the West – such as social equality and nonviolence.

In the past 18 months, nationalism has once again become a hot button topic; Europe and North America have each seen a resurgence of popular nationalistic rhetoric accompanied by the empowerment of nationalistic political actors. Nationalism has been studied extensively in the past three decades, with many scholars emphasizing an overlapping set of criteria that define nationalistic rhetoric.

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[4] Hamilton sees the potential for "green nationalism" on the political stage via "bioregionalism" and attention to the uniqueness of local environments (Hamilton, 2002, p. 39).

Nationalistic Rhetoric

Although scholars have indicated separate sets of criteria for defining nationalistic rhetoric, such sets of criteria share notable commonalities[5]. Calhoun (1997) emphasizes the utility of nationalistic rhetoric in "demarcat[ing] political communities, claim[ing] rights to self-determination and legitimat[ing] rule by reference to 'the people' of a country" (P.235). In the increasingly international 'world-system' where social networks and local cultures are often not clearly divisible along 'national' lines, nationalistic rhetoric reinforces liminal boundaries – constructing a social, regional, or ethno-cultural group as a definitively separate entity. Calhoun (1997), like others, observes that despite the wide variety in nationalist movements and their cultural-historical settings, one key commonality is the reference to historical narratives that reinforce the distinctiveness of the 'nation'[6].

In complement, Levinger and Lytle's (2001) analysis highlights the contrast between instrumentalist and constructivist understandings of nationalistic rhetoric. While the former focuses on nationalistic rhetoric as a tool in the foundation and development of nation-states and their economies, the latter "emphasizes the creative and contingent character of national identity," linking the concept to a definitive process of communal identity (p.176). Arguing that nationalistic rhetoric is best understood at the intersection of these two contrasting approaches, Levinger and Lytle (2001) elaborate one temporal pattern that is repeated by an array of otherwise distinct nationalist movements: the flow from a 'glorious past' to the

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[5] Notably, some scholars disagree on the divisibility of nationalistic and environmental rhetoric. Anderson's (2006) constructivist approach casts doubt on the distinguishability of a nationalistic rhetoric – including territory and, therefore, land – which is separate from environmental themes.
[6] The narratives reinforce the distinctiveness of the 'nation' in terms of the people they seek to mobilize.

'degraded present'. This binary, in turn, mobilizes citizens and/or group members towards a reification of the glorious past in a 'utopian future' (p.178).

Despite these common themes, however, nationalistic rhetoric can rarely be differentiated from other socially and historically contingent arguments. As Calhoun (1997) observes, nationalism in Kenya, for example, was marked by the desire to unify disparate tribal identities into a singular, cohesive national identity. In contrast, 19th century German nationalism generally referred to German ethnicity as prior to (and conditional for) the foundation of the German state. Calhoun's (1997) analysis of nationalism as both a unifying and dividing force echoes Anderson's (2006) emphasis on tension between universal and particular/local forces in explaining European nationalism in the early 20th century.

In his famous text, *The Rhetoric of Hitler's "Battle,"* Kenneth Burke analyzes Hitler's rhetoric in the 1930s in an attempt to determine its appeal (1941). Burke also analyzes sections from *Mein Kampf* to piece together what he alleges to be the narrative at the heart of the Nazi party, a "bastardization of fundamentally religious patterns of thought" (p.219). The narrative, Burke argues, relies on uniting a social movement base against a common enemy to which many societal ills can be (at least, seemingly) connected[7]. Burke highlights how Hitler constructs the German "aryan" people – bonded by blood and heritage – in a struggle to regain the glorious past.

Relating closely to Burke's analysis of Hitler's rhetoric, Roy and Rowland (2003) analyze Hindu nationalistic rhetoric in the Indian subcontinent. Roy and Rowland find notable

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[7] Key to Burke is the ability to envision the enemy as singular or envision separate enemies as a connected whole, as multiple enemies opens the door for comparison of evils, "objectivism," and questioning (Burke, 1941, p.193-194).

similarities with Hindu nationalist group Shiv Sena, a far-right minority political party in India.

Roy and Rowland (2003) focus on the rhetoric of the Shiv Sena party and its leadership,

asserting that the party's religious and nationalistic rhetoric embodies the same overarching

myth as Burke (1941) identifies with Hitler's "Battle." Roy and Rowland describe the myth as "a

distinctive…narrative of nationalist and religious redefinition and rebirth through return" (2003,

p.226). The myth is attractive, in part, because it is able to "provide a 'world view' for people

who had previously seen the world but piecemeal" (Burke, 1941, p.218). The identity the myth

invokes, the authors argue, can take nationalistic or religious form -- or both may overlap, as in

Shiv Sena.

While Burke (1941) elaborated his nationalistic myth only within the context of Hitler

and German Nazism, Roy and Rowland (2003) attempt to take their case further. Roy and

Rowland link the nationalistic 'myth' to "the broad rhetorical situation facing any

nationalistic/religious identity movement that is outside the mainstream power structure in a

society" (p.227)[8]. The 'return' myth offers the national or religious identity "dignity" and a

coherent worldview that promises a return to glory --- in the past or in the "fundamental" bases

of faith/nationhood[9] – as well as triumph over the evil, opposing forces[10] (Roy and Rowland,

2003, p.230 and Burke, 1941, p.191).

Critical to this nationalistic/fundamentalist 'myth' is the fall from glory that must

precede the return. Looking back to the "point of origin," the nationalist/fundamentalist

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[8] Roy and Rowland's language here warrants particular attention – as they are not suggesting that ethnic Germans were outside the mainstream in 1930s Germany, nor that Hindus are outside the mainstream in central-western India, where Shiv Sena thrives. Instead, they are referring to the identification/identity aspects of the movement.
[9] These "fundamental" bases of nationhood include heritage or 'blood'.
[10] Here, opposing forces are defined as those forces which externalize as the "enemy." For Shiv Sena, it is 'bad Muslims' (Roy and Rowland, 2003), whereas for Hitler, it was Jews, homosexuals, and a host of other scapegoats.

envisions "perfection" (Eliade, 1954 and 1963 as ctd. In Roy and Rowland, 2003, p.231). The period of degradation, weakness, and/or affliction that sits between 'then' and 'now' is embodied by the evil opposers (Roy and Rowland, 2003).

Roy and Rowland argue that this overarching narrative 'myth' "is based on a fundamental sense of lost identity and the desire for identity regained" (2003, p.231). For identity to be mythically regained, however, it must first be lost. It is well-known that Hitler emerged in Germany following military defeat and economic depression – as well as a myriad of other, connected problems. Shiv Sena, the focus of Roy and Rowland's analysis, "was founded in 1966 to safeguard the 'sons of the soil'" (Katzenstein, 1973, p.386) – local Maharashtrians – from non-local immigrants. Frequently, non-locals came to occupy the best-paying jobs, leaving the plurality Maharashtrian population with higher proportions of unemployment and petty wage labor[11] (Katzenstein, 1973). Notably, Shiv Sena was also founded in the wake of Nehru's "green revolution"-related agricultural reforms[12] and caste-system-related social reforms, as well as the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965. Whether or not one agrees with the argument promoted by Roy and Rowland (2003), the fact remains that nationalistic arguments are typically entangled in other social, economic, and/or political issues.

In central and eastern Europe, along the Soviet periphery, forced collectivization, environmental damage, lack of transparency, and a variety of other issues each played a contributing role in substantiating pro-independence arguments. For the purposes of this thesis, the Estonian independence movement is particularly salient. In Estonia, overt

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[11] At least, this is alleged by Shiv Sena. Academic support for this claim is mixed. Katzenstein's (1973) analysis includes a more nuanced elaboration on the various narratives surrounding the rise of Shiv Sena.
[12] Some of Nehru's reforms radically transformed Indian agriculture, disenfranchising many agrarians (Das and Tripathi, 2014).

nationalists alleged that the Soviet government used military force to subjugate Estonian society -- attempting to supersede local language and culture (Tarm and Rikken, 1989). At the same time, public protest was also directed towards perceived mismanagement of the local environment by the Soviet government.

Previous scholars investigating the topics of late-Soviet Estonian environmentalism and Estonian independence have characterized the Estonian independence movement in dissimilar ways. While some scholars have classified the Estonian independence movement as essentially ethnocentric and nationalistic in character, others instead argue that environmental stewardship, miscommunication of environmental risks, and demand for free flow of information were also critical elements of a larger social movement which included nationalism as one element (Auer, 1996).

Auer (1996, 1998) describes the "historical roots of the environmental conflict in Estonia," distilling the salient environmental grievances while breaking his analysis into separate political and cultural components. Drawing on key social themes as identified by Auer (1996), this thesis investigates whether or not the authors and compilers of the [Estonian American Council's set of translated] documents – and the young Estonian government whose origins they help represent – selectively present cultural and political environmental tension through Estonian nationalistic and traditionalist narratives.

It is not clear, however, at what point these narratives, replete with the rhetoric of both nationalism and pro-Western environmentalism, can be straightforwardly categorized as either one or the other type. Nor is it clear *to what degree* each set of arguments influenced the overall rhetoric of the protest movement as embodied in the Estonian American National

Council documents (organized by Tarm and Rikken, 1989) for English-speaking readers. For more information on the documents, see the methodology section and Appendix B.

To analyze rhetoric, this thesis employs a method of directed content analysis.

Methods of Research

This thesis traces the presence of nationalistic rhetoric in the Estonian American National Council's set of translated documents from the Estonian independence movement, spanning a 3-year period from 1986 to 1989. The council's collection of organizational releases, editorials, open letters, protest speeches, and other documents showcases an independence movement colored by both nationalistic and environmentalist sentiments. The collected documents include seminal writings, releases, and transcriptions of speeches that helped lay the foundation for a post-Soviet Estonian identity -- and which would influence social, cultural, and economic policy in the young Estonian nation. Because they are translated and published in English, they are uniquely available to western audiences. Collectively, the selection of translated documents constitutes one valuable presentation of the Estonian-Soviet tension.

To better understand these documents and the setting in which they were produced, this thesis includes a detailed qualitative textual analysis. Scholars have described a variety of techniques for textual analysis; two are especially pertinent to this thesis. Patton (2002) defines content analysis as "any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings" (p.453).

Content analysis is "the most direct way" of systematically analyzing a text's (or set of texts')

meaning (Huckin, 2004, p.13).

While content analysis focuses on the content contained *within* a studied text or set of

texts, intertextual content analysis is intended to explore the space *between* texts. Bazerman

(2004) defines intertextuality as the relationship a text has to other 'texts' around it. Broadly,

these relationships include not only other text documents, but also recognizable beliefs, ideas,

public statements, recognizable phrasing, repeated narratives, etc. Intertextual content analysis

is used to identify a text or set of texts' place within a broader social discourse. Although

intertextual references within the set of documents are noted as part of the directed content

analysis employed in this thesis, the methodology does not include a full, separate procedure

for analyzing the intertextual content. Instead, there is a brief discussion of intertextual

references in the results section. Future research could include an in-depth intertextual analysis

utilizing Russian and Estonian-language sources.

Content Analysis and Intertextuality

Content and intertextual analysis have a naturally complementary relationship. Without

some level of intertextual analysis, the *content* in content analysis is not systematically

relatable to other documents, and analysis may miss, for example, key commonalities and

differences, concurring and contradictory narratives as manifest in the full set of available

documents. For the purposes of this research, directed content analysis as discussed in this

thesis is *qualitative* in substance.

Content analysis describes a variety of methods used to interpret the meaning of text data. As noted in the previous section, Patton (2002) defines content analysis as "any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings" (p.453). According to Huckin (2004), "content analysis is the identifying, quantifying, and analyzing of specific words, phrases, concepts, or other observable semantic data…with the aim of uncovering some underlying thematic or rhetorical pattern running through these texts" (p.13).

Hsieh and Shannon (2005) identify "three distinct approaches" to qualitative content analysis (p.1278). These are conventional content analysis, where analytic codes are derived from direct observation of the text data during the data analysis process; directed content analysis, where analytic codes are derived from pre-existing research before (and during) the data analysis process; and summative content analysis, where analytic codes are based on keywords defined before (and during) the data analysis process (p.1286). Because my initial set of codes is based on previous research and defined *before*[13] data collection, my research methodology is most accurately described as a directed content analysis. Directed content analysis, in my research, is intended to "extend conceptually" existing literature and theory on rhetoric.

In directed content analysis, the researcher first uses available theory and literature to predict the key concepts, categories, or themes they will look for in their data set. These literature-based predictions form the basis for an initial set of codes (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005).

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[13] Though the codes remained flexible to addition during the data analysis phase to allow room for emergent pattern recognition.

Data analysis and coding may begin based on this initial set of codes. Hsieh and Shannon identify two separate strategies researchers may follow at this point. Researchers may identify and mark *all* relevant data without coding – then revise the initial codes based on the sum of data. Alternately, the researcher can immediately begin coding based on the initial, pre-determined set of codes, then revise – although this method may be more vulnerable to bias. In either case, through the first round of coding (or identifying data), the researcher identifies the relevant data that cannot be coded within the initial set of codes. When the first round of coding is complete, these identified pieces are re-analyzed "to determine if they represent a new category or a subcategory of an existing code" (p.1282). Regardless of whether the researcher coded during the first round, or merely identified and marked all relevant data, the revised set of codes is what is actually used to finally collect and categorize data.

Closely related to content analysis, intertextual content analysis[14] has its theoretical roots in Mikhail Bakhtin's (1981 trans.) concept of dialogicity: texts, speeches, and other communicative documents are *acts* in constant contact [dialogue] with other *acts* in the ever-evolving context of social reality. Bazerman (2004) describes how analyzing intertextual content helps researchers identify the "social worlds" to which a given text or set of texts belongs. The focus of intertextual content analysis is on how a text relates to other texts, statements and speeches, popular ideas, and/or narratives. Bazerman (pp. 88-89) specifies six "techniques of intertextual representation" to be targeted by researchers:

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[14] As mentioned above – although intertextual references within the set of documents are noted as part of the directed content analysis employed in this thesis, the methodology does not include a full, separate procedure for analyzing the intertextual content. Instead, there is a brief discussion of intertextual references in the results section. Future research could include an in-depth intertextual analysis utilizing Russian and Estonian-language sources.

- direct quotation

- indirect quotation

- "mentioning of a person, document or statements" (ibid., p.88)

- "comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice" (ibid.)

- "using recognizable phrasing, terminology associated with specific people or groups of
  people or particular documents" (ibid.)

- "using language and forms that seem to echo certain ways of communicating,
  discussions among other people, types of documents" (ibid., p.89)

According to Bazerman (2004, pp.86-88), these six representations communicate on six
levels of intertextuality:

- "source meanings to be used at face value" (p.86)

- drawing on "explicit social dramas" (p.87)

- using "other statements as background, support, and contrast" (ibid.)

- drawing on "beliefs, issues, ideas, statements generally circulated" (ibid.)

- "using certain implicitly recognizable kinds of language, phrasing, and genres" (ibid.)

- "resources of language" (p.88)

Similarly, Fairclough (1992) asserts that intertextual content analysis "shows how texts
selectively draw upon orders of discourse – the particular configurations of conventionalized
practices (genres, discourses, narratives, etc.) which are available to text producers and
interpreters in particular social circumstances…" (p.194). Fairclough argues for intertextual
analysis as a complement to linguistic content analysis. In my research, understanding the

intertextual content of the documents would, for example, help relate the collected textual sources both to each other and to the predominant sociopolitical issues in late-Soviet Estonia[15].

In the 25 years since Estonia formally gained its independence in 1991, scholars have effectively utilized content analysis to investigate a range of research questions. Raul Lejano has conducted a series of studies on risk communication, highlighting the importance of translation of information so that its *meaning* (rather than literality) is conveyed to the receiver(s). Lejano, Tan, and Wilson (2016) investigated risk communication in the case of Typhoon Haiyan. Lejano et al. were especially interested in how government agencies and other relevant actors communicated technicalities of risk (such as storm surge estimates, wind speed measurements, etc.) to everyday people, businesses, and other government agencies. Risk communication is most effective when technical information is not presented alone, but is "translated into implications" that are meaningful to the people, businesses, and government agencies whose actions will ultimately help define the human aspect of the disaster's severity. While formal information is passed from source to receiver, it must be translated within each new organization, agency, or discourse community – and at each step feedback mechanisms enable the exchange of additional, tacit knowledge. While tacit knowledge, the authors argue, "can include the most meaningful" forms of recommendation or informal exchange, in the case of Typhoon Haiyan the authors observe that risk communication at the local/regional level was often identical to the information first communicated by meteorologists (pp.451-452). In some

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[15] As mentioned previously, intertextual references within the set of documents are noted as part of the directed content analysis employed in this thesis. However, the methodology of this thesis does not include separate intertextual content analysis procedure. Instead, there is a brief discussion of intertextual references in the results section. Future research could include an in-depth intertextual analysis utilizing Russian and Estonian-language sources.

cases, the information was even abbreviated or presented in such a way that the critical elements of the storm warning were not apparent or consistently understood by local readers. As a consequence, meteorological warnings were rendered somewhat ineffective, mired in both poor presentation, and in a scientific discourse that meant little to some local residents. The authors call for less unidirectional, more exchange-driven communication which at each step tailors its language to the target audience. Throughout the research, Lejano et al. analyze both the content of the risk communication documents, as well as their relationships to each other, and to certain government agency operation and policies.

One of the key features of Lejano's analysis is that the presentation of information, including word choice, not only affects the receiver's understanding of that information, but also marks the text as belonging to a certain discourse community. For example, the technicalities presented in the National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council bulletin (p.455) bore little *meaningful* information for local residents. The "rigidity" of agency communication – unidirectional and almost exclusively technical -- is in this case opposed to the relative flexibility, informality, and multidirectional exchange of meaningful information within individual communities.

Yet, in another study, Lejano (2017) emphasizes that ineffective science-risk communication is only *part* of the problem. Investigating climate science and climate change skepticism in the United States, Lejano echoes Pielke (2007) in asserting that the debate is not chiefly scientific, but cultural. Most public risk management issues are deeply embedded in cultural context, which may be obfuscated by focusing singularly on the scientific aspects of the debate. The presentation of ideological issues as purely scientific may only reinforce the

cultural divide between competing ideologies by disregarding key parameters of the debate.

For example, activists and/or scientists who focus on climate science data, predictions, etc. as

the key material in seeking to persuade climate skeptics are clearly marking themselves as

outsiders to a discourse community with different terminology, ideas, and concerns. While

Pielke (2007) emphasizes the ultimately cultural character of many contested "scientific"

debates and calls for a revisitation of the role of science in public policy, Lejano takes issue with

the "we talk, you listen" model of risk communication, which he sees as diminishing the

communicative role of the recipient (Lejano, 2017, pp. 2).

As noted above, however, the problem is seldom limited to ineffective communication

of science. In fact, in some cases the communication of science may be only a small aspect of

the disagreement. Lejano and Dodge (2017) identified prominent (and separate) ideologies that

influence the climate change debate in the United States. Such narratives are closed to other

narratives, and may "saturate almost every other issue in social life" (p.3). Disagreement on an

individual issue, in this context, may be only a small part of a larger competition between two

or more meta-narratives. The meta-narratives are not *about* one singular topic of

disagreement, but are instead broader, connected sets of ideas within which one's opinion on a

contested topic forms only one component. To Lejano, such narrative saturation means that an

array of issues are frequently "treated, in one fell swoop, by the same storyline as other issues

in society" (2017, p.4).

In light of this type of more deeply-seeded division, Lejano calls for scientists to take

oppositional narratives and meta-narratives (as well as their underlying values) seriously. Lack

of consideration or outright suppression of opposing narratives further polarizes the debate

and eliminates room for common understanding. Lejano argues for individual and community-level involvement in social change. While unidirectional command of social change gives individuals the impression that said change is being "put upon" them, a bidirectional, communicative model empowers communities to take part in defining (and thus "own" part of) the social response (p.5). Lejano (2017), like Pielke (2007), also emphasizes the need to consider opposing narratives' underlying values and fears – and to treat those (usually legitimate) values and fears with care.

Each of these texts has in common the understanding that informative or persuasive texts, in their assumptions, in their use of language, and in their presentation of key points, frequently mark themselves as belonging to one or another discourse community. Furthermore, where two or more opposed 'sides' argue based on contrary assumptions, with little consideration of the important values at stake, it is unlikely that the meaning intended by the sender is received intact by the receiver.

Many other scholars have utilized analyses including intertextual content to add to academic debate. Dor (2005) analyzes the content of popular press[16] in Israel, ultimately arriving at a harsh criticism of the Israeli media's coverage of 2003 conflict between the Israeli military and Palestinian forces[17]. The main title of Dor's book – *Suppression of Guilt* – alludes to his most critical argument: Israeli media privileged voices, which suppressed Israeli guilt by presenting the Palestinian opposition as culpable for both Israeli military action and the

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[16] His analysis includes written articles and news reports from five newspapers and two television stations.
[17] Palestinian "forces" as used here can include fighters, but may also include territorial holdings, infrastructure, residents, and other local interests.

damages incurred. Dor suggests, within his case study, that the "production of the news" was used to "produce a certain hegemonic perception within the public" (p.8).

Through analyzing the content and intertextuality of the data, Dor argues that, "with virtually no exception," mainstream Israeli media suppressed reports or narratives that implicated Israeli military responsibility for immoral or destructive acts (p.5). Equally as important, Dor alleges, that they suppressed any indication that Israel's military goal included the reoccupation of the West Bank – instead focusing on the need to suppress violent terrorism. Taken as a whole, this work helps show the power of content analysis to identify common narrative themes as expressed throughout an array of individual reports and publications.

Analyses of content and intertextuality may enable researcher(s) to recognize narrative patterns within and among documents, helping to effectively situate research in temporal, political, and ideological context. For my research, directed content analysis is employed to analyze the presence of rhetoric in the late-Soviet environmentalist and independence movements[18]. Before elaborating my methodology in depth, however, it is important to briefly overview historical events relevant to the Estonian environmentalist and independence movements. A more detailed discussion on history is included in Appendix A.

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[18] While Malloy (2009) suggests that "nationalistic politics pushed environmentalism on to the back burner," he has described the late-1980s Estonian environmental protest movement collectively as an "econationalist" movement (p.375).

Mining, Pollution, and Protest in the Estonian S.S.R.

Estonia was occupied by the Soviet Union in June of 1940 (Auer, 1998). The republic had been allocated to the Soviet Union in the 1939 *Molotov-Ribbentrop pact*, signed by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union (Kirby, 1996)[19]. The Soviets dramatically increased industrial intensity, multiplying oil shale production[20] 10-fold within 5 years and converting 47% of Estonian agricultural land to non-agricultural uses (Auer, 1996). Phosphate mining outside of the town of Maardu eventually resulted in large-scale dumping of alum shale waste, which would eventually self-combust in 1965 (Jüriado et al., 2012).

Figure 1. Timeline of Relevant Events
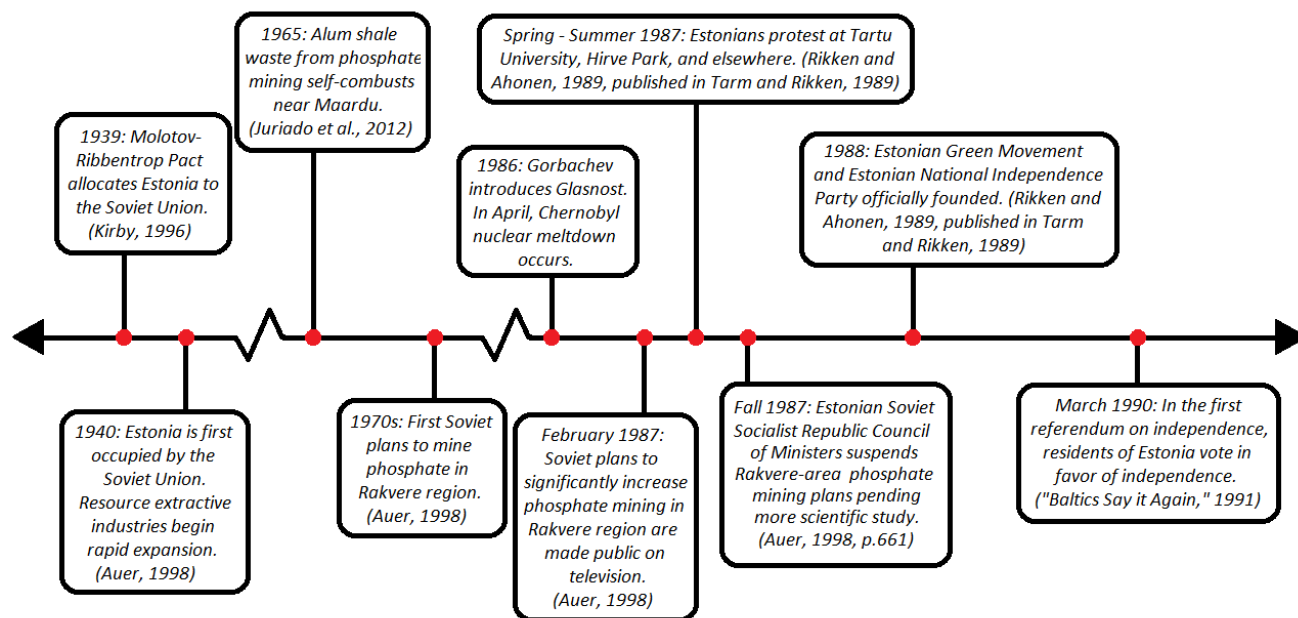
Timeline of events relevant to the rise of environmental and independence-related protest in late-Soviet Estonia. The documents analyzed in this thesis range from April 1986 to March 1989. Display is not to scale. For more detailed discussion, see Appendix A.

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[19] The full terms of the treaty would not be revealed to Baltic citizens until 1988 (Rikken and Ahonen, 1989, published in Tarm and Rikken, 1989).

[20] The intensity of environmental impacts simultaneously increased. Oil shale is a notoriously inefficient source of energy, and in 2003 its extraction required 25 cubic meters of contaminated water to be pumped for each cubic meter of oil shale (Brendow, 2003).

The following decade, in 1977, eighteen Estonian naturalists and scientists drafted a

letter in opposition to the Soviet Union's proposition to expand phosphorite mining operations

in the ecologically-sensitive Rakvere region (Auer, 1998). In early 1987, less than a year after

Chernobyl and Gorbachev's new policy of *glasnost,* these plans became public (Miljan, 2015

and Thomas and Orlova, 2001). Protests erupted in the spring of 1987, and would continue until

Estonian residents voted in favor of independence in two referenda – in 1990 and 1991

("Baltics say it again," 1991). For more discussion on the history of Soviet-period environmental

protest in Estonia, see Appendix A.

Objective

This thesis traces the presence of nationalistic rhetoric in the Estonian American

National Council's set of translated documents from the Estonian independence movement,

spanning a 3-year period from 1986 to 1989. The objective of my research is to compare the

prevalence of nationalistic and environmental rhetoric within this set of documents. To do this,

this thesis employs directed content analysis – as described by Hsieh and Shannon (2005). The

results section includes a brief discussion on selected intertextual content (as described by

Bazerman (2004)) from the documents. In order to compare the information each technique

yields, this thesis employs both techniques to analyze the Estonian American National Council's

selection of documents from Estonia, 1986-1989. In doing so, my research may contribute to

discussion on the presence of rhetoric in supporting late-Soviet Estonian environmental and

pro-independence protests.

In the following section, I discuss my methods. I will discuss my methodology for content analysis, including the full list of nationalistic and environmental themes pinpointed in the texts, as well as the full set of documents analyzed.

Chapter 3. Methods

In this section, I will elaborate the steps of my methodology, including my procedure for content analysis, salient themes to be identified in the documents, a list of documents to be analyzed, and an overview of data presentation.

Content Analysis

Hsieh and Shannon (2005) describe an appropriate procedure for "directed content analysis" (p.1281). In directed content analysis, analytic codes are derived from pre-existing research before (and during) the data analysis process.

I first utilized available theory and literature to predict the key concepts, topic, and themes I anticipated I might find in my data set. These literature-based predictions formed the basis for my initial set of codes[21]. Following the procedure suggested by Hsieh and Shannon (2005), in my first cycle of data collection, I identified and marked all relevant data without specific coding.

Through the first cycle of data collection, I identified content that did not neatly fit in to my initial set of codes; codes that need subcategories; what new, separate codes needed to be added; and other information useful for revising the codes. I then revised the initial codes based on the whole set of data (see Appendix B). These revised codes are what were employed in the second (final) data collection cycle.

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[21] My initial codes were presented in this thesis prior to data collection, but have since been revised. See Appendix C for more information on the initial codes.

Intertextual Content

Fairclough (1992) argues for intertextual content analysis as a complement to linguistic content analysis. Bazerman (2004) describes how analyzing intertextual content helps researchers identify the "social worlds" to which a given text or set of texts belongs. In the set of documents analyzed in this thesis, intertextual content would, for example, relate the collected textual sources both to each other and to the predominant sociopolitical issues in late-Soviet Estonia. Directed content analysis was the methodology utilized in this thesis. However, the data necessarily include some intertextual representation within the documents. A brief discussion on intertextual references is included in the results section.

Bazerman (2004) elaborates (pp. 88-89) six "techniques of intertextual representation" to be targeted by researchers:

- direct quotation

- indirect quotation

- "mentioning of a person, document or statements" (ibid., p.88)

- "comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice" (ibid.)

- "using recognizable phrasing, terminology associated with specific people or groups of people or particular documents" (ibid.)

- "using language and forms that seem to echo certain ways of communicating, discussions among other people, types of documents" (ibid., p.89)

Notably, in this thesis, intertextual references within the documents were recorded during the same procedure described in the previous "content analysis" subsection. During the first cycle of data collection, all direct intertextual references were recorded regardless of content. Several repeated intertextual references are included in a brief discussion of intertextual content in the results section. However, the methodology does not include a full, *separate* methodology for analyzing the intertextual content. Future research could expand to include Estonian and Russian language sources, including a more comprehensive analysis of the intertextually-related documents identified in this thesis.

The documents analyzed in this thesis were written several years before the independent Republic of Estonia passed heritage-based and linguistically-restrictive laws on Estonian citizenship and political representation – possibly influenced by protest rhetoric such as that contained in the document set. The set of documents represents a cross section of the Estonian protest movement as it is presented by the Estonian American National Council.

In the next section, I detail the salient topics, themes, and references utilized in data collection. The first subsection includes items relating to nationalistic rhetoric, and the second subsection includes items relevant for Estonian environmental grievances.

Topics, Themes, and References

    Revised codes

        I.   Nationalistic Rhetoric

- **THEME A.** Past national "golden age" or "glorious past," and reification in the present (Roy and Rowland, 2003; Levinger and Lytle, 2001; and Calhoun, 1993)

- **THEME B.** Battle to restore national "dignity" following period of lost national identity literally or effectively (Roy and Rowland, 2003 p.231, and Levinger and Lytle, 2001)

  - **B1. Subcategory:** Personal and/or civil rights violations due to Estonian or Estonian nationalist affiliation or identity (Auer, 1996)

  - **B2. Subcategory:** Censorship and denial of voice due to Estonian or Estonian nationalist affiliation or identity

  - **B3. Subcategory:** Reference to struggle to restore national "dignity," voice, and/or importance.

- **THEME C.** Heroic or sacred character of national identity (Roy and Rowland, 2003)

- **THEME D.** Ancient or historic (non-constructed) character of national identity and ethnicity, including language and traditions (Roy and Rowland, 2003 and Calhoun, 1993)

- **THEME E.** Evil, "villainy," or fundamentally problematic character of non-national-group identities and cultures (Roy and Rowland, 2003, p.231)

  - **E1. Subcategory**: Villainization or problematization of Soviet communist or identity and culture[22]

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[22] Subcategory E1 includes deliberate characterization of the pro-communist opposition as modern "Stalinists."

- o **E2. Subcategory:** Villainization or problematization of Russian identity and culture

- o **E3. Subcategory:** Villainization or problematization of other non-Estonian cultures or identities, or of non-Estonian cultures and identities broadly

- **THEME F.** Non-Estonian origin of ruling institutions (Auer, 1996 and Auer, 1998)

  - o **F1. Subcategory**: Reference to Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and historic Soviet WWII invasion and occupation[23] (Taagepera, 1989; Auer, 1996 and 1998; and others)

  - o **F2. Subcategory:** Reference to period of Estonian occupation by Nazi Germany

  - o **F3. Subcategory:** Reference to contemporary Soviet or Russian rulership or occupation (Auer, 1998).

- **THEME G.** Russification and the struggle to sustain Estonian language and culture (Auer, 1996 and Taagepera, 1989)

  - o **G1. Subcategory:** Explicit negative reference to (prevalence of) Russian language, or ethnicity (Auer, 1996 and others)

  - o **G2. Subcategory:** Explicit negative reference to Soviet and/or communist imperialism

  - o **G3. Subcategory**: Estonian language and culture are threatened by Russophone Soviet culture, and Estonians must promote Estonian language and culture (Auer, 1996 and Taagepera, 1989)

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[23] Subcategory F1 refers specifically to World War II and the first 5 postwar years under Soviet rule, 1939-1949.

- **THEME H.** Non-Estonian origin of Soviet mining and extractive industrial workers (Soot, 1996 and Auer, 1998)

II. Environmental Grievances

- **THEME I:** Degradation of natural environment, including pollution of air, water, and soil from various mining operations (Taagepera, 1989 and others)

  - **I1. Subcategory:** Human injury or disease from mining-related pollution (Taagepera, 1989; Auer, 1998; and others)

  - **I2. Subcategory:** Specific reference to environmental impact of phosphorite mining – including the proposed expansion of mining in the Rakvere area (Ida-Virumaa) (Taagepera, 1989; Auer, 1998; and others)

  - **I3. Subcategory:** Pollution or negative consequences from oil shale mining operations (Auer, 1998)

  - **I4. Subcategory**: Broad reference to degradation of natural environment

- **THEME J:** Extractive industry inefficiency and wastefulness (Auer, 1998)

- **THEME K:** Extractive industry economic exploitation (Auer, 1998)

- **THEME L:** Chernobyl (and forced labor at the Chernobyl disaster site[24]) (Taagepera, 1989)

- **THEME M:** Reference to other or previous environment-related protest (Taagepera, 1989)

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[24] Taagepera (1989) mentions the "forcible dispatch of thousands of Estonians to Chernobyl" in his discussion of Estonian mining-related protests (p.15).

- **THEME N:** Sentimental reference to Estonian landscape (such as wildlife, trees, and forests) (Auer, 1996)

Set of Documents

The data set includes each of the documents translated by Tiina Ets. Taara Linguistic Services and compiled by Tarm and Rikken (1989). The translation, compilation, and publication of the documents was funded by the Estonian American National Council. The Estonian American National Council is a U.S.-based advocacy group founded by Estonian refugees in 1952. The entire set is titled, *Documents from Estonia: Articles, speeches, resolutions, letters, editorials, interviews concerning recent developments; From April 1986 to March 1989*.

Although the intended audience of the original sources varies from document to document, the set of documents seems generally intended for active (Estonian or pro-Estonian) political allies as well as potential political allies. As such, the results of this thesis, regarding the presence and utility of rhetoric, can *not* be generalized to Estonia or the Soviet Union at large. Instead, the results apply to documents supporting the Estonian protest movement by the Estonian American National Council. For more information on the set of documents, potential intended audience, and the Estonian American National Council, see Appendix B.

Full Set of Documents

The methods of this thesis include the analysis of each of the following documents:

Document 1.   Letter to the West

By Olev Kiirend (1986)

Document 2.   Open Letter to Mikhail Gorbachev

By anonymous (1987)

MRP-AEG (The Estonian Group for the Disclosure of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact Bulletin #1)[25]

By multiple authors (1987)

- o Document 3.   Tiit Madissons' Foreword to the First Edition

- o Document 4.   In Preparation for the Rally at Hirve Park

- o Document 5.   The Rally at Tallin's Hirve Park on August 23, 1987

- o Document 6.   Tiit Madisson's Speech

- o Document 7.   Heiki Ahonen's Speech

- o Document 8.   Erik Udam's Speech

- o Document 9.   Willy Rooda's Speech

- o Document 10.   Merle Jääger's "Birches of Home"

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[25] The bulletin is not numbered as a document because it includes no substantial notes or text separate from Document 3.

By Vilius Kavaliauskas (1988)

Document 33.   Unpublicized Speeches by Members of the Estonian Cultural Community

By multiple authors (1988)

- o   Document 34. Arvo Valton's speech

- o   Document 35. Tönu Tepandi's speech

- o   Document 36. Jaan Kaplinski's speech

- o   Document 37. Andres Langemets' speech

- o   Document 38. Kaljo Komissarov's speech

- o   Document 39. Aivo Löhmus's speech

Document 40. Coincidental Oversights?

By Endel Nirk

Document 41. Imperative: Radical Changes

By the Professional Union of Workers in the Arts and Journalism

Document 42. Mart Niklus and Enn Tarto – Hostages of Soviet Foreign Policy?

By MRP-AEG

Document 43. A Letter to the XIX Conference of the C.P.S.U. from the Open Party Meeting of the Party Organizations of the Estonian S.S.R. Council of Lawyers

By the E.S.S.R.[26] Council of Lawyers

Document 44. Appeal from Estonia: Help us with Medicine!

By the organizing committee of the Estonian National Independence Party

Document 45. What Happened to the Staff Officers of the Republic of Estonia?

By Oskar Milikov

Document 46. May the Sorrow of Their Suffering, their Anguish, and Their Agony Stay Forever in Our Souls

By Helju Rauniste

Document 47: Memorial Ceremony to be Held in the Castle Courtyard on September 15 (1988)

By [no author listed] in the newspaper, Saarte Hääl

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[26] The abbreviation E.S.S.R. stands for the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Document 48. More on Historical Memory and Repressions

By Mart Laar

Document 49. Memorandum to the United Nations General Assembly from the Estonian

National Independence Party

By the Executive Council of the Estonian National independence Party

Document 50. A Letter from Estonia on Proposed Changes to The Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

By anonymous

Document 51. Make Battery Prison a Memorial

By E.R.

Document 52. 1941

By Mart Laar

Document 53.   Addendum to the Memorandum of the Estonian Independence Party of

September 17, 1988

By the Executive Council of the Estonian National Independence Party (1988)

Document 54.   A Letter from Estonia, December 1988

By anonymous (1988)

Document 55.   1988: Hot Autumn in Estonia

By the Estonian National Independence Party (1988)

Document 56.   Chronology of Estonian Events

By Heiki Ahonen and Mari-Ann Rikken (1986-1989)

Data Collection

- I first utilized available theory and literature to predict the key concepts, topic, and themes I anticipated I might find in my data set. These literature-based predictions formed the basis for my initial set of codes[27].

- Then, I reviewed the full set of Estonian American National Council documents and recorded all relevant data. For the sake of my research, data were collected

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[27] My initial codes were presented in this thesis prior to data collection, but have since been revised. See Appendix C for more details on the initial codes.

by hand via colored highlighters and small sticky notes on paper copies of the documents.

- During the first cycle of data collection, I also identified and recorded content that did not neatly fit in to my initial set of codes. I looked for codes that could be consolidated or merged as subcategories.

- Based on the full set of data, I reorganized the initial codes (for details, see Appendix C). Codes were revised June 15, 2017.

- These revised codes are what were employed in the second data collection cycle.

- The second cycle of data collection followed the following system of organization:

  o Each document was broken into constituent paragraphs, and codes were entered for each paragraph[28]. The total number of times any given code is counted in the data set (or in a document) is essentially the number of paragraphs in which the coded theme was present. One paragraph can contain/be counted for more than one coded theme.

  o For the sake of organization, in short enumerated lists (such as a list of demands), the whole set is defined as one "paragraph." In poetic writing, one stanza is counted as one paragraph. For speeches, transcribers' notes

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[28] Within each document, the presence or absence of a code is counted per paragraph rather than per sentence. Using terms or sentences as the measured unit proved to be ineffective and overly complicated. Counting *only* whether or not a certain theme is mentioned in the document, however, generated less information about the frequency and intensity of the salient themes' occurrence.

were noted separately from original document paragraphs[29], but were not separated from the document as presented.

- Data were recorded both for each document, and for each paragraph within a document. For the latter data, paragraphs throughout the whole document were numbered, and codes recorded for each.

- Notes from the editor were not excluded from the content analysis process, because the documents were analyzed *as presented* – including the chosen translation and editors' notes. In the data for each document, notes from the editor are counted separately from the other paragraphs.

- Following the second round of data collection, relevant items were recorded. These include:

  - The total number of times each coded item occurred in the data set

  - The number of times each coded item occurred in each document

  - The list of the coded items which occurred in each document

  - Intertextual references

  - Any relevant additional notes.

- All phases of data collection occurred between June 10 and June 22, 2017.

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[29] Specifically, documents including transcribed speeches also include separate notes from the transcriber including crowd response, crowd chanting, and other information.

Presentation of Data

To compare the overall presence of environmental themes and nationalistic rhetoric in my data set, two quantities are taken. For each coded item, I record the quantity of the analyzed *documents* in which it is found as well as the *total quantity* of times the coded item is found in the whole set of documents. The results section includes an evaluation of each salient topic, theme, or reference as it is represented in the analyzed documents. The relative frequency of each topic, theme, or reference *within* each document is discussed in these subsections.

In addition to a written description of results, data are presented on a table resembling Lejano, Tan, and Wilson's (2016, p.453) presentation of results. I present four separate tables: two including salient themes for nationalistic rhetoric and two including salient themes for environmental grievances. For ease of reading, the documents are split into 2 sets of 28 documents. The tables' horizontal axes include the set of salient topics and/or themes identified in content analysis. The tables' vertical axes list the full set of analyzed documents (coded by number for ease of reading[30]). For each document, the body of the table displays whether a particular reference, topic, or theme is present in the document. This presentation of data is binary. A particular topic, for example, is either present or not present in a document. Note that, when calculating the sum for a theme with multiple subcategories, each paragraph could only be counted once even if multiple subcategories of the theme are present. This visual

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[30] For results tables, the MRP-AEG releases are broken into constituent documents. For example, each speech at Hirve Park is numbered as a separate document, though they were compiled into one release.

representation was selected because it spotlights the prevalence of each salient topic, theme,

or reference in the protest literature overall.

Chapter 4. Results and Discussion

This section includes the content analysis results, a small discussion section for each major theme, a brief discussion on intertextual content, and sections for concluding discussion on this research, the presence of rhetoric, and subsequent developments related to Estonian nationalism and environmentalism.

Results

The following five tables display the results of my content analysis. Tables 1 and 2 display the nationalistic rhetorical themes for each document. Tables 3 and 4 display the environmental themes for each document. To see what document is referred to by each document number, please see the full document list in the methodology section. Table 5 displays the number of paragraphs and number of documents in which each major theme (including each subcategory) occurred.

For the following tables, content analysis themes and subcategories correspond to the list in my methodology section:

Nationalistic Rhetoric

THEME A. Past national "golden age" or "glorious past," and reification in the present (Roy and Rowland, 2003; Levinger and Lytle, 2001; and Calhoun, 1993)

THEME B. Battle to restore national "dignity" following period of lost national identity literally or effectively (Roy and Rowland, 2003 p.231, and Levinger and Lytle, 2001)

- o **B1:** Personal and/or civil rights violations due to Estonian or Estonian nationalist affiliation or identity (Auer, 1996)

- o **B2:** Censorship and denial of voice due to Estonian or Estonian nationalist affiliation or identity

- o **B3:** Reference to struggle to restore national "dignity," voice, and/or importance.

THEME C. Heroic or sacred character of national identity (Roy and Rowland, 2003)

THEME D. Ancient or historic (non-constructed) character of national identity and ethnicity, including language and traditions (Roy and Rowland, 2003 and Calhoun, 1993)

THEME E. Evil, "villainy," or fundamentally problematic character of non-national-group identities and cultures (Roy and Rowland, 2003, p.231)

- o **E1**: Villainization or problematization of Soviet communist or identity and culture[31]

- o **E2:** Villainization or problematization of Russian identity and culture

- o **E3:** Villainization or problematization of other non-Estonian cultures or identities, or of non-Estonian cultures and identities broadly

THEME F. Non-Estonian origin of ruling institutions (Auer, 1996 and Auer, 1998)

- o **F1**: Reference to Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and historic Soviet WWII invasion and occupation[32] (Taagepera, 1989; Auer, 1996 and 1998; and others)

- o **F2:** Reference to period of Estonian occupation by Nazi Germany

- o **F3:** Reference to contemporary Soviet or Russian rulership or occupation (Auer, 1998).

THEME G. Russification and the struggle to sustain Estonian language and culture (Auer, 1996 and Taagepera, 1989)

- o **G1:** Explicit negative reference to (prevalence of) Russian language, or ethnicity (Auer, 1996 and others)

- o **G2:** Explicit negative reference to Soviet and/or communist imperialism

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[31] Subcategory E1 includes deliberate characterization as modern "Stalinists."
[32] Subcategory F1 refers specifically to World War II and the first 5 postwar years under Soviet rule, 1939-1949.

- **G3**: Estonian language and culture are threatened by Russophone Soviet culture, and Estonians must promote Estonian language and culture (Auer, 1996 and Taagepera, 1989)

THEME H. Non-Estonian origin of Soviet mining and extractive industrial workers (Soot, 1996 and Auer, 1998)

Environmental Grievances

THEME I: Degradation of natural environment, including pollution of air, water, and soil from various mining operations (Taagepera, 1989 and others)

- **I1:** Human injury or disease from mining-related pollution (Taagepera, 1989; Auer, 1998; and others)
- **I2:** Specific reference to environmental impact of phosphorite mining – including the proposed expansion of mining in the Rakvere area (Ida-Virumaa) (Taagepera, 1989; Auer, 1998; and others)
- **I3:** Pollution or negative consequences from oil shale mining operations (Auer, 1998)
- **I4**: Broad reference to degradation of natural environment

THEME J: Extractive industry inefficiency and wastefulness (Auer, 1998)

THEME K: Extractive industry economic exploitation (Auer, 1998)

THEME L: Chernobyl (and related forced labor[33]) (Taagepera, 1989)

THEME M: Reference to other or previous environment-related protest (Taagepera, 1989)

THEME N: Sentimental reference to Estonian landscape (such as wildlife, trees, and forests) (Auer, 1996)

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[33] This theme is included because Taagepera (1989) refers to the "forcible dispatch of thousands of Estonians to Chernobyl" in his discussion of Estonian mining-related protests (p.15).

Table 1. Nationalistic Themes in Each Document, Part I

Documents	Nationalistic Rhetorical Themes							
	Theme A	Theme B[34]	Theme C	Theme D[23]	Theme E[23]	Theme F[23]	Theme G[23]	Theme H
Document 1		Yes			Yes			
Document 2		Yes		Yes		Yes	Yes	
Document 3		Yes		Yes		Yes		
Document 4		Yes				Yes		
Document 5								
Document 6		Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Document 7		Yes						
Document 8		Yes			Yes	Yes		
Document 9				Yes				
Document 10	Yes	Yes						
Document 11					Yes			
Document 12		Yes		Yes		Yes	Yes	
Document 13				Yes		Yes		
Document 14		Yes						
Document 15	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes			
Document 16	Yes					Yes		
Document 17	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes		
Document 18	Yes	Yes		Yes		Yes	Yes	
Document 19		Yes				Yes	Yes	
Document 20		Yes				Yes	Yes	Yes
Document 21		Yes						
Document 22	Yes					Yes	Yes	
Document 23		Yes		Yes		Yes	Yes	
Document 24		Yes		Yes		Yes		
Document 25		Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes		
Document 26		Yes						
Document 27		Yes						
Document 28		Yes				Yes		

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[34] All subcategories are combined for this table. See Table 3 and discussion of results for a more detailed breakdown.

Table 2. Nationalistic Themes in Each Document, Part II

Documents	Nationalistic Rhetorical Themes							
	Theme A	Theme B[23]	Theme C	Theme D[23]	Theme E[23]	Theme F[23]	Theme G[23]	Theme H
Document 29		Yes						
Document 30		Yes						
Document 31	Yes	Yes		Yes		Yes	Yes	
Document 32		Yes			Yes	Yes	Yes	
Document 33		Yes						
Document 34		Yes			Yes			
Document 35		Yes						
Document 36								
Document 37		Yes				Yes		
Document 38								
Document 39		Yes				Yes	Yes	
Document 40	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Document 41		Yes					Yes	Yes
Document 42		Yes						
Document 43		Yes					Yes	
Document 44								
Document 45		Yes			Yes	Yes		
Document 46		Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes		
Document 47		Yes	Yes	Yes			Yes	
Document 48	Yes	Yes		Yes		Yes		
Document 49		Yes			Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Document 50		Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes		
Document 51	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Document 52		Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Document 53		Yes		Yes		Yes	Yes	
Document 54	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Document 55	Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes	Yes	
Document 56	Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes	Yes	

Table 3. Environmental Grievances in Each Document, Part I

Documents	Environmental Rhetorical Themes					
	Theme I[23]	Theme J	Theme K	Theme L	Theme M[23]	Theme N
Document 1						
Document 2						
Document 3						
Document 4						
Document 5						
Document 6						
Document 7						
Document 8	Yes					
Document 9						
Document 10						Yes
Document 11						
Document 12						
Document 13						
Document 14						
Document 15	Yes					
Document 16						
Document 17						
Document 18						
Document 19	Yes					
Document 20	Yes	Yes	Yes			
Document 21						
Document 22						
Document 23	Yes		Yes			
Document 24						
Document 25						
Document 26						
Document 27						
Document 28						

Table 4. Environmental Grievances in Each Document, Part II

Documents	Environmental Rhetorical Themes					
	Theme I[23]	Theme J	Theme K	Theme L	Theme M[23]	Theme N
Document 29						
Document 30						
Document 31	Yes	Yes	Yes			
Document 32						
Document 33						
Document 34						
Document 35	Yes					
Document 36						
Document 37						
Document 38						
Document 39			Yes			
Document 40			Yes			
Document 41	Yes	Yes	Yes			
Document 42						
Document 43						
Document 44						
Document 45						
Document 46						
Document 47						
Document 48						
Document 49	Yes		Yes			
Document 50			Yes			
Document 51						
Document 52						
Document 53	Yes					
Document 54	Yes					
Document 55	Yes	Yes				
Document 56	Yes			Yes	Yes	

Table 5. Overall Prevalence of Themes in Content Analysis

Nationalistic Rhetorical Themes	Subcategory	Total Number of Occurrences (Paragraphs)	Total Number of Documents (% Out of 56)
Theme A		20	13 (23.2%)
Theme B	B1	145	42 (75%)
	B2	83	32 (57.1%)
	B3	53	20 (35.7%)
Theme C		9	4 (7.1%)
Theme D		39	20 (35.7%)
Theme E	E1	32	17 (30.3%)
	E2	9	5 (8.9%)
	E3	2	2 (3.6%)
Theme F	F1	72	21 (37.5%)
	F2	18	12 (21.4%)
	F3	83	19 (33.9%)
Theme G	G1	8	7 (12.5%)
	G2	31	12 (21.4%)
	G3	60	17 (30.3%)
Theme H		5	5 (8.9%)

Environmental Grievances	Subcategory	Total Number of Occurrences (Paragraphs)	Total Number of Documents (% Out of 56)
Theme I	I1	1	1 (1.8%)
	I2	9	8 (14.3%)
	I3	7	6 (10.7%)
	I4	23	12 (21.4%)
Theme J		5	3 (5.4%)
Theme K		12	8 (14.3%)
Theme L		1	1 (1.8%)
Theme M		2	1 (1.8%)
Theme N		4	1 (1.8%)

Discussion of Content Analysis Results

Though the results of the content analysis cannot be said to be conclusive, there is a clear trend: nationalistic rhetorical themes occurred more frequently in the dataset than environmental grievances (see Tables 1, 2, 3, and 4). More documents contained nationalistic rhetorical themes, and nationalistic rhetoric occurred in more paragraphs than did environmental themes (see Table 5). Where environmental grievances occurred in the data set, they were more frequently positioned as one facet of a larger nationalistic struggle for cultural and political autonomy. In that sense, many authors and speakers within the set of documents subordinate environmental grievances to nationalistic sentiment.

Though inconclusive, the prevalence of nationalistic themes in the Estonian American National Council documents suggests that environmental grievances were only one facet of a larger protest centered on national culture and sovereignty. The 9 most prevalent themes within the set of documents were nationalistic themes. Only 2 environmental themes (counting subcategories separately) were mentioned in more than 10 paragraphs throughout the documents. The data from the documents analyzed in this research corroborate the view that environmental arguments were not universally adopted by nationalistic political actors.

Though this research is limited to one set of documents as presented to the West via the Estonian American National Council – a notable methodological limitation – the outcome of the content analysis suggests that environmental grievances and nationalistic sentiment may not have been equally emphasized within the pro-Estonian independence movement, despite the severity of ecological damage in Estonia. The results neither corroborate nor conflict with Malloy's (2009) argument that "econationalism" of Estonian protestors connected the health of

the environment to the health of the fledgling nation – and thus, the health of the people, their history, language, culture, and traditions. Further research should be conducted to assess the presence of nationalistic and environmental rhetoric in public policy – both in the last years of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, and in independent Estonia.

With regard to the presence of ethnic nationalism (Calhoun, 1993) in the document set, results of the content analysis are generally inconclusive. Overall – negative references to Russians, Russian culture, and Russian language were somewhat less prevalent than negative references to Soviet rulership, Soviet imperialism, or colonialism. This may indicate that nationalistic sentiment was charged against the Soviet political system rather than Russian culture and ethnicity per se. Yet, the blatant depiction of "Estonian" as a solely ethnic category and systematic exclusion of non-ethnic-Estonians as legitimate members of the Estonian community indicate that many of the authors and speakers represented in the documents express ethnic nationalism as a fundamental principle of the independence movement.

Within each of the following subsections, discussion of each theme includes block quotes illustrating examples of the theme as found within the text. For themes with multiple subcategories, separate quotes may be included to illustrate each separate aspect of the overarching theme. Also, note that although some of the examples taken from the text belong to paragraphs that include more than one recorded theme, the examples in each subsection are included to illustrate how each theme was identified in the documents, and how the theme emerges in the discourse of the documents' authors and editors. Overarching discussion on the observed relationships between themes is also included in the results section below.

Note that more than one theme may be present in any given paragraph – including the examples in the following sections. Also note that the key factor in coding selections from the texts was *not* whether or not I felt the complaints, hopes, and declarations of the authors were legitimate. Rather, in studying rhetoric, my foremost intent has been to analyze, according to specific criteria, the language or text in which issues are presented.

Nationalistic Rhetorical Themes in Content Analysis

Theme A

Theme A refers to a past national or cultural "golden age" and its reification in the present (Roy and Rowland, 2003; Levinger and Lytle, 2001; Calhoun, 1993). Theme A occurred in 20 separate paragraphs throughout the entire dataset, and was featured in 13 of the 56 documents.

Within the data, the "golden age" most closely refers to the interwar period of Estonian independence. Unlike German history as referred to by Hitler (Burke, 1941), Estonians cannot refer to a past period of great empire as the reference for national greatness in the present. Instead, the authors, speakers, and editors represented in the documents boast about the fight for independence as well as the strength and legitimacy of the national culture which, they assert, flourished until Soviet occupation.

> We were enlightened about a fragment of our past: the period of Estonian
>
> independence… The ghosts of our past came alive again; their principles fascinated all
>
> the listeners. It seemed as if Estonia's time had come again. We learned that the

Estonian army had some of the best marksmen in all of Europe during that period.

(From Document 54, "A Letter From Estonia, December 1988," included in Tarm and

Rikken, 1989, p.103)

The speaker in the passage above, describing a meeting of their local Heritage Society

club, refers to the period of independence as a "fragment," alluding to the broader narrative

that Estonians were emerging from a long period of cultural censorship and repression (see

theme B below). Yet, the author also romanticizes Estonia's fight for independence and the

interwar years, boasting of independent Estonian martial prowess as they hope that "Estonia's

time had come again" – a direct reference to reification.

Another example of this theme in the text comes in poetic form:

Estonia

tell those who are timid

don't be afraid be bold

solidarity is like a blessed signet ring

what you let happen will happen

and what you forbid will be forbidden. [*Applause*.]

solidarity brings the dew of blessings to your people's house

and its grandeur will be greater

than at the first awakening.

(From Document 15, Raivo Raave's "Message to Our People", included in Tarm and

Rikken, 1989, p.16-17)

In this section at the end of a larger lyric poem, the author and speaker refers only

vaguely to the "first awakening." Yet, the context of the poem makes clear that he is alluding to

the first (1920-1940) period of independence and to demands to contemporary Estonian

sovereignty. Raave's grand poetic call for Estonian social and cultural autonomy includes theme

A in its reference to (re)awakening: Estonians had been awake for a period in the past, and if

they are "bold" and show "solidarity" they could reify that period even more greatly in the

present.

Theme B

Theme B refers to the battle or struggle to restore national "dignity" following a period

of lost national identity literally or effectively (Roy and Rowland, 2003; Levinger and Lytle,

2001). Text marked for theme B was divided into 3 separate subcategories: B1, which refers to

personal and/or civil rights violations as an outcome of Estonian ethnocultural identity or

Estonian nationalist affiliation; B2, which refers explicitly to censorship or denial of voice as an

outcome of Estonian ethnocultural identity or nationalist affiliation; and B3, which explicitly

refers to a "battle" or "struggle" to restore national "dignity," voice, or importance. While B1

and B2 refer to acts of national or cultural victimization by villainous forces (see theme E for

villainization). B3 refers to the explicit struggle to overcome repression and restore national-cultural "dignity," voice, or importance.

Subcategory B1 was the single most prevalent theme throughout the entire set of documents. Theme B1 occurred in 145 paragraphs throughout the data set, and was featured in 42 of the 56 documents. While other grievances are clearly present throughout the set of documents, the clear majority of documents make at least one reference to violations of rights by the Soviet authorities or their representatives. Theme B1 includes references to government sanctioned murder of Estonians, as well as forced deportation or incarceration (without fair trial) of important Estonian cultural or nationalist figures. In most instances, theme B1 emerged where authors intended to stress the past oppression and victimization of the Estonian cultural community, of Estonian political activists, or Estonian partisans.

> I was in jail for 47 months, of which 15 months were spent in Patarei prison in Tallinn,
> the other 32 months in Barashevo village in Mordovia, which houses the only camp for
> female political prisoners. Tallinn prison was like any of them: continuous detention in a
> stuffy cell with no natural light; a jumble of thieves, murderers, state property
> embezzlers, prostitutes, drug abusers, political prisoners. In my opinion the prison needs
> no other characterization but the indicator which states that each prisoner is allotted 31
> kopecks worth of food per day.
>
> (Document 19, Lagle Perek Answers Questions from the Newspaper *Edasi*, included in
> Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.20)

In this example of theme B1, Estonian nationalist and political activist Lagle Perek refers to her imprisonment for Estonian "social activism" and anti-Soviet agitation. In another example of code B1, the author refers to the execution of innocent Estonians who were deemed threatening to Stalin or to Soviet control of Estonia.

The most gruesome executions of innocent people were carried out at Torgu on Saaremaa island. Here they found an entire grave of murder victims who had been executed with poorly aimed shots and had died in agony.

(Document 46, "May the Sorrow of Their Suffering, Their Anguish and Their Agony Stay Forever in our Souls," included in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.78)

In both of these cases, the rhetorical decision to focus on rights abuses can be seen as reinforcing a broader narrative on national or cultural victimization. Note that although references to imprisonment could also be described as a "denial of voice," in this research I have limited code B2 for text referring explicitly to censorship or other deliberate filtering of information (to the detriment of Estonian national-cultural identity). Imprisonment without fair trial is interpreted as a violation of civil rights *before* it results in any denial of voice.

Subcategory B2 was also prevalent throughout the set of documents. Theme B2 occurred in 83 paragraphs throughout the data set, and was featured in 32 of the 56 documents. Theme B2 refers to censorship or denial of voice as an outcome of Estonian ethnocultural identity or nationalist affiliation. Like theme B1, theme B2 most often occurs in the documents where the speaker or author refers to Soviet abuses of power to construct

Estonians as a people oppressed under the Soviet system. Authors and speakers within the documents frequently reference instances where Soviet authorities or perceived Soviet allies silence pro-Estonian (or pro-Estonian nationalist) viewpoints.

> People are once again being punished for expressing their views. For instance, security personnel gave Estonian National Independence Party member Toomas Kalmet of Tallinn a warning for saying in an interview for Finnish television that the current situation is unbearable.
>
> (Document 54, "A Letter From Estonia, December 1988," included in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.102)

In this instance, the author refers to an attempt by authorities to regulate the communication of an Estonian independence advocate. Theme B2 also captured instances where speakers and authors emphasized the deliberate censorship of history.

> …by appealing for the honest removal of the "blank spots" in our history, we have taken the first step towards supporting the party leader's plans…
>
> (Document 7, Heiki Ahonen's Speech, included in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.12)

Authors and speakers in the data set refer to "blank spots" to indicate historical periods or events which are omitted or dishonestly represented by officially-sanctioned Soviet histories.

Where speakers and authors emphasize the censorship of Estonian perspectives on national history, they also invoke a perceived broader repression of Estonian identity.

Theme B2 is set apart from theme B1 by its focus on the censorship, denial of communication, or deliberate omission of important information. Within literature on nationalistic rhetoric, censorship and denial of voice may be seen as a part of a larger perception of cultural and/or national power denied (Roy and Rowland, 2003).

Subcategory B3 refers to direct depiction of a battle or struggle to restore national "dignity," voice, or importance (Roy and Rowland, 2003; Levinger and Lytle, 2001). Themes B1 and B2 indicate instances where speakers or authors refer to rights abuses, censorship, or other methods used to repress Estonian cultural members or Estonian nationalists. In contrast, theme B3 indicates those instances where authors and speakers directly refer to the period of lost national identity, and/or a contemporary struggle to retain and strengthen national identity. Theme B3 occurred in 53 paragraphs throughout the data set, and was featured in 20 of the 56 documents.

In some instances, theme B3 indicates a broad reference to the loss of Estonian culture and public life:

Our history of repression and the mechanisms of bureaucracy have destroyed the last traces of public and social life.

(Document 7, Heiki Ahonen's Speech, included in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.12)

In this case, the speaker's reference to Estonian "public and social life" is interpreted as an element of "national identity" as interpreted by Roy and Rowland (2003). Other authors and speakers refer to the present struggle to overcome past repression and regain national voice and/or identity. In this 1988 letter, the author, Mart Laar, constructs the grandeur of the contemporary Estonian struggle:

Our history will never be ours again if we don't work at bringing the facts to light.

(Document 48, "More on Historical Memory and Repressions," included in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.83)

In this instance, Laar refers – with apparent desperation – to the contrary character of pro-Soviet and Estonian nationalist accounts of history. In the context of the article, the emphasis on Estonian national/cultural struggle to regain historical agency refers to a period of *lost* historical agency, and the implied struggle therein.

Theme B3 was also applied where authors and speakers refer to overcoming the period of lost national identity. In these cases, authors describe Estonians and Estonian nationalists as overcoming or outlasting the repressive capabilities of Soviet authorities. In one case, authors describe an event where activists raise the historical flag of the interwar Republic of Estonia (now the official flag of Estonia), and include the statement: "For the first time, the Estonian blue, black, and white tricolor is not ripped down by the authorities" (Document 56, "Chronology of Estonian Events", by Mari-Ann Rikken and Heiki Ahonen, included in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.112).

What is unique to the author in this case is that the demonstration was *not* repressed. Past events of censorship or denial of voice (B2) are implied, but the flying of the flag itself cannot be interpreted as a violation or rights nor a denial of voice[35]. In this sense, the text (as it is presented to the reader) is interpreted as a reference to lost national identity in the past, as well as a contemporary struggle to restore that national identity (flying the flag when it is prohibited). In cases such as this, theme B3 also includes references to contemporary struggle to emerge from a past period of lost national identity which *could not* be clearly classified as either a violation of rights or as a denial of voice.

Theme C

Theme C indicates references to the heroism or sacred character of national culture and/or identity (Roy and Rowland, 2003. Theme C occurred in 9 paragraphs throughout the entire data set, and was featured in 4 of the 56 documents. Within those documents, theme C often occurs as expansive nationalistic rhetoric that constructs ethnic Estonians' as prideful and crafty underdogs surrounded by more powerful, predatory ethnic communities:

> Seven hundred years of slavery have taught us to be submissive, patient, reticent. In our
> ancient homeland, our masters have been Germans, Danes, Swedes, Poles,
> Russians…Despite all this, we have endured. After 700 years of slavery we were able to
> establish our own state, develop our own culture, and retain our language. We have not

---

[35] In this research, an author or speaker's surprise that censorship was *not* applied was not interpreted as a direct reference to actual censorship, but as a presentation of struggle more broadly.

perished like the Indians. And we will continue to endure. In spite of everything. The

events this summer proved that many of us would rather die than live in slavery.

(Document 54, "A Letter From Estonia, December 1988," included in Tarm and Rikken,

1989, p.102)[36]

Emphasis is placed on historical injustices forced upon the Estonian people, and

Estonians' toughness and resilience to survive – physically and culturally. Another author also

references Estonians' historical status as "slaves":

…the new museum must begin with materials on our ancient fight for freedom and the

subsequent era of slavery.

(Document 51, "Make Battery Prison a Memorial" by "E.R.", included in Tarm and

Rikken, 1989p. 92)

References to sacred or heroic character of (ethnic) Estonian language and culture are

notable less prevalent within the data set than theme B (struggle to restore national "dignity

following a literal or effective period of lost national identity) or theme F (emphasis on non-

Estonian origin of ruling institutions). The most overarching narrative did not seem to emulate

the power-laden imagery of German idealism as characterized within Burke's (1941) analysis of

Hitler's rhetoric. Instead, the Estonians are more frequently characterized as a small but proud

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[36] Note that the paragraph from which this excerpt is taken was also coded for themes B3 and D.

people whose ancestors struggled with repression (by non-Estonians) so that 20th century

Estonians could fight for (and achieve) independence. In a separate paragraph, the author of

the "A Letter from Estonia" sampled above (Document 54) also refers proudly to his

membership of a small but great culture. In this fashion, the authors and speakers construct

Estonian heroism *not* through past imperial or mercantile successes, but through the struggle of

Estonian culture (including traditions, ethnicity, language) to survive non-Estonian repression

and "slavery"[37] .

Theme D

Theme D occurred in 39 separate paragraphs throughout the entire dataset, and was

featured in 20 of the 56 documents. Theme D refers to depictions of Estonian national culture

as ancient or historic (non-constructed). That is, theme D indicates where an author or speaker

refers to Estonian culture as absolute, non-constructed, and rooted in history. In many cases,

theme D occurs where authors and speakers construct Estonian culture (explicitly or implicitly)

as rooted in bloodlines or Estonian ethnic membership. Each of the following 3 passages

includes implicit or explicit references to Estonian ethnicity and heritage as defining one's

status as an Estonian:

To this ancient castle… to the keeper of our history…

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[37] Note that this research on rhetoric does *not* seek to make any claim regarding the appropriateness or inappropriateness of the language selected by the documents' authors. Instead, this analysis is meant to determine the prominent nationalistic and environmental themes within the data set, as well as how they are presented.

…the grief of the past, the anguish and pain of our forefathers lie beneath our celebrations.

(Document 46, "May the Sorrow of Their Suffering, Their Anguish and Their Agony Stay Forever in Our Souls," by Helju Rauniste, included in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.77)

And what can we say about the nation's faith in its leaders (if we exclude immigrants as members of the nation)?

(Document 40, "Coincidental Oversights" by Endel Nirk, included in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.59)

…we organize large public meetings, encourage Estonian nationalism, and demand greater rights for Estonia as well as the primacy of rights for Estonians in Estonia.

(Document 54, "A Letter From Estonia, December 1988," included in Tarm and Rikken, 1989 p. 99)

In the first passage, Estonian identity is related to the antiquity of a castle. The choice in phrasing – "our" history and "our" forefathers – designate Estonians as a group with specific bloodlines in a specific place. In such a construct, immigrants – regardless of personal affiliation – are basically "non-Estonian." This trend is far more apparent in the second example, where

the author overtly disregards the opinions of immigrants when referring to Estonians' opinions. The third example likewise suggests that non-ethnic-Estonians are not legitimately Estonian.

Theme D also applied to poetic portrayals of Estonian culture in which language and ethnicity are depicted as ancient, essential elements of cultural membership – regardless of direct implications for immigrants. Transcription of the August 1987 Hirve Park rally (Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.18) includes a section where the audience sings along to the song, "The People of Kungla," about the old Estonian mythical pantheon and an ancient Estonian mythic "golden age" (Smidchens, 2014).

Theme E

Theme E refers broadly to the presentation of non-national-group identities and cultures as evil, "villainous," or fundamentally problematic (Roy and Rowland, 2003, p.231). Text marked for theme E was included in 1 of 3 separate subcategories. Subcategory E1 refers to villainization or problematization of Soviet communist culture and/or identity. Subcategory E2 refers to villainization or problematization of Russian identity and/or culture. Subcategory E3 refers to broad or all-encompassing villainization or problematization of non-Estonian cultures, identities, and/or nationalities.

Subcategory E1 occurred in 32 paragraphs and 17 of the 56 documents within the data set. Theme E1 was the most prevalent of all theme E subcategories.

To put it bluntly, the Estonian people were deceived on a grand scale. The wolf had not devoured the sheep – to the contrary, he seemed to be feeding them. However, the

sheep are still at the mercy of the wolf, whose appetite grows larger as a result of his

temporary restraint.

(Document 55, "1988: Hot Autumn in Estonia," by the Estonian National Independence

Party (ENIP), in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.107)

In this example, the authors overtly compare Soviet Communists to a wolf preying on

Estonian "sheep." In Kalju Mätik's reply to a speech by a Moscow intellectual, he refers to the

crowd singing an Estonian patriotic song, the Estonian Legionnaires Song or Our Legion is

Marching (Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.17-18). The song is controversial because, although it was

the marching song of Estonians fighting against the U.S.S.R. during World War II, it follows the

tune of (and is an Estonian adaptation of) a German S.S. marching song. The lyrics of the song

recount experiences of Estonian fighters (aligned with the German S.S. by choice or by

coercion) fighting "the devil" – the Soviet Union. The singing of this song romanticizes Estonian

war men while overtly casting the Soviet Union as an oppressive, evil force. This vivid example

of villainization also demonstrates the presence of intertextual references[38].

Within the documents, the villainization or problematization of Soviet Communist

culture and identity also frequently takes the form of negative references to "Stalinists" or

"Stalinist butchers" in Russia, in Estonia, and elsewhere. A separate example from Document 55

demonstrates this:

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[38] A brief discussion on intertextual references within the set of documents is included later in the results section.
However, directed content analysis was the methodology utilized in this thesis.

The International Front (IR) has obviously been created by higher powers outside

Estonia. The energy sources and manipulators of the IR are found in the power centers

in Estonia and Moscow, the Stalinists whose interests lie with centralism and their own

absolute power...

(Document 55, "1988: Hot Autumn in Estonia," by the Estonian National Independence

Party (ENIP), in Tarm and Rikken, p.105)

The term "Stalinist" is freely used as a derogatory term for individuals or institutions

with Soviet affiliation. Where the term is applied to historical Stalinists, the text was not coded

for theme E1. Where the term is applied to individuals in the (then) present, unaffiliated with

Josef Stalin, however, it is coded in the sense of a deliberate villainization.

While theme E1 refers to villainization or problematization of Soviet and/or Communist

identity and culture, E2 refers to instances in the text when villainization or problematization is

deliberately aimed at Russian culture and identity. Theme E2 occurred in 9 paragraphs within

the data set, and in 5 of the 56 documents. Each of the following examples indicates Russian

individuals or Russian culture as villainous or fundamentally problematic within the broader

Estonian cultural struggle:

We can assume that the attitude in most homes is similar: something like a permanent

poisoning against anything Russian.

(Document 40, "Coincidental Oversights" by Endel Nirk, in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.59)

With calculated cynicism, they try to impede the solving of Estonia's life-and-death

problems by stirring up ethnic tensions and by emphasizing the role of the most

backward, obedient, and chauvinistic segment of the Russian-speaking population.

(Document 55, "1988: Hot Autumn in Estonia," by the Estonian National Independence

Party (ENIP), in Tarm and Rikken, p.105)

Our Estonian representatives have promised to vote against the law, but their relative

numbers are too small to make any difference. The Russian representatives, on the

other hand, are in the habit of simply raising their hands when required to do so."

(Document 50, "A Letter from Estonia on Proposed Changes to the Constitution of the

U.S.S.R.," in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.90)

In the first example, the author refers overtly to "permanent poisoning" of sentiments

towards Russians and Russian culture. In the second example, the authors explicitly refer to a

"backward, obedient, and chauvinistic segment of the Russian-speaking population," describing

International Front opposition to Estonian nationalists. In the third example, the author

unfavorably compares Russian E.S.S.R.[39] representatives to Estonian E.S.S.R. representatives. In

this case, the author emphasizes status as Estonian vs. Russian over political affiliation when

describing the representatives' behavior towards the central government.

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[39] As mentioned above, the abbreviation E.S.S.R. stands for the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The third subcategory of theme E, theme E3, refers more broadly to villainization of non-Estonian group identities and/or cultures. Theme E3 occurred in only 2 separate places within the entire data set (2 paragraphs and 2 of 56 documents). Text coded for theme E3 closely resembles the examples provided above for theme E2. The key difference is that text coded for theme E3 refers non-specifically to non-Estonian groups:

Is now the time to sit in our lined abodes

when there are shadows above your land

Pandivere Pandivere Pandivere

Is now the time to sigh in buses packed full

Who will dispel strangers these hills

Oismäe Mustamäe Lasnamäe oh Lasnamäe   *[Pause. Applause.]*

it is time to come out

to fan the flames that will wipe the curse from your people

Estonia *[Applause.]*

(Document 15, Raivo Raave's "Message to our People," in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.16)

This example from a lyric poem refers broadly to "strangers" and a "curse" on the Estonian people – which could not be clearly pinpointed as a specific reference to Soviet Communist or Russian culture and ethnicity. In another case, an author implies that Estonia has had a low "quality of ethnic contact," and that it is a "chimerical construction, and as such, by

definition, disastrous" (Document 40, "Coincidental Oversights" by Endel Nirk, in Tarm and

Rikken, 1989, p.59).

Theme F

Theme F refers to text indicating the non-Estonian origin of ruling institutions. Text

marked for theme F was categorized into 1 of 3 separate subcategories. Subcategory F1

includes references to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the subsequent Soviet military invasion

and occupation, and the first 5 years under Soviet rule – during which Soviet institutions were

entrenched in Estonia. Subcategory F2 refers to the period of Estonian occupation by Nazi

Germany. Subcategory F3 refers to the Russian or Soviet origin of contemporary ruling

institutions.

Theme F1 occurred in 72 paragraphs throughout the data set, and in 21 of the 56

documents. References to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and period of Sovietization of Estonia

are relatively frequent throughout the data.

> …the friendship treaty signed on August 23, 1939 between the Soviet Union and
>
> Germany, known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, which included secret protocols by
>
> which neutral Estonia fell into the Soviet Union's sphere of influence.
>
> ("Memorandum to the United Nations General Assembly from the Estonian National
>
> Independence Party," by the Executive Council of the Estonian National Independence
>
> Party, in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.84)

Many references to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact are implied, due to the classified and

forbidden status of the Pact in contemporary Soviet society:

However, I claim that MRP-AEG will consider its campaign a success, if the Soviet

government publicizes the pact in question with all its top-secret additional protocols.

(Document 20, Jüri Mikk's "Open Letter," in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.23)

Text was also coded F1 when authors or speakers describe the subsequent occupation

of Estonia and WWII-era events more generally:

…its discussion is still taboo: the pivotal events of 1940. It is a question of the historical

legality of the powers-that-be…

(Document 40, "Coincidental Oversights" by Endel Nirk, in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.57)

By referring to this time period (1939-1949), authors and speakers are generally calling

attention to the foreign or alien origin of Estonian Soviet ruling institutions.

The second subcategory of theme F, theme F2, refers to the period of Estonian

occupation by Nazi Germany. Theme F2 occurred in 18 separate paragraphs throughout the

entire dataset, and was featured in 12 of the 56 documents. References to the Nazi occupation

generally take the form of assumed condemnation. One author exemplifies this trend when he

compares Stalin's abuse of power to abuses of power by "Hitlerite criminals" ("More on

Historical Memory and Repressions" by Mart Laar, in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.82).

Yet, even in this example, war crimes committed by Hitler and the Nazi occupiers are

used as a benchmark to attack Soviet abuses of power. The basis for some authors' mixed

feelings on German occupation is expressed in greatest clarity and detail by Dr. Artur Taska:

> The illegal and unlawful processes of Soviet Rule on Estonian territory would endure
>
> until the summer of 1941, when German forces, in the course of World War II, force
>
> Soviet powers to leave Estonian soil. In principle, the German occupation powers
>
> reinstate the legal order of the Republic of Estonia, i.e. the system which prevailed prior
>
> to June 21, 1940, but only as far as it does not conflict with German political goals and
>
> military regulations....
>
> … The German authorities do not allow the restoration of Estonia's independence
>
> regime, nor do they overrule the nationalization of property carried out by Soviet
>
> powers. Rather, they regard all such property as… the spoils of war.
>
> (Document 24, "The Republic of Estonia Under Foreign Occupation," by Dr. Artur Taska,
>
> in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.32)

Taska also notes that Estonians (by joining the German military) are permitted to stay

behind the German retreat and fight for independent Estonia against the Soviet Union (ibid.).

The status of these fighters – as Estonian patriots or as Nazi partisans – is among the

differences in opinion which are voiced by Platon Afanasyev, the Moscow intellectual speaker

at Hirve Park, and Kalju Mätik, the Estonian nationalist who spoke in reply (see reference to Estonian Legionnaires Song above).

Afanasyev refers to some men in the crowd as "SS-men and members of the Estonian Gestapo" (Afanasyev, 1987, in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.17), and is met with boos and jeers, while Mätik declares – to audience applause – that "the previous speaker was obviously very unmusical," before referencing the Estonian Legionnaires Song (see reference to Estonian Legionnaires Song above).

While speakers and authors condemn the Nazi German occupation of Estonia, it is possible that the sentiment is less prominent in the documents because it was unremarkable. Condemnation of Nazi occupation is in line with the official Soviet position on fascism – whereas open condemnation of Soviet occupation constituted a criminal offense.

The third subcategory of theme F, theme F3, refers to contemporary Soviet or Russian rulership or occupation. That is, it refers to the Russian or Soviet origin of ruling institutions in Estonia at the time (1986-1989). Theme F3 occurred in 83 separate paragraphs throughout the entire dataset, and was featured in 19 of the 56 documents. The following 2 passages are examples of this code from the documents:

If these proposals were to take effect, then all matters of the economy, construction, population makeup, state boundaries, trade relations, and thus all domestic and foreign policy would be decided by the U.S.S.R. Congress of People's Deputies and the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

(Document 54, "A Letter From Estonia, December 1988," in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.101)

...the right of every nationality to exist as a separate people in a sovereign nation state, and the unconditional condemnation of every attempt to subordinate such a sovereign nation-state to foreign rule – regardless of pretext – including interference in internal affairs for the purpose of changing the socio-political order...

(Document 2, "An Open Letter to Mikhail Gorbachev," in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.4)

Each of these two examples explicitly or implicitly refer to Soviet ruling institutions in contemporary Estonia. The first example overtly names Soviet ruling institutions while referring to Estonia's lack of political agency in the Soviet Union. In contrast, the second example alludes to the "subordination" of Estonia to "foreign rule" – specifically targeted towards then-CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) chairman Mikhail Gorbachev. Other text coded for theme F3 included more extreme references to Soviet "occupation forces and Moscow-inspired 'fifth-column'" within Estonia (Document 53, "Addendum to the memorandum of the Estonian Independence Party," by the Executive Council of the Estonian National Independence Party, in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.97).

Theme G

Theme G refers to 'Russification' and the struggle to sustain Estonian language and culture (Auer, 1996 and Taagepera, 1989). Text marked for theme G was classified as belonging to 1 of 3 separate subcategories. Subcategory G1 refers to explicit negative references to the (prevalence of) Russian language or ethnicity. Subcategory G2 refers to explicit negative references to Soviet and/or communist imperialism. Subcategory G3 refers to a recurrent rhetorical narrative within the documents: Estonian language and culture are threatened by Russophone Soviet culture, and therefore Estonians must promote Estonian language and culture.

Theme G1 occurred in 8 separate paragraphs throughout the set of documents, and was found in 7 of the 56 documents. Theme G includes Russification and perceived threat to Estonian culture. To the Estonian authors, speakers, and editors represented in the following examples, the growing prevalence of the Russian language in Estonia is constructed as a cultural-linguistic threat:

> Is it any secret that the teaching of Estonian in local Russian schools has been a joke for decades? And yet nothing decisive has been done to bring about fundamental changes. Apparently the respective departments feel that the requirement for learning the local language is purely a formality, and that Russian speakers don't need Estonian, since Estonian speakers are obligated to learn Russian anyway. But why then don't they learn it; why don't Estonian children want to learn Russian? Because they perceive it as pressure; they have developed a defensive reflex against it as something foreign, something forced on them.

> (Document 40, "Coincidental Oversights" by Endel Nirk, in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.59)

Another author decries the fact that the anti-Estonian-nationalist group, The International Front, demanded "the establishment of Russian as the state language of Estonia" (Document 54, "A Letter From Estonia, December 1988," in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.`102).

The second subcategory of theme G, theme G2 refers to explicit references to Soviet and/or communist imperialism. Text was coded G2 if the rhetoric literally referred to Soviet "colonialism," "imperialism," or "empire" – insofar as it represented an expansive threat to Estonian language and culture. Theme G2 occurred in 31 paragraphs throughout the data set, and was featured in 12 of the 56 documents.

In the anonymous "Open Letter to Mikhail Gorbachev," the author acerbically refers to the Soviet Union as "this 'unified multi-national state' – the Russian Soviet Empire" (Document 2, "Open Letter to Mikhail Gorbachev," in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.5). He goes on to describe how "the Soviet Union – actually the great Russian Empire" threatens to "liquidate" Estonian nationality and culture (ibid., p.6) (see theme G3).

Likewise, the Executive Committee of the Estonian National Independence Party criticizes "Moscow's colonialist attitude toward the territory of the Republic of Estonia" (Document 53, "Addendum to the Memorandum of the Estonian Independence Party," in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.98).

The third subcategory of theme G, theme G3 refers to a recurring rhetorical narrative within the documents: Estonian language and culture are threatened by Russophone Soviet culture, and therefore Estonians must promote Estonian language and culture. Text coded for

theme G3 includes references to the threatened state of the Estonian language, references to the Estonian nationality as a minority in Estonia, and proposed legal and organizational demands promoting the primacy of the Estonian language. Theme G3 occurred in 60 paragraphs throughout the data set, and was featured in 17 of the 56 documents.

The "Open Letter to Mikhail Gorbachev" mentioned above refers to Estonians as an "insignificant minority" in the "Soviet Empire." To the author, the Estonian "people (and nationality) are destined for systematic liquidation, essentially under the guise of 'friendship between peoples'" (Document 2, "Open Letter to Mikhail Gorbachev," in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.5).

The Estonian National Independence Party listed several language and heritage-based provisions within its party goals, including:

The restoration of the prominence of the Estonian language in everyday life and official business – the adoption of the Estonian language as the official language of Estonia…

(Document 31, "Proposal For the Creation of the Estonian National Independence Party," in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.44)

The same document also includes a proposed restrictive citizenship law which would exclude many Russian and otherwise non-Estonian Soviet immigrants:

…citizenship may be granted automatically to all persons who were citizens of the Republic of Estonia prior to August 6, 1940, and their descendants; also in certain specified instances to individuals who can speak and write the Estonian language.

(ibid.)

The cultural threat to Estonian culture and language are reinforced throughout many of the documents:

…crucial problems such as the continued existence of the Estonian people and the preservation of their living environment and ethno-cultural identity.

(Document 49, "Memorandum to the United Nations General Assembly from the Estonian National Independence Party," by the Executive Council of the Estonian National Independence Party, in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p. 86)

The opening section of quotations before Endel Nirk's nationalist periodical article, "Coincidental Oversights" clearly exemplifies theme G3: "We have been a minority in our own homeland for so long" (document 40, from Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.56).

Theme H

Theme H refers to text referring to the non-Estonian origin of Soviet mining and extractive industrial workers (Auer, 1998 and Soot, 1996). Theme H was found in 5 total paragraphs and within 5 of the 56 documents. Text was coded for theme H if it referred to the non-Estonian nationality or ethnicity of Soviet industrial workers as a negative aspect of the Soviet Union's industrialization of Estonia.

Within the set of documents, theme H was frequently connected to one or more

environmental grievances. In the following example, the author connects proposed oil shale-

powered electrical plants to import of non-Estonian industrial workers:

Electrical plants powered by oil shale are planned for northeastern Estonia, despite the

fact that hills of ash already predominate in the area, the air pollution exceeds

permissible levels, and the population proportions are unnatural (98% of the population

in Narva and 70% the population in Kohtla Järve are non-Estonians).

(Document 54, "A Letter From Estonia, December 1988," in Tarm and Rikken, 1989,

p.100)

In a separate document, the Estonian National Independence Party also voices a similar

concern, decrying that "pressure from the Soviet administration to develop several large-scale

industrial projects threatens Estonia with large-scale environmental catastrophe in the near

future, as well as with intensified importation of even more Russian workers" (Document 49,

Memorandum to the United Nations General Assembly from the Estonian National

Independence Party, By the Executive Council of the Estonian National Independence Party, in

Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p. 85)[40].

Jüri Mikk's speech refers to the "tens of thousands of foreigners who would enter

Estonia" to work in the phosphorite mines should mining operations in northeastern Estonia be

expanded" (Document 20, Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.23). Broader references to Soviet

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[40] Note that the paragraph from which this example was taken was also coded for theme I4.

industry's "negative effect on demographic" situation in Estonia were also coded for theme H (Document 41, "Imperative: Radical Changes" by The Professional Union of Workers in the Arts and Journalism, in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p. 62).

Environmental Themes in Content Analysis

Theme I

Theme I refers to degradation of the natural environment, including pollution of air, water, and soil (Taagepera, 1989 and others). Text marked for theme I was included in 1 of 4 subcategories. Subcategory I1 refers to human injury or disease from mining-related pollution. Subcategory I2 includes specific references to the negative environmental impact of phosphorite mining – including the proposed expansion in the Rakvere area (Ida-Virumaa). Subcategory I3 refers to pollution or negative consequences from oil shale mining operations. Subcategory I4 includes broad or overarching references to degradation of the natural environment, or the need to protect the natural environment.

Theme I1 occurred only once throughout the entire set of documents – in 1 paragraph within 1 of the 56 documents. Even then, the theme was presented only vaguely. Speaker Tönu Tepandi argues that the Soviet government is committing "terrorism" by failing to "create" or "protect" an "environment containing the essentials for human life" (Document 35, Tönu Tepandi's Speech, in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.51). He refers – albeit indirectly – to the phosphorite mining expansion (see theme I2) and associated pollution – indicating the environment is harmful for human health.

Although Auer (1998) describes detrimental effects of Soviet industry on human health in at least one community within Estonia, references to human illness or mortality are virtually absent within the set of documents analyzed within this content analysis.

The second subcategory of theme I, theme I2 includes specific references to the negative environmental impact of phosphorite mining – including the proposed expansion in the Rakvere area (Ida-Virumaa). Theme I2 occurred in 9 separate paragraphs throughout the entire dataset, and was featured in 8 of the 56 documents.

Within the data set, documents including references to the environmental impacts of phosphorite mining most often express concern:

The unnecessary and economically unjustified expansion of phosphorite mining proposed by the U.S.S.R. Ministry for Mineral Fertilizers threatens to push pollution levels in our republic, as well as other states lying on the Baltic Sea, beyond the critical point.

(Document 41, "Imperative: Radical Changes" by The Professional Union of Workers in the Arts and Journalism, in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p. 62)

A second Estonian author describes the proposed expansion of phosphorite mining in the Rakvere area in even greater detail:

In early 1987, in a large part thanks to the initiative of journalist Juhan Aare, the Estonian people were made aware of a nearly catastrophic plan: to begin mining phosphorite in the Rakvere region, the most fertile agricultural area of Estonia…

According to scientists, this kind of mining project would cause a significant drop in

ground water levels, as well as pollution of these waters. The source of many of

Estonia's large rivers (Pärnu, Pöltsamaa, Purtse, etc.) lie in this phosphorite region.

Waters from this region flow into all of Estonia's watersheds (including our two largest

lakes: Peipsi and Vörtsärv, as well as the Baltic Sea). The mining would lay our country's

best fields barren, pollute our largest lakes, contaminate the Baltic Sea, and rob

thousands of people of their drinking water.

(Document 54, "A Letter From Estonia, December 1988," in Tarm and Rikken, 1989,

p.99)

Other authors and speakers describe their concern far less technically, and with greater

overt passion. Tönu Tepandi's speech includes his proposal that Estonians "discuss current

problems in Estonia, such as phosphorite and electrical power stations, from the perspective of

terrorism" (Document 35, in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.51). While Tepandi clearly refers to

phosphorite (I2), his speech also refers to oil shale power stations.

Theme I3, the third subcategory of theme I, refers to pollution or negative

environmental consequences from oil shale mining operations (Auer, 1998). Theme I3 occurred

in 7 separate paragraphs throughout the entire data set, and was featured in 6 of the 56

documents. One example displayed above for theme H also includes theme I3. In "A Letter

From Estonia, December 1988," the anonymous author decries that "electrical plants powered

by oil shale are planned for northeastern Estonia, despite the fact that hills of ash already

predominate in the area, the air pollution exceeds permissible levels…" (Document 52, Tarm

and Rikken, 1989, p.100). Jüri Mikk's "Open Letter" contains a similar complaint:

> Our oil shale regions merit no description. Is it not enough that Purtse and Püha rivers
>
> have been turned into lifeless bodies of water?
>
> (Document 20, in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.22)

Within the set of documents, theme I3 emerges similarly to I2. Oil shale mining is

referred to as a source of undesired immigration, as a source of environmental pollution, and as

a vehicle for economic exploitation (see theme K).

The fourth subcategory of theme I, theme I4 includes broad, overarching, or nonspecific

references to degradation of the natural environment. Theme I4 includes all references to

industrial pollution which cannot be clearly categorized as resulting from oil shale mining or

phosphorite mining. Theme I4 occurred in 23 separate paragraphs throughout the entire

dataset, and was featured in 12 of the 56 documents.

The following example was coded for theme I4 because the cause of environmental

contamination was not apparent in the author's poetic language[41]:

> Kabala
>
> when the yellow field-flowers no longer grow
>
> Kabala

---

[41] The reference to "Kabala," a location in Ida-Virumaa, does not make clear the cause of environmental
contamination. The region includes multiple sources of contamination.

when water is a death-drink

(Document 12, Raivo Raave's "Message to our People," in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.16)

Text coded I4 refers either vaguely to environmental destruction, or broadly to more than one type of Soviet industry. In one document, the Estonian National Independence Party describes "the struggle against ruinous mining and the unreasonable wasting of natural resources, pollution of the air as well as underground and surface waters, and destruction of farmlands" (Document 31, "Proposal For the Creation of the Estonian National Independence Party," in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.44).

Theme J

Theme J refers to extractive industry inefficiency or wastefulness (Auer, 1998). Theme J occurred in 5 separate paragraphs throughout the set of documents, and was featured in 3 of the 56 documents. In separate paragraphs, the Proposal For the Creation of the Estonian National Independence Party refers to the current state of Soviet extractive industries in Estonia as "wasteful extensive exploitation" and "unreasonable wasting of natural resources" (Document 31, Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.44).

The following two examples of theme J include references to the wasteful practices of Soviet oil shale and phosphorite mining operations, respectively:

It may be said that the current use of the oil shale mined on our territory has been nothing but a senseless waste of this raw material that will become ever more valuable as time goes by.

(Document 41, "Imperative: Radical Changes" by The Professional Union of Workers in the Arts and Journalism, in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p. 62)

We also know that the U.S.S.R. produces nearly twice as much phosphate fertilizer as the U.S.A., and yet we still buy grain from them. All we do is use chemicals and more chemicals.

(Document 20, Jüri Mikk's "Open Letter," in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.23)

Both of these passages were coded for theme J. However, the Professional Union of Workers in the Arts and Journalism article emphasizes the *economic* inefficiency of oil shale mining. In contrast, Jüri Mikk critiques Soviet use of phosphorite as an intrinsically inefficient agricultural-chemical system.

Theme K

Theme K refers to economic exploitation of Estonia by the Soviet extractive industries (Auer, 1998). Theme K occurred in 12 separate paragraphs throughout the entire data set, and was featured in 8 of the 56 documents. In addition to his critique of the inefficient mining and

agricultural use of phosphorite (see theme J), Jüri Mikk also decries the Soviet economic exploitation of Estonia when he writes, "The Estonian people* comprise 0.5% of the population of the U.S.S.R.. We produce 3% of the total electrical energy of the U.S.S.R." (Document 20, Jüri Mikk's "Open Letter," in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.22)

Another example of theme K is the following passage from Memorandum to the United Nations General Assembly from the Estonian National Independence Party:

…a situation in which 91% of all industry is centrally controlled, in which Estonia lacks opportunities for equal trade with other regions of the U.S.S.R., in which the central government of Moscow takes over 90% of earned foreign currency for itself…

(Document 49, by the Executive Council of the Estonian National Independence Party, in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.85)

In this passage, the authors refer broadly to Soviet mining, chemical, and energy industries in Estonia. In the broader context of the document, the authors critique the economic domination of Estonia by Soviet industry, emphasizing that despite industrial pollution and other negative impacts, Estonia does not reap profit or other socioeconomic rewards.

Theme L

Theme L refers to the Chernobyl nuclear incident and forced labor at the disaster cleanup site in the Soviet Union. Taagepera (1989) refers to the "forcible dispatch of thousands of Estonians to Chernobyl" in his discussion of Estonian mining-related protests (p.15). Theme L occurred in only 1 paragraph throughout the entire dataset – within 1 of the 56 total documents. The "Chronology of Estonian Events" lists one instance where an Estonian social activist and nationalist, Heiki Ahonen, was "arrested for refusing to report for reserve training." As a result, he was "threatened with being sent to Chernobyl" (Document 56, by Mari-Ann Rikken and Heiki Ahonen, in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.113). Notably, this passage occurs as an event in a timeline document that Ahonen himself helped author and compile.

Although scholars such as Taagepera (1989) have related late-1980s Estonian environmental grievances and social protest to the 1986 Chernobyl disaster, no such relation was found in the data set analyzed in this research.

Theme M

Theme M includes references to other environment-related protest. Theme M occurred in 2 separate paragraphs throughout the entire dataset, and was featured in only 1 of the 56 documents. Both references to other environmental protest events occurred in Rikken and Ahonen's "Chronology of Estonian Events." The following is one of the 2 passages containing theme M:

The First Estonian Greens demonstration at the gingko tree in Tallinn. About 150 people gather to protest official plans to cut down some trees in the center of town.

(Document 56, by Mari-Ann Rikken and Heiki Ahonen, in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.112)

Theme M refers to any environmental protest in Estonia or elsewhere. Even references to environmental protest in the Western world would be coded for theme M. Yet, only 2 such clear references were found within the set of documents.

Theme M did not include textual references to the Hirve Park rally. Transcriptions from the Hirve Park rally constitute part of the document set analyzed in this research. Likewise, the content analysis indicates that the Hirve Park rally contained both environmental and nationalistic themes, as well as other grievances. For these reasons, this thesis cannot classify the rally as an "environmental protest."

Theme N

Theme N includes explicit sentimental references to the Estonian landscape – including local trees and wildlife (Auer, 1996). Theme N occurred in 4 separate paragraphs within only 1 of the 56 documents analyzed in this research. All text coded for theme N occurred in Merle Jääger's lyric poem, "Birches of Home" (Document 10):

Gravely through the meadow I step,

On the ground lies the dew, pure and wet.

My footprints make gaps in the dew;

Wild on the hillock, raspberries grow.

On this spot, a home once stood…

Birches of home, birches of home

(in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.12)

The selection above is 1 of 4 stanzas[42] in the lyric poem. Jääger repeatedly associated birch trees with "home" – Estonia. Jääger refers to the place where "a home once stood." This is possibly a reference to Soviet transformation of rural land and forced abandonment of rural farmsteads – though that connection is far from clear. Jääger's poem contains vivid metaphorical imagery -- such as comparing "barbed wire wrapped around" the trunks of birch trees to a "chastity belt" on a "desirable young maiden" (ibid.). His poem fluidly blends nationalistic rhetorical themes with natural landscape imagery. Although sections of Jääger's poem epitomize theme N, no other document within the data set contains such clear references to the Estonian landscape.

Intertextual References in the Documents

Directed content analysis was the main methodology utilized in this thesis. However, the data necessarily include some intertextual representation within the documents. A brief discussion on intertextual references within the set of documents is warranted.

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[42] As indicated in the methodology section, poetic stanzas were categorized as "paragraphs" for the sake of methodological consistency.

The data included a variety of references to Soviet rhetoric and politics, treaties and international law, Estonian activist figures, and patriotic songs, among others. Of the recorded intertextual references within the documents, 2 references that recur throughout the documents are discussed here.

Gorbachev's Policy of Glasnost

Although the results of the content analysis in this research indicated only 1 reference to the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear meltdown (see theme L in the results section above), Gorbachev's policy of glasnost (openness), passed the same year, is referred to several times as a catalyst for open protest. One author states that "Glasnost has revealed many a problem yet to be solved," indicating the role played by glasnost in generating public awareness and discontent (Document 41, "Imperative: Radical Changes" by The Professional Union of Workers in the Arts and Journalism, in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p. 61).

This perspective is corroborated within document 6, Tiit Madisson's Speech, in which glasnost is referred to as a "big step forward" – allowing dissenters and protestors to criticize past and present Soviet policy publicly (Document 6, in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.10). In another document, activist Margus Reemets similarly refers to glasnost with approval:

The Soviet Union's new political leadership has indicated a new attitude (i.e. the restructuring and openness of the Gorbachev era) toward the assessment of the political history of minority nationalities within the empire, and toward public discussion and writing on this topic.

(Document 22, "Introduction ," in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.26)

He adds that the new set of policies make the "re-attainment" of independence "significantly more realizable" (ibid.) In this vein, references to glasnost seem to indicate that Estonian nationalists and independence advocates saw the new set of policies as an opportunity to thrive.

Communist Rhetoric and Pro-Soviet Press

Reemets' letter (mailed to Estonian activists from Stockholm) was addressed to multiple recipients, including Rahva Hääl (Voice of the People), a prominent pro-Soviet Estonian newspaper. As one of the prominent pro-Soviet Estonian language newspapers in late-Soviet Estonia, Rahva Hääl is referred to with disdain by many of the authors and speakers in the set of documents.

One document, an editorial authored by Vilius Kavaliauskas and published in Rahva Hääl, disapprovingly portrays Baltic protestors as "people from the past who have no future" (in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, pp. 49-49). Though far from the object of this content analysis, it is possible that this type of rhetoric from the pro-Soviet press contributed to the escalation of ethnic tension by echoing Estonian nationalists' fears.

This certainly seems to be the case within Endel Nirk's article, "Coincidental Oversights." Nirk ridicules an article in Rahva Hääl describing Estonia as a multinational state:

It's pure duplicity to pretend objective analysis by writing in <u>Rahva Hääl</u> (<u>Voice of the</u>

<u>People</u>): "The Estonian S.S.R. 'has developed' into a multinational state. Of the

1,570,000 residents, 610,000 are 'representatives of other nationalities'"… But why,

after all, has it 'developed' in this way? Has it developed of its own accord or has it

'been developed'? There certainly is some difference. For some reason, these

"representatives of other nationalities" (it sounds so glorious!) kept arriving steadily,

and now here they are along with their descendants.

(Document 40, in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.57)

Nirk's acutely negative reaction to the pro-Soviet press's treatment of nationality in

Estonia exemplifies the role of Rahva Hääl in the set of documents analyzed in this research. To

many of the authors and speakers, Rahva Hääl is presented as an Estonian language voice of the

(repressive) Soviet authorities, and as an 'imposter' to Estonian national culture. Later in his

article, Nirk gives a detailed and clearly negative portrayal of Russians as "callous and

indifferent," then borrows a term from the Russian Empire in describing them as *opritchniks*

(ibid., p.60). While Nirk and others criticize the veracity of the pro-Soviet press, one speaker

sarcastically refers to communist party rhetoric when he negatively refers to "those individuals

who have always spoken, as they say: 'with full responsibility in the name of the people;' and

yet they have never sought the opinion of the people." (Document 39, Aivo Löhmus's Speech,

in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.54)

Discussion

Overall, many of the intertextual references observed within the documents are more closely related to nationalism, rather than environmentalism. Though this is not necessarily surprising given the social context in which the documents were composed, it coincides with the findings of the directed content analysis. Although inconclusive, the directed content analysis findings suggest that – within the data set – environmental grievances were subordinated before a broader nationalistic narrative bearing some resemblance to the framework outlined by Roy and Rowland (2003).

The documents analyzed in this research were authored between 1986 and 1989. In the years that followed, Estonian nationalists would attain their ultimate goal – independence. The independent Republic of Estonia passed heritage-based and linguistically-restrictive laws on citizenship and political representation – likely influenced by nationalistic demands such as those contained within the Estonian National Independence Party releases included within the set of documents. Yet, despite this, Estonia retains a large minority of Russian-speaking industrial workers – as indicated within some of the documents analyzed in this research and as described by Auer (1998). Data from the past two decades have confirmed that the Russian speaking population in Estonia continues to bear the brunt of environmental toxicity and its negative impacts on the living environment, despite widespread political underrepresentation (Raudsepp et al., 2009). For more information on mining-related pollution and environmental justice-related concerns in independent Estonia, see Appendix D.

Despite the integration of environmental grievances into nationalist political goals during the late 1980s, the young Estonian government did not put an end to *all* of the

environmentally impactful activities its citizens had once protested. Shocked, like many post-Soviet states in the early-mid 1990s, by the transition from communism, Estonia's economy and energy production continued to rely heavily on oil shale (Raudsepp et al., 2009).

Limitations and Caveats

It is important to note some of the limitations of this research. Nationalism and environmental themes as defined in this thesis are rooted in western scientific perspectives and definitions.

As such, this research is premised on a distinction between nationalistic rhetoric and environmental rhetoric. Although this thesis takes the position that the two categories can be differentiated clearly enough to study each separately, some scholars disagree. Benedict Anderson's (2006) constructivist position casts doubt on the clear division of nationalism and environmentalism as expressed in language. From this perspective, rhetoric on nationality, land, and territory is not necessarily separate from the rhetorical construction of the environment and its condition. In his analysis of 20th century European nationalism, Anderson instead focuses on contrast between "dynastic states" such as the Russian and German empires, and their constituent (particular) linguistic and cultural units (2006, p.83).

While this thesis acknowledges the value in Anderson's position, I take a narrower position. The goal of the content analysis in this research – comparing presence of nationalistic themes to environmental themes – assumes that each can be distinguished clearly enough to study them as functionally different categories. Additionally, the employed content analysis

procedure allows for the presence of both nationalistic and environmental themes within the same paragraph. Whereas the theoretical framework relies on the distinction between environmental and nationalistic rhetoric, the content analysis methodology may express an overlap of nationalistic and environmental themes by indicating where both are present within the same text.

While Auer (1998) emphasizes environmentalism within the Estonian independence movement, he also argues that the independence movement was not a nationalistic movement which utilized environmental arguments. In his conclusions, he suggests that a reconstruction of 'environmental' and 'nationalistic' grievances as instead political, social, and economic grievances reveals the relatedness between environmental and nationalistic concerns in Estonia. This thesis, however, follows a different approach, designed to pull apart the unified whole – the rhetoric within the documents – and analyze the constituent pieces, while at the same time admitting that the practice of such a separation may seem artificial in other constructivist literature.

Additionally, this research focuses on a specific set of documents which have been translated in to English *as they were presented to English-speaking audiences*. That is, the textual analysis was performed on one specific translation of the documents that was proliferated in the West. For this reason, the editors, translators, and compilers of the documents are credited along with document authors for each reference to any of the constituent documents. Yet, such a data set necessarily poses limitations on the ability to extrapolate.

Thus, the selection of documents is limited, and the bias of the sample is determined largely by its original compilers and funders. The Estonian American National Council is a U.S.-based advocacy group founded by Estonian refugees in 1952, less than 10 years after World War II (Estonian American National Council – About EANC). Its original mission included the restoration of Estonian independence, but it has since broadened its advocacy efforts to include "stability" in Europe and "maintain[ing] Estonian heritage and language" (ibid.). The Estonian American National Council reaches out to Estonian-Americans to lobby Washington regarding America's policies in Europe. Because the content analysis performed in this thesis includes only the set of documents funded by the Estonian American National Council, the results of this thesis can *not* be generalized to Estonia or the Soviet Union at large. Instead, the results apply to documents supporting the Estonian protest movement by the Estonian American National Council. For more information on the set of documents, likely intended audiences, and the Estonian American National Council, see Appendix B. Also of note is that the analyzed documents do not include a number of Estonian Green Movement releases.

There is abundant space for future research to deepen the discussion on nationalistic and environmental rhetoric of the period by systematically analyzing a different or larger set of contemporary content. In particular, future research incorporating Estonian and Russian-language sources could lead to both a more in-depth analysis and stronger findings.

Although it would be ideal for content analysis to be conducted with the assistance of more than one coder – to verify the reliability of the codes – only one coder (myself) was available for the duration of the research. The absence of a verifying coder constitutes a weakness in this research, but one which is necessitated by social context.

As indicated above in the results section, the purpose of this research – insofar as it is an analysis of rhetoric – is to investigate content as it presented by the authors, speakers, and compilers. A passage could be coded for theme B1, including violation of civil rights, if the author *presented* events as a violation of rights (see nationalistic rhetorical themes in the methodology and results sections).

The timeline recorded by Rikken and Ahonen in 1989 (published in Tarm and Rikken, 1989) includes numerous instances of threats, harassment, and even physical violence by authorities or unknown assailants. Although the veracity of claims made by the documents' authors is beyond the scope of this research, the documents utilized in this content analysis were composed in an environment of suppression, and the exclusion of certain topics within the documents cannot be taken as a certain sign that those topics were not important to at least some of the activists. Estonians in Late USSR were a culturally-threatened minority, and care must be taken when projecting the responsibilities of a sovereign NATO member state and back in time onto activists and demonstrators who were (at times) risking reputation and career to preserve what they saw as a public good: the uniqueness of Estonian culture, including land management.

Although the results of this content analysis indicate that environmental themes were less prominent within the documents than nationalistic themes, there were notable instances where Estonian authors, speakers, and editors in the set of documents seem to indicate they value the cultural uniqueness of non-Estonian minorities in Estonia. The Proposal for the Creation of the Estonian National Independence Party includes a provision that all "minority nationalities" in Estonia should be granted "cultural autonomy" and the "right to establish

native language schools, cultural organizations, etc." (Document 31, in Tarm and Rikken, 1989, p.45)

Conclusion

My thesis is that nationalistic rhetoric, as propagated in the West by the Estonian American National Council, overpowered[43] environmental concerns, which played only a relatively small part in the independence movement. Content analysis of the Estonian American National Council's published documents from 1987-1989 yields inconclusive results. However, nationalistic rhetorical themes far outnumber environmental themes throughout the set of documents, suggesting that environmental grievances may have been subordinated to a predominant nationalistic narrative. Where environmental grievances occurred in the data set, they were more frequently positioned as one facet of a larger nationalistic struggle for cultural and political autonomy. In that sense, many authors and speakers within the set of documents subordinate environmental grievances to nationalistic sentiment. Though far from conclusive, the data from the documents analyzed in this research corroborate the view that environmental arguments were not universally adopted by nationalistic political actors.

Further research should analyze an even wider set of Estonian documents to analyze the specific presence of nationalistic and environmental rhetoric on national policy. Further research should be conducted to assess the presence of nationalistic and environmental rhetoric in public policy – both in the last years of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic

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[43] In this research, the term overpower refers to the relatively larger number of themes in the documents.

(E.S.S.R.), and in independent Estonia. Perhaps, with the aid of additional research, scholars could suggest a path for Estonian environmentalists and scientists to push an agenda which places local residents of all ethnic backgrounds within the Estonian environment as neighbors and stakeholders and which unifies rather than divides citizens of diverse backgrounds.

Appendices

Appendix A

Historic Background of Estonian Environmental Protest

After a period of independence following the War of Estonian Independence[44], Estonia

was allocated to the Soviet Union in the 1939 *Molotov-Ribbentrop pact*, signed by Nazi

Germany and the Soviet Union (Kirby, 1996). However, the land-annexing terms of the treaty

would not be revealed to the public for many decades. The region had frequently been subject

to external dominion, and its 19 years of interwar independence were the exception to

historically marginal status within a long list of European empires situated to the east and west.

In 1941, Nazi Germany terminated the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and attacked Soviet positions

in the Baltic (Gorodetsky, 1990). When the Nazis eventually retreated, they flooded or set fire

to oil shale mines and further damaged the already-tattered land they left behind (Auer, 1996).

Once the U.S.S.R. regained control of the young Baltic republics, it radically transformed

both the land and the economy. Auer (1996) describes how the Soviets dramatically increased

industrial intensity, multiplying oil shale production[45] 10-fold within 5 years and converting 47%

of Estonian agricultural land to non-agricultural uses. The trajectory of this non-consensual

revolution in the Baltic economy maintained constant for decades to come. According to Auer

(1996), "Estonian industry grew 36 percent annually between 1946 and 1950 and 14.4 percent

per year between 1951 and 1955" (p. 370).

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[44] The early Soviet Union attempted to seize Estonia following World War I.
[45] The intensity of environmental impacts simultaneously increased. Oil shale is a notoriously inefficient source of energy, and in 2003 its extraction required 25 cubic meters of contaminated water to be pumped for each cubic meter of oil shale (Brendow, 2003).

Phosphate mining outside the town of Maardu eventually resulted in large-scale

dumping of alum shale waste, which would eventually self-combust in 1965 (Jüriado et al.,

2012). The dumping and subsequent fires leached oxygen from the environment while

simultaneously contaminating air and water with radiation and other contaminants. Over time,

toxic exposure took its toll on the local population. For example, children near the phosphate

rock mine in Maardu "were twice as likely to fall ill, were afflicted with asthma and bronchitis

three to four times as often, suffered from low bone calcium, high rates of anemia, and other

illnesses and pathologies" (Kung, 1990, ctd. in Auer, 1998, p. 662).

In the 1970s, Soviet authorities outlined plans for widespread open-pit phosphate

mining in the headwater-rich Rakvere region of Estonia. These plans -- eventually leaked to the

public – would immediately encounter opposition from local scientists. In 1977, eighteen

Estonian scientists and naturalists drafted a letter in opposition, which would later be printed

outside the U.S.S.R (Auer, 1998). Despite knowledge of such opposition, the Soviet Union

proceeded. The Rakvere mine would remain on the official agenda until 1987, when the

proposed mining project was discussed publicly on an Estonian television show (ibid.). The

following year, a fire at an oil shale mine was discovered after having burned uncontrolled for

weeks (Rikken and Ahonen, 1989, published in Tarm and Rikken, 1989).

Growing public awareness of these and other related environmental concerns

culminated in increasing public protests and garnered international attention (Miljan, 2015). In

1987 and 1988, protests erupted around Estonia, garnering increasing popularity. The Estonian

Green Movement, whose grievances included both Russification and environmental pollution,

was officially founded in spring of 1988. The Estonian National Independence Party was

officially founded less than 4 months later (Rikken and Ahonen, 1989, published in Tarm and Rikken, 1989).

The revelation of the proposal to develop open pit phosphate mining near Rakvere followed on the heels of two key events in Soviet history: Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost* and the Chernobyl disaster which followed, both in 1986. Glasnost promised increased government transparency and decreased censorship of information. The Chernobyl incident showered the western U.S.S.R. with radiation and colored the post-*glasnost* Soviet Union with environmental concerns. At the same time, the decrease in state censorship allowed long-quiet hotbeds of popular criticism to erupt (Thomas and Orlova, 2001).

In the wake of these events, emerging information on environmental contamination from past projects – and fears that new development would further poison Estonian waters – were taken very seriously by the Estonian public. The U.S.S.R.'s monumental re-engineering of the Baltic landscape increasingly tested the compliance of locals, even under State coercion.

Compounded with a host of other grievances including Russification, forced labor, and state censorship, support for secession from the Soviet Union grew. In February of 1987, On March 11, 1990, Estonian residents – including minority voters – voted in favor of independence. A similar vote held the following year confirmed the result ("Baltics Say it Again," 1991).

Appendix B

Discussion of Documents From Estonia

The set of documents analyzed in this research includes a variety of editorials, open

letters, organizational releases, protest speeches, interviews, and other content from Estonia

between April 1986 and March 1989. The data set includes each of the documents translated

by Tiina Ets. Taara Linguistic Services and compiled by Tarm and Rikken (1989). The translation,

compilation, and publication of the documents was funded by the Estonian American National

Council. The entire set is titled, *Documents from Estonia: Articles, speeches, resolutions, letters,*

editorials, interviews concerning recent developments; From April 1986 to March 1989.

Many of the original documents – including underground pro-Estonian periodicals such

as *Wirulane,* Estonian-language protest speeches, and others – were intended for Estonian-

language audiences within the Soviet Union. Likewise, one protest sign reference to Latvia and

Lithuania at the Hirve Park protest suggests the documents may have intended to complement

or bolster contemporary protests throughout that Baltic region. Other documents within the

set, such as open letters to Mikhail Gorbachev and the Soviet government, may have been

intended for a larger Soviet audience. Broadly, the documents seem intended for active

(Estonian or pro-Estonian) political allies as well as potential political allies.

The forward to the set indicates that the documents were translated by the New York-

based Estonian American National Council after "find[ing] their way to the West via the Relief

Committee for Estonian Prisoners of Conscience in the U.S.S.R.," itself based in Sweden (Tarm

and Rikken, 1989, Forward). The entire set was compiled and translated in the United States,

conceivably intended for Western (non-Estonian speaking) audiences.

Although the documents do not make their intended audience clear, the articles have been mentioned or used as source material in other academic sources, such as Smidchens (2014). The editors describe some of the included documents as "underground periodicals," indicating an intention to showcase dissent speech (Tarm and Rikken, 1989, Forward). Perhaps the clearest indication of the documents' intended non-academic audience comes from the group that funded their translation: the Estonian American National Council.

The Estonian American National Council is a U.S.-based advocacy group founded by Estonian refugees in 1952, less than 10 years after World War II (Estonian American National Council – About EANC). Its original mission included the restoration of Estonian independence, but it has since broadened its advocacy efforts to include "stability" in Europe and "maintain[ing] Estonian heritage and language" (ibid.). The Estonian American National Council reaches out to Estonian-Americans to lobby Washington regarding America's policies in Europe. Therefore, it is likely that the documents from Estonia as compiled by Tarm and Rikken (1989) were likewise intended both for sympathetic Estonian-American audiences and to recruit potential political allies.

Because the content analysis performed in this thesis includes only the set of documents funded by the Estonian American National Council, the results of this thesis can *not* be generalized to Estonia or the Soviet Union at large. Instead, the results apply to documents supporting the Estonian protest movement by the Estonian American National Council. It is unclear whether the Estonian American National Council excluded environmentally-concerned documents, or whether they merely received fewer documents including environmental concerns.

Appendix C

Revision of Initial Codes in Directed Content Analysis

Initial Codes:

Nationalistic Rhetoric

- Past national "golden age" or "glorious past" (Roy and Rowland, 2003; Levinger and Lytle, 2001; and Calhoun, 1993)

- Period of lost national identity literally or effectively (Roy and Rowland, 2003 and Levinger and Lytle, 2001)

- Reification of "golden age" and return to greatness (Roy and Rowland, 2003 and Levinger and Lytle, 2001)

- Heroic character of national identity (Roy and Rowland, 2003)

- Ancient (non-constructed) character of national identity and/or ethnicity (Roy and Rowland, 2003 and Calhoun, 1993)

- Evil/"Villainy" of non-national-group identities (Roy and Rowland, 2003, p.231)

- Battle to restore national "dignity" (Roy and Rowland, 2003, p.231)

- Historicization of language and everyday traditions (Calhoun, 1993)

- Russian invasion or occupation (Auer 1996 and 1998)

- Reference to Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (Taagepera, 1989; Auer, 1996 and 1998; and others)

- Non-Estonian origin of ruling institutions (Auer, 1996 and Auer, 1998)

- Non-Estonian origin of Soviet mining workers (Soot, 1996 and Auer, 1998)

- Promotion of Estonian language (Auer, 1996 and Taagepera, 1989)

- Negative reference to Russian ethnicity or language (Auer, 1996 and others)

Environmental Grievances

- Rakvere area (Ida-Virumaa) phosphate mining proposal (Taagepera, 1989; Auer, 1998; and others)

- Pollution or disaster from Maardu-area phosphate operations (Soot, 1996; Auer, 1998; and others)

- Air pollution from various mining operations (Taagepera, 1989 and others)

- Human injury or disease from mining-related pollution (Taagepera, 1989; Auer, 1998; and others)

- Extractive industry inefficiency and wastefulness (Auer, 1998)

- Extractive industry economic exploitation (Auer, 1998)

- Chernobyl (and related forced labor[46]) (Taagepera, 1989)

- Pollution or other negative consequences from oil shale mining (Auer, 1998)

- Reference to Letter from Estonian Naturalists and Scientists (Auer, 1998)

- Reference to Soviet Government statement on mining or the environment

- Reference to Western environmental or agricultural science (Auer, 1998)

- Reference to previous environment-related protest (Taagepera, 1989)

- Reference to Estonian Green Movement (Taagepera, 1989)

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[46] As noted previously, Taagepera (1989) mentions the "forcible dispatch of thousands of Estonians to Chernobyl" in his discussion of Estonian mining-related protests (p.15).

- Wildlife, trees, and forests (Auer, 1996)

Other Initial Codes

- Personal and/or civil rights violations (Auer, 1996)

In revision, notable changes were made to my initial set of codes for nationalistic rhetoric. Codes for "past national 'golden age'" and "reification of 'golden age' or return to greatness" were merged due to textual overlap. Based on similar reasoning, "period of lost national identity literally or figuratively" was merged with "battle to restore national 'dignity'." A subcategory was added under this code, specifying instances where rights (including the right to speech) were violated due to the speaker or actor's Estonian affiliation. The code for "personal and/or civil rights violations" was uncategorized in initial coding. Following the first round of data collection, this code was modified to include *only* instances where national identity or affiliation were listed as the reason for the violation of rights. The new code was added as a second subcategory of "battle to restore national 'dignity' following period of lost identity literally or figuratively."

Furthermore, the code for "historicization of language and everyday traditions" was merged with "ancient or historic (non-constructed) character of national identity." "Russian invasion or occupation" and "reference to Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact" were reorganized as a subcategory of "non-Estonian origin of ruling institutions." "Promotion of Estonian language" and "negative reference to Russian language or ethnicity" were reorganized within a more

comprehensive thematic statement: "Estonian language and culture as threatened by

Russophone Soviet culture, and Estonians must promote Estonian language and culture."

"Villainy or fundamentally problematic character of non-national group identities" was

reconstituted as "Villainy or fundamentally problematic character of non-national-group

identities and cultures," with distinct subcategories to differentiate negative references to

Russian culture and identity from negative references to *Soviet* communist culture and identity.

Notable adjustments were also made to the coding for environmental grievances.

"Pollution of water, air, and/or soil from various mining operations" was added as a code to

contain the following subcategories: "Human injury or disease from mining-related pollution,"

"Specific reference to environmental impact of phosphorite mining – including the proposed

expansion of mining in the Rakvere area," "Pollution or other negative consequences from oil

shale mining operations," and "Broad reference to degradation of natural environment."

Similarly, "Reference to environmental science or protest" was added as a category to contain

the following subcategories: "Reference to Western environmental or agricultural science" and

"Reference to previous environment-related protest." In some cases, codes were retained

within the list of revised codes even if entries within the documents were very scarce or

entirely absent. In these cases, it is the absence of data (where literature indicates a topic of

some importance) that is highlighted.

A second and final revision was done to prepare coding for the final cycle of data

collection. In some cases – such as code E, "Villainy or fundamentally problematic character of

non-national group identities and cultures," a third subcategory (E3) was added to account for

non-specific or otherwise uncategorizable data. Subcategories were arranged so that every

occurrence of code E could be divided into E1, E2, or E3. The relationship between other

categories and subcategories in this study follows the same pattern. All subcategories of theme

M were eventually merged into one theme due to relative lack of textual occurrence in the set

of documents.

Appendix D

Mining, Pollution, and Cultural Politics in Estonia

By 1990, 3 years after public protest ensued, 60% of sampled Estonians indicated no

trust for the Soviet government, with sentiments divided along ethnic lines (Titma and

Raemmer, 2006). Malloy (2009) argues that the "econationalism" of Estonian protestors

connected the health of the environment to the health of the fledgling nation – and thus, the

health of the people, their history, language, culture, and traditions. This cultural tension has

continued to affect the political atmosphere over the past decades (Auer, 1998 and Raudsepp

et al., 2009).

Figure 2. Map of Estonia

Original map credited to the United Nations (2013). Red ellipse added for emphasis of Rakvere-area mining-affected region.

Mining-Related Pollution in Estonia

The environmental protest at the center of this research focused on opposition to expanding phosphorite mining operations in northern and eastern Estonia (see Figure 2). Estonia includes Europe's largest deposits of phosphorite (Soot, 1996). Phosphorite had been mined near Maardu – east of the capital Tallinn – for decades, leading to intensive industrial pollution including radioactive and self-igniting waste (Taagepera, 1989 and Soot, 1996). However, plans to mine phosphorite in the Rakvere area did not reach the Estonian public until 1987. The Rakvere region is ecologically and agriculturally sensitive – including the headwaters for most of Estonia's major rivers, lakes, and groundwater ("A Letter From Estonia," included in Tarm and Rikken, 1989). Public protests against environmental exploitation had their desired effect: the Rakvere phosphorite mining project was never implemented, despite the Soviet government's initial plans. All phosphorite mining operations ended in 1991.

Raudsepp et al. (2009) describe the disproportionate impact of environmental toxicity and environmental injustice on the now-minority Russian speaking population (see below).

Political Geography and History of Ethnic Tension in Estonia

The environmental protest was deepened by concurrently increasing public awareness of the conditions in which Soviet control of Estonia was secured. Before being invaded by the Soviet Union, Estonia had frequently been subject to external dominion, and its roughly 19 years of interwar independence were the exception to historically marginal status within a long

list of European empires situated to the east and west. Post-Glasnost, the Baltic publics grew

increasingly aware of classified sections of the Nazi-Soviet Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, in which

Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union had secretly agreed to divide eastern Europe between the

two powers in 1939 (Kirby, 1996). The pact sheltered Soviet incursion into all three of the

young Baltic republics from any real repercussions. Yet, the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact was

terminated 2 years later, in 1941, when Nazi Germany attacked and occupied Soviet positions in

the Baltic (Gorodetsky, 1990). When the Nazis eventually retreated, they flooded or set fire to

existing oil shale mines and further devastated the already-tattered land they left behind (Auer,

1996).

Once the U.S.S.R. had reconsolidated its control over Estonia, it radically transformed

both the land and the economy. Auer (1996) describes how the Soviets dramatically increased

industrial intensity, multiplying oil shale production 10-fold within 5 years and converting 47%

of Estonian agricultural land to non-agricultural uses. In 1950, Estonia experienced an incredible

342 percent increase in industrial growth (ibid.). In decades to come, this trajectory of large-

scale, regionally-intensive, and often inefficient development, accompanied by the export of

Estonian locals and import of non-Estonian resource workers (Auer, 1998), ultimately helped

catalyze environmental conflict and political division following public awareness of the central

government's Rakvere-region mining plans (Taagepera, 1989).

By 1989, ethnic Estonians had fallen from 88.2% of the population to 61.5%, while the ethnic Russian population skyrocketed from 8.2% to 30.3% (Soot, 1996, p.1).

As of 1989, the Estonian Green Movement was the third most popular political group in Estonia, behind only the Popular Front and the Communist Party. It was also the second most popular party among non-Estonians. (Taagepera, 1989, p.20) The Green Movement, however, suffered from internal division, and soon waned in popularity as open protest became more acceptable (Auer, 1996).

Estonian Environmental Justice and Russophone Political Exclusion

In the early 1990s, U.S. government-funded research focused on clarifying the (at the time) current geopolitical and environmental situations of the former Soviet republics, including in-depth analyses of environmental quality in the Baltics (Soot, 1994). Auer (1996 and 1998) argues that nationalistic and environmentalist sentiments were both legitimate and situationally inextricable. Jaago et al. (2007) focused on the heavily mined town of Kohtla-Järve – rural prior to Soviet occupation – from a cultural geographic and 'folkloristic' approach, finding an industrial landscape which continues to be the site of ethnic tension.

Mirroring Estonian grievances during the Soviet period, scholars such as Raudsepp et al. (2009) have focused on environmental justice concerns among the post-independence Russophone community living in the most environmentally damaged areas. Auer (1998) and others have noted that the expansion of Soviet industry in Estonia was accompanied by the mass import of Russian-speaking workers. Data from the past two decades have confirmed that

the Russian speaking population in Estonia continue to bear the brunt of environmental toxicity and its negative impacts on the living environment, despite limited political representation. In Estonia, although "non-Estonians constitute approximately one-third of the population, only 9 percent of local council members and only 6 percent of members of Parliament are non-Estonian" (Halik, 2002 ctd. in Raudsepp et al. 2009, p. 222). In addition to political marginalization, majority-Russian communities in the east are among the most environmentally degraded. One such region, Ida-Virumaa, "is characterized by the worst housing conditions…the lowest household incomes, the fewest cars and computers, and the lowest level of access to the internet" (Raudsepp et al., 2009, p. 216-217).

The young Estonian government did not, however, put an end to *all* of the environmentally impactful activities its citizens had once protested. Shocked, like many post-Soviet states in the early-mid 1990s, by the transition from communism, Estonia's economy and energy production continued to rely heavily on oil shale (Raudsepp et al., 2009).

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