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EthniCity of Leisure: A Domains Approach to Ethnic Integration During Free Time Activities

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ABSTRACT

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This paper takes a domains approach to understanding ethnic segregation; ethnic segregation occurs in different ways in different domains (such as the residential neighbourhood, workplaces, leisure, etc.). Where most studies focus on residential segregation, this study focusses on ethnic segregation during leisure time. We investigate the most common leisure time activities, activity sites and the interaction between members of minority and majority populations as they spend their time out-of- home and out-of-workplace. Conceptually we link leisure time segregation both with residential and workplace segregation, in line with the domains approach. Our case study area is Tallinn, Estonia, and the main findings show that leisure time activity patterns have become very similar across the main ethnic groups, which is different from what is found for workplace and residential segregation. This shows the integrative potential of leisure time activities. However, different ethnic groups tend to visit different activity sites as leisure sites are related to where people live.

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INTRODUCTION

The majority of studies on ethnic segregation focus on segregation in residential neighbourhoods. However, if we want to better understand the social interaction between different ethnic groups, a focus on only residential segregation is too limited (Kamenik et al., 2015; Lin and Gaubatz, 2016; Pendakur et al., 2016). A small but increasing literature now focusses on segregation in other domains of daily life, such as: working life (Bygren, 2013; Ellis et al., 2004, 2007; Glitz, 2014; Strömgren et al., 2014); family/partner relationship (Dribe & Lundh, 2008; Haandrikman, 2014); leisure time (Silm & Ahas, 2014; Kamenik et al., 2015; Schnell & Yoav, 2001); education (Andersson et al., 2010; Malmberg et al., 2014; Reardon et al., 2000) and transport (Schwanen & Kwan, 2012). Some studies take into multiple segregation domains simultaneously, and the links between these domains (Strömgren et al., 2014; Tammaru et al., 2010).

van Ham & Tammaru (2016) have proposed a domains approach to understanding ethnic segregation which combines elements from the life course approach and from time geography. They argue (see also Ellis et al., 2006; Marcinczak et al., 2015; Strömgren et al., 2014; Wang, 2010) that "in order to come to a fuller understanding of segregation, we need to investigate not only multiple domains simultaneously, but we also need to investigate the linkages and interactions between these domains over space and time, as well as between spatial domains and social networks." (van Ham & Tammaru, 2016). So segregation in one domain in life, such as the residential neighbourhood, may not be independent from segregation at work or during leisure time.

This paper focusses on segregation during leisure time activities. Contemporary urban life offers ample opportunities for out-of-home and out-of-work leisure time activities, ranging from having a cup of coffee next door with a best friend, to attending mega-concerts that attract large crowds of people from both the city and outside. Oldenburg (1989) used the term third place to highlight the importance of non-work and non-home activities and argued that free time activities are important in building a sense of community. Contemporary cities are also increasingly diverse, providing a shelter for those living in extreme poverty as well as for those enjoying large wealth, people with different ethnic and cultural backgrounds and so on (Piekut et al., 2012; Tasan-Kok et al, 2013; Tammaru et al., 2016; Vertovec, 2007). Meeting and mutual learning during leisure time could harness the much cherished positive aspects of diversity that pertains to learning and transfer of skills and would contribute, ultimately, to higher levels of ethnic integration in modern cities. For understanding ethnic integration during out-of-home leisure time, both segmentation (different activities) and segregation (different places) dimensions of segregation need to be considered (Kamenik et al., 2015).

The over-arching goal of this paper is to learn more about the ethnic integration processes unfolding in increasingly ethnically diverse cities during leisure time. More specifically, we will contribute to the existing literature on segregation by focussing on both the segmentation and segregation dimensions in facilitating inter-ethnic contact during the most common out-of-home leisure time activities in Estonia. An important precondition for contacts and interactions between ethnic groups is undertaking the same activities at the same place at the same time (Silm and Ahas, 2014; Toomet et al., 2015). Whilst segmentation and segregation are thoroughly researched in respect to places of residence and work (Strömgren et al., 2014; Marcinczak et al., 2015), there has been less attention for leisure time activities. More attention for such activities is justified because the importance of leisure time in peoples' lives and socialisation processes has increased in recent decades (Roberts 2010; Esteve et al., 1999).

Leisure time activities are also interesting in the context of understanding ethnic segregation because leisure time activities potentially reveal the preferences of people in a more

dynamic way than residential and workplaces. It is important to realise here that ethnic patterns in leisure time activities are not independent from socio-economic (financial resources) differences between groups. Still, the formal restrictions that often exist in communication and interaction at workplaces are less common during leisure time activities where the qualities of free choice and self-determination play a more important role in choosing companions (Shinew, Glover & Parry, 2004).

This paper will investigate which out-of-home leisure time activities promote positive inter-ethnic contact and social interaction between members of the ethnic majority and minority populations in Estonia. The data for our research comes from the capital city Tallinn. We use a mixed-method approach in order to study the segmentation and segregation dimensions of the out-of-home leisure time activities. The Estonian Time Use Survey (2000 and 2010) was used to better understand changes in the segmentation of leisure time activities over time. Qualitative interviews were used to get deeper insights into the links between ethnic segmentation and ethnic segregation during leisure time.

ETHNIC SEGMENTATION, SEGREGATION AND INTERACTION DURING LEISURE TIME

The domains approach to understanding ethnic segregation as suggested by van Ham & Tammaru (2016) includes elements of time and space. The life course approach offers a dynamic framework of parallel and interrelated careers in different domains of life, including work, housing and leisure. These parallel individual careers influence each other (van Ham, 2012). For example, leisure activities may take place close to home or work due to time constraints. Or only certain leisure activities are possible due to financial constraints. Such interrelationships between careers are likely to influence the probability of meeting people from the same or other ethnic groups during a day, week, or life time. The interrelationships between domains may even be intergenerational, where segregation patterns of parents are transferred to their children as adults (van Ham et al., 2014; Hedman et al., 2015; Kontuly and Tammaru, 2011). Those living in neighbourhoods with many children are more likely to develop inter-ethnic contacts (Schaeffer 2013), mainly due to the social contacts between parents arranged around child play.

The domains approach also incorporates ideas from time geography (Hägerstrand, 1970): "The space-time path is the sum of all places visited (and people met) during a given time frame, and is shaped by both individual action and institutional contexts, ranging from urban policies shaping segregation, initiatives related to workplace diversity, down to the opening hours of leisure time facilities shaping when and where people can spend their free time" (van Ham and Tammaru, 2016; Kamenik et al., 2015).

In this paper we investigate ethnic segregation during out-of-home leisure time activities. We distinguish two underlying dimensions of ethnic separation during the out-of-home leisure time: segmentation and segregation (Figure 1). Segmentation refers to the structure of leisure time activities and how similar or different they are between ethnic groups. Differences in out-of-home leisure activities can emerge as a result of the differences in wealth and preferences between ethnic groups (Kamenik et al., 2015; Shinew et al., 2004; Washburne, 1978). Leisure has sometimes been characterized as the "long arm of work" since the two life domains are so strongly related (Meissner, 1971). Being able to afford desired leisure activities and socialising with people who have similar values and social status has an impact on an individual's feeling of success, and leisure has become an important part of social identity, lifestyle, quality of life and life satisfaction (Roberts et al., 2001). Since ethnic minorities tend to niche into less-skilled labour market segments (Schrover et al., 2007), there are differences

in out-of-home leisure time activity patterns compared to the members of majority population both through differences in salaries and status identification (Dutton et al, 1994).

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

Preferences in how to spend leisure time can differ between ethnic groups too. Many cultural activities tend to segregate ethnic groups since, in an ethnically diverse city, leisure time often provides members of the minority population with the opportunity to preserve their own cultural and ethnic identity (Floyd and Gramann, 1993; Shaull and Gramann, 1998; Gentin, 2011; Kamenik et al., 2015, Kim et al., 2015). For example, people tend to use leisure time for maintaining and developing deep meaningful relationships with their family and people of the same origin who have similar cultural background and life experiences. Immigrants arrive in their host country with already developed culturally embedded leisure participation preferences and patterns, they celebrate specific holidays, participate in familiar leisure activities, and have similar tastes in music, ways to party, leisure venues, etc. (Alba and Nee, 2007; Gillespie, 2007; Kim et al., 2015). Celebrating such traditional activities even over several generations is very common in ethnically diverse cities (Silm and Ahas, 2014). The policies of sending countries often support the preservation of ethnic identity in the diaspora (Sreberny, 2000) by promoting bonding activities during leisure time, often with the aim that the preservation of ethnic identity would ultimately lead to return to the former homeland (Anniste and Tammaru, 2014). Spending leisure time is a way to rest and enjoy recreation, and people often want to feel free and relaxed during this time and not worry about fitting in an unfamiliar culture, dealing with unfamiliar situations, and overcoming language barriers that do not let them express themselves freely (Stodolska, 2007).

The degree of differences in activity patterns is an important structural indicator that signals how probable it is to meet members of another ethnic group. For example, if members of one ethnic group go more often to cinema and museums, while members of another ethnic group go more often to pubs and restaurants, then the probability that they will meet each other during free time is small. However, having a similar activity pattern does not necessarily imply that ethnic groups meet each other. Segregation thus refers more explicitly to the spatial dimension of leisure time activities, to the places of encounter. In line with the domains approach, in addition to having a similar leisure time activity pattern, these activities need to take place both at the same place and at the same time for ethnic interaction to occur (Silm and Ahas, 2014; Toomet et al., 2015). While leisure time activities are partly related to social and ethnic identities, sorting into different residential neighbourhoods and the consequent high levels of residential segregation potentially affect the choice of leisure time activity sites. Many out-of-home activities still take place close to home, and the neighbourhood of residence is more important in structuring the daily life of ethnic minorities compared to the majority population (Van Kempen and Wissink 2014). Hence, leisure can be characterized not only as a "long arm of work" (Meissner, 1971), but also as a "long arm of home". In line with the domains approach, to understand ethnic segregation it is needed to investigate the interrelations between segregation in various life domains.

Segmentation and segregation are related to each other since opportunity structures for undertaking various leisure time activities such as going to a café vary both in space and time. It should also be noted that discrimination — either direct or indirect — is an important reason for both the segmentation and segregation dimensions of ethnic separation in leisure time activities. Valentine and McDonald (2004) have disclosed that prejudice is being justified with arguments that the other group is not behaving like "us" and that this behaviour is believed to show minorities' failure to integrate. Behaving differently or not following the "behavioural code" of the majority's culture could be frowned upon by some members of the majority

population and possibly even cause direct avoidance of places visited by ethnic minorities (Korts, 2009; Dixon and Durrheim, 2003, Sime et al., 2014). In other cases it has been found that the reason for discrimination is not always directly related to ethnicity, but to the individual's appearance, style, and the language that is used; all these personal characteristics are partly connected to the ethnic background and partly to social background. If one does not look and behave like members of the group he or she is trying to fit into, one could easily be excluded from some leisure settings and social networks (Clayton, 2009; Wessendorf, 2014). So the criterion for acceptance of minorities or even for the feeling of tolerance towards them is being alike the majority.

Inter-group contact is supposed, under good conditions, to decrease prejudice and increase positive attitudes between ethnic groups (Allport, 1954). Although there is some evidence showing that positive relations and everyday discrimination are not mutually exclusive (Wessendorf, 2014), it has been confirmed that deeper forms of inter-ethnic interaction, such as becoming friends do reduce negative stereotypes and inter-ethnic anxiety (Pettigrew et al., 2011, Kim et al., 2015). However, previous research also provides evidence that inter-ethnic friendship faces greater challenges compared to co-ethnic friendship (Kao and Joyner, 2004). For example, members of the minority and majority populations could attach different cultural meanings to shared activities (Allison and Geiger, 1993). Valentine (2008) also warns that contemporary cities are often over romanticized as "sites of connection" since the grim reality shows that most everyday contacts are brief and passing and do not entail deeper social interaction between ethnic groups. Being together at the same place at the same time during leisure time does not necessarily lead to greater inter-ethnic contact and interaction. Still, the combination of joint interests and a leisure setting with its less formal social relations compared to social relations with co-workers and neighbours could be ideal for the contact formation and interaction "… due to the qualities of free choice and self-determination, which are important because they give individuals the opportunity to freely choose their companions … " (Shinew et al., 2004). Based on mobile phone tracking data, Toomet et al (2015) find that ethnic groups have a greater potential to meet each other during leisure time compared to work time and the time people spend in their residential neighbourhoods.

To conclude, it is important to undertake the same leisure activities (no segmentation) at the same places at the same time (no segregation) for inter-ethnic contacts and interaction to emerge. In the case of those out-of-home leisure time activities that bring together ethnic groups at the same place at the same time such as visiting cafés, supermarkets, and cinemas, and using public transport etc., it should be noted that contact is often short and superficial and do not entail deeper social interaction (Clayton, 2009; Valentine and McDonald, 2004). Still, as labour market segmentation and residential segregation between ethnic groups tends to be are persistently high, leisure time activities potentially offer the opportunity for inter-ethnic contact and interaction that could facilitate integration in ethnically diverse cities (cf. Clayton, 2009).

DATA AND METHODS

Data for the study comes from Tallinn, the capital of Estonia with about 400,000 inhabitants of a total of 1.3 million people living in Estonia (Statistics Estonia, 2016). Fifty-five percent of the inhabitants of Tallinn are Estonians and 41% are Russian-speaking minorities of which Russians form almost 90% (Statistics Estonia, 2016). This makes Tallinn a city where two ethno-linguistic groups are almost equal in size; i.e., while Estonian form a clear majority in Estonia, this is not as obvious in the capital city. Tallinn was one of the main destinations for immigration when Estonia was part of the Soviet Union (1944–1991). When Estonia regained

independence in 1991, immigration to Estonia stopped. This implies that one important factor that shapes inter-ethnic relations, the arrival of new immigrants, is eliminated from our case study context from the early 1990s. This creates an interesting experimental "laboratory" setting for investigating the changes in ethnic relations over time. In Estonia, creating inter-ethnic relationships has been inhibited by the separate language school system for Estonian and Russian-speaking children, which was created during the Soviet period and is still largely functioning today. Starting from kindergarten, language-based networks are formed and they are very difficult to breach by inter-ethnic relationships in adult life.

Previous research shows that both labour market segmentation and especially residential segregation grew in Tallinn between the 2000 and 2011 censuses; minorities are performing worse on the labour market and this is increasingly translated into sorting into lower social status neighbourhoods (Tammaru et al., 2016). The opportunities to spend leisure time out-of-home and out-of-employer facilities were limited during the Soviet time; the service sector was strongly under-developed and there were very few cafés or shopping malls. After the regaining of independence, the service sector, including leisure time activity sites, started to mushroom in Tallinn like in other Eastern European cities. If leisure serves as the "long arm of work" and "long arm of home", we should thus find increasing differences in leisure time activities as well. However, if we find evidence of decreasing leisure time segmentation and segregation, it would imply that leisure time activities have an important integrative potential in today's ethnically diverse cities.

We study both the segmentation and segregation dimension in the ethnic differences of leisure. In order to capture both of those dimensions, we combine the two last waves of the Estonian Time Use Survey from 2000 and 2010 with qualitative in-depth interviews. Time use surveys provide us the big picture in the changes of time use by activity (segmentation), and the two waves correspond with census years. This allows us to compare changes in leisure time activities with changes on the labour market and changes in residential segregation. The in-depth interviews help us to tease out to what extent leisure time activities are taking place at the same place and whether they involve meaningful contact and interaction. The Estonian Time Use Survey is conducted by the Estonian Statistical Office following guidelines of the Harmonised European Time Use Surveys by Eurostat. The samples are non-proportional stratified samples drawn from the Population Register. The selected person brought his/her immediate family (all family members who were at least 10 years old) to the sample.

The size of the sample is 6,438 individuals in the 2000 survey and 7,313 individuals in the 2010 survey. We limited our research population to people living in Tallinn and those who are at least 15 years old, which amounted to 1,161 individuals in 2000 and to 810 individuals in 2010. The sample included 54% and 48% of Estonians in 2000 and 2010 respectively, corresponding well to the percentages in the general population. We applied binary logistic regression on the data. The dependent variable was coded as follows: 1 – if the individual participated in different leisure activities during previous year; 0 – if the individual did not participate in different leisure activities during the previous year. In total we constructed 12 models for different out-of-home leisure activities including culture-related activities (culture-related activities in total, attending theatres and concerts, going to cinemas and museums/art galleries), entertainment activities (entertainment activities in total and going to restaurants/pubs, nightclubs, casinos, fun fairs/zoos), spending time in nature and doing sports. The activities in the analysis are of wide variety and include the most common leisure activities taking place outside people's homes and providing a possibility for meeting and socialising with other people, including people from other ethnic group. Participation rates for every activity are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

Our main variable of interest in the models is ethnicity. Ethnicity is self-defined by people and, in the Estonian context, it strongly overlaps with mother tongue. Estonians speak Estonian, and most of the minorities speak Russian as their mother tongue. We include only Estonians and Russians (80% of the minorities) into our final research population. We include many important variables affecting leisure participation into our models such as sex, age, family's income decile, marital status, labour market status, education and whether a person has a car in their family (cf. Kamenik et al., 2015). These variables also allow us to control to what extent ethnic differences are actually due to other personal characteristics since socio-economic status in particular between Estonians and Russians is very different in Tallinn with Estonians being over-represented in white-collar jobs and Russians in blue-collar jobs on the one hand, and social status being very closely related to leisure on the other hand (Meissner, 1971). We present the results on ethnicity only since this is where our interest lies in this paper.

Using data from the Estonian Time Use Survey enables us to find out whether Estonians and Russians participate in the same type of activities, but it does not give us information whether they go to the same places at the same time, and thus have the possibility to meet and interact with each other. There are no large-scale representative surveys that would capture both of the dimensions we are interested in, segmentation and segregation, in generating inter-ethnic contact and interaction. In order to overcome the problem and to also capture the depth of social interaction between ethnic groups, we conducted 24 in-depth interviews among 11 Estonians, 11 Russians and 2 people of mixed ethnic origin (Estonian and Russian). The first contacts for interviews were made using acquaintances of the research team members who were then asked to bring the researchers in contact with their more distant acquaintances for new interviewees. It was closely monitored that those interviewed were not close friends because of their overlapping networks and similar behaviour. In order to guarantee a good spread of respondents, some respondents were recruited from the streets of different districts of Tallinn. Our strategy was to interview people with networks of different sizes and ethnic compositions, people with different workplaces, and people who live in residential neighbourhoods with different ethnic compositions, e.g., people who live in districts with an ethnically mixed composition or with one ethnic group being over-represented.

RESULTS: AMBIGUITIES IN THE PROCESS OF ETHNIC INTEGRATION DURING LEISURE TIME

The results of the regression analysis show that the effect of ethnicity has undergone the most important significant changes between the 2000 and 2010 surveys (control variables not shown). In 2000 Estonians had greater odds for participating in all culture activities and in some entertainment activities, while Russians were more likely to spend time in nature. Ethnically neutral activities were going to the casinos and restaurants or to pubs. Ethnic difference in out-of-home leisure time activities almost disappeared by 2010 (Table 2), with the only exception being going to restaurants or pubs. In 2000, after the first decade of systemic transformations after regaining independence from the Soviet Union, Russians were clearly hunkering down and isolating themselves within their home environments. As the first important finding we see that with time, ethnic Russian participation in most of out-of-home leisure activities is equal to that of Estonians despite the facts that they perform less well on the labour market compared to Estonians and that they are becoming residentially increasingly segregated (Tammaru et al., 2016).

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

The qualitative interviews convey a similar message: Estonians and Russians participate in similar leisure time activities. Our interest in the interviews lies elsewhere — to tease out what are the activities that really bring together ethnic groups, and whether they bring along deeper social interaction between members of the minority and majority populations. We find that although the activities of Estonians and Russians have become very similar, this does not necessarily mean that Estonians and Russians meet and interact with each other. The differences in the ethnic geography of leisure pertain both to the larger-scale spatial units such as city districts, as well as smaller-scale differences such as specific places one or the other group prefers to visit, down to micro differences at the level of activity site itself. Given the high level of ethnic residential segregation in Tallinn, the differences on a larger spatial scale are not surprising since many out-of-home activities take place close to the home. Similarly to earlier studies (Clayton 2012; Schaefer 2013 ;Toomet et al., 2015), we find that residential segregation is an important determinant of leisure time activity sites, i.e. leisure could be partly considered as a "long arm of home". So the segregation domains of home and leisure are clearly interrelated. If members of both the minority and majority population have a similar probability to go to the cafés but they live in different neighbourhoods, their chance to meet and interact with each other is small. However, differences go beyond such structural factors, and they are strongly related to taste and preferences. Although cafés in mixed-ethnic neighbourhoods are by no means exclusive to certain ethnic groups, the atmosphere and tacit rules of etiquette are still recognizably different. Northern Tallinn is one of the most ethnically diverse districts in Tallinn, and our interviewees point to important ethnic differences when selecting cafés there:

> "Bars in Northern Tallinn are very nice cultural experiences, because life there is different. /…/ Maybe it is more of a question of perception because I mostly go to Estonian places /…/ But it seems that there [in Russian bars] are some different rules and those rules are more rigidly fixed — you can feel that there is some kind of etiquette and you perceive very strongly how you are expected to behave and what you should not do." (Male, 20, Estonian)

It is probably one of the reasons why separate leisure venues are often preferred — you meet people similar to you and this helps to avoid conflicts and discrimination as also shown by previous research (e.g., Harinen et al., 2012; Valentine and McDonald, 2004; Korts, 2009; Dixon and Durrheim, 2003; Clayton, 2009). Especially in rapidly gentrifying neighbourhoods, Estonians have created new places for themselves, like Telliskivi Creative Centre with lots of cafés, an open stage for performances, and other leisure time activity sites, which are seldom visited by Russian speakers. Events in Telliskivi Creative Centre and in many leisure time activities and events tend to be language based: the language of the announcement, advertisements, event or instructors often determines whether Estonian speakers or Russian speakers are attracted. Such info about events also appears in different media channels that are either in the Estonian language or in the Russian language. Even the city has two official newspapers, one in Estonian and another in Russian, and the content in them does not overlap. Furthermore, networking and exchanging information about leisure time events in social media, for example on Facebook, is language based too:

> "Some people are very active [on Facebook], there is a man who knows everything about the history of Pelgulinn and who posts info about the streets and buildings.

/…/ They are opening a new Maxima somewhere in Northern Tallinn. /…/ I would have not even known about it." (Female, Estonian)

People with different ethnic background do visit the same places too, but this happens often at different times. For example, during the daytime, members of different ethnic groups often lunch together at the same cafés, but in the evening they visit different places. Because evening entertainment activities last longer than daytime lunches, taste in music and the style of places become more important. Likewise, the social interaction between people is more intimate in the evening, and people choose more carefully where and with whom they spend their evening leisure time.

"There is a Georgian restaurant in Lasnamäe where you can go in daytime and the clientele might be fifty-fifty by spoken language. But when I happen to go there on Friday evening, I guarantee that 90% of the customers are Russian-speaking." (Male, 35, Estonian)

A similar pattern of visiting the same activity site but at different times emerged from religious activities.

"We have two congregations [in our church], Russian and Estonian. We go to the same building. Russians go there at a different time since their service starts after our service has finished" (Female, 59, Estonian).

We find strong evidence of very micro-level segregation during free time activities within the activity sites themselves. Estonians and minorities do spend free time at the same place at the same time, but it is often merely co-presence and no social interaction takes place. Previous studies using quantitative methods have stated that contact has been established and integration is in process when venues for spending leisure time together have been created (Toomet et al., 2015). Our results show that the fact that people from two ethnic groups meet does not mean that they really interact and develop meaningful relations. Similar to Kivijärvi (2015), our respondents report that Estonians and Russian-speakers tend to prefer in-group contacts even when they are at the same place at the same time. One reason that keeps out-group communication to a minimum is language barrier, which is mentioned by both Estonians and Russian-speaking interviewees:

"When I hear that people are talking in Russian I do not go to speak with them just because of the language barrier. It is awkward to go and start speaking to them in English /…/ although I am a very social person /…/ it is totally leaving my comfort zone and especially when I realize that they do not speak Estonian at all or even conversation in English comes very unnaturally — why should I put myself in such situation?" (Male, 25, Estonian)

"For me personally, participating in the company's parties is quite difficult because everybody except me and some drivers are Estonians. They all chat together, but I sit with the drivers and talk to them. Sooner or later I get bored and want to leave sooner." (Male, 28, Russian)

The language barrier can also work more indirectly. Even when Russians actually can speak Estonian or Estonians can speak Russian, they feel uncomfortable speaking in a foreign language during their free time when there is an opportunity to speak in their native language.

So it is almost inevitable that if there is more than one person of the other ethnic group, communication and friendships are formed based on ethno-linguistic division:

> "While working out I became friends with Veronika, but she is not Estonian. There were some Estonian girls also, but we did not talk much with each other because all the time they were separate from and Veronica and me, we talked more with Russians." (Female, 27, Russian)

Finally, we do find evidences that ethnic divides have decreased, and visiting the same places at the same time can lead to social interaction, especially among younger generations. Probably because of the younger generation already born in independent Estonia and in the context of no new immigration both Estonians and Russian-speakers are undergoing a change; prejudices have started to decrease, leisure preferences have become more similar, and the language barriers are starting to diminish when more and more young Russians speak Estonian. Sports are one of the activities where close contacts are relatively easy to form because it is based on common interest (Korts, 2009; Harinen *et al.*, 2012; Kim *et al.*, 2015). Our results confirm that common interest, not only in sports, helps to cross inter-ethnic boundaries in different leisure activities:

> "A good example is beach volleyball where we have the net and the ball and some people but not enough for playing. Then when you find some other group who wants to play, it is very easy to get new contacts because you have a common interest. /…/ We change contacts and next time we call them and ask to get the group together and join us." (Male, 25, Estonian).

> "Kodu Bar is very nice place and I think that the situation is changing and there will be more and more such places. /…/ This is a place where cultural or not stereotypical Russian young people go and very many Estonians go there too, and this place has an extremely cool atmosphere where these two cultures very nicely meet. More like based on interest, or on music, or who like's underground lifestyle." (Male, 30, Estonian)

These kinds of ethnically mixed places show that the boundaries are becoming more blurred, segregation and segmentation of leisure has decreased and the level of close contact has increased indicating that integration is in progress. However, not all ethnically mixed places might be mixed in the sense that they include Estonians' and Russians' leisure style in an integrative way. These could rather be called Estonians' places where more integrated Russians also go. For example:

> "'Levist väljas' is one bar where only Russians who speak Estonian go. In that sense it is such a cool place, there they go and are friendly, all of them. When they want to be Estonians then they go there, or something." (Male, 28, Estonian)

This example shows that Russian-speaking people — especially those who are from mixed ethnic families and who are already well integrated — are sometime in a situation where they can choose, for example, if they feel more like "Estonians" or "Russians". Then they act accordingly when they go out. This means that the places are not becoming more mixed, but people with Russian background become more assimilated into Estonian culture. Assimilation instead of integration is also expected by Estonians, especially in the younger generations, who have classified Russians as "typical" and "non-typical", considering "non-typical" those

Russians who speak Estonian, behave as Estonians and are otherwise assimilated into Estonian culture without a hint of Russian origin. Such assimilated Russians are accepted into Estonians' social groups, while feelings towards "typical" Russians are still often deeply prejudiced. In some cases it seems that even the well-integrated Russians agree with such classification and they avoid "typical" Russians themselves:

> "When I see that there are some discos in 'Club Parliament', those are… well… you feel that this is Russians' party, and you just do not… well, I do not go there" (Female, 45, Russian)

Many Estonian interviewees have even said that if minorities are proficient in Estonian, they do not classify them as Russians but as Estonians, showing that spoken language is the most important factor for acceptance (Valentine and McDonald 2004; Korts 2009). In other words, there are some assimilationist underpinnings to the increase in spending free time together.

DISCUSSION OF THE MAIN FINDINGS

Our first important finding shows that members of minority and majority population had different types of activity patterns in Tallinn in 2000; they participated in different activities at different places (Figure 2). Usually, differences in leisure time activities are brought along from the homeland by immigrants and they develop close relationships with co-ethnics rather than with the members of the minority population during leisure time. In the Soviet system, such differences remained for decades since migrants were channelled into a parallel society: the Russian-speaking population lived in segregated neighbourhoods and worked in Soviet industrial enterprises that also took care of the leisure time activities of their employees. Furthermore, the service sector and out-of-home leisure time facilities were poorly developed. The dismantling of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the collapse of such patrimonial industrial employers provided a new context for spending free time, and new leisure time activity sites started to become available. Interestingly, this led to a similar pattern of leisure time activities among members of the minority and majority population by 2010. This is a very important finding, and it is very different from what is found regarding increasing levels of labour market segmentation and residential segregation in Tallinn at the very same time; Russian-speaking minorities are performing less well than Estonians on the labour market (Lindemann, 2009), and this is increasingly translated into living into lower social status neighbourhoods (Tammaru et al; 2016) but not into increasing segmentation of the leisure time activities. This implies that leisure is not just the "long arm of work" and the "long arm of home"; leisure time activities do have the potential to bring together ethnic groups (cf. Shinew et al, 2004) even in a city that is otherwise — in terms of places of residence and work — ethnically highly divided.

Our analysis further reveals some important mechanisms that shape the progression of ethnic integration during leisure time over time (Figure 2). In an ethnically diverse city, the force of homophily and differences in taste (e.g. the milieu of concrete leisure places) tend to sort different ethnic groups to different activity sites even when the activities undertaken are the same. For example, our findings show that members of the majority and minority populations go equally often to cafés, but they still prefer different ones, even when located very close to each other in the urban space. The atmosphere, the choice of music, the feeling of different rules and probably many more subtle cultural codes attached to different places all play a role in the choice process. Ethnic groups thus tend to preserve clear segregation of leisure places, or "leisure enclaves" (Chavez, 2000). However, with time, places of encounter start to emerge as some people increasingly spend leisure time together with members of other ethnic

groups at places such as sports clubs, urban parks, pubs, etc. These are the places were closer social interaction with out-group members is not necessary. But such places of encounter may lead to eye contact, familiarizes people with each other and provides real opportunities to interact, even if briefly, with one another. Sports, for example, is one such activity that is based on a common interest (Korts, 2009; Harinen et al., 2012; Kim et al., 2015) and it often entails working together on a common goal, which is one of the key conditions for reaching positive contact and reducing prejudice (Allport, 1954).

FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE

Being at the same place at the same time is a necessary precondition for inter-ethnic contact and interaction. Leisure time activity sites, or third places outside home and work, are also important for building a sense of community (Oldenburg 1989). However, our findings show that people still tend to talk with in-group rather than with out-group members while being at the same place and at the same time. Especially when the majority language proficiency is modest among members of the minority population, micro-level segregation is common since people prefer to interact with those with whom they have lower language barriers, allowing them to express themselves more freely (cf. Stodolska, 2007). The ultimate stage — deeper inter-ethnic social interaction — thus needs some more ingredients to come into being. We find that this is most likely the case when minorities who are proficient in the majority language take a clearly assimilative strategy and who start to behave like members of the majority population. We did not find evidence that this also works the other way round, i.e., that members of the majority population aim to fit in with the norms and language of the minority population, which would lead towards deeper inter-ethnic contact and interaction. Especially in the younger generations who are more tolerant towards others on the one hand, paradoxically, the preconditions for deeper inter-ethnic social interaction relate to accepting the norms of Estonian culture and being proficient in Estonian language on the other hand. As the younger generations of minorities are already more assimilated, being born and schooled in Estonia, we find more inter-ethnic interaction among younger generations too.

To conclude, the domains approach to understanding ethnic segregation offers an important framework to understanding segregation during out-of-home leisure time activities. The approach emphasises the interrelationships between various life domains, in the context of leisure time activities mostly the home and work domains. Many leisure time activities have the potential to cut across ethnic divides in a more effective and dynamic way than in the labour and housing markets. It also appears that it is easier to overcome segmentation (e.g., going to cafés) than segregation (e.g. going to the same cafés at the same time) during leisure time. Similar activities but at different places at different times still showcase the parallel lives of ethnic groups in the urban space. More attention, also in the field of urban leisure policies, thus needs to be drawn to the more complex socio-spatial dimensions of leisure by stimulating the formation of places of encounter and even more, by facilitating a true interaction once members of different ethnic groups are at the same place at the same time. This poses important challenges for research and data collection. To fulfil the promises of the domains approach to understanding segregation, better data is needed which includes information on the day-to-day interactions with others in different places and domains (van Ham and Tammaru, 2016). But also detailed information on the time-space paths of large groups of individuals collected through mobile phones, or other gps enabled devices. Such data will allow researchers to study who meets who and whether actual interaction takes place while people are in the same spaces.

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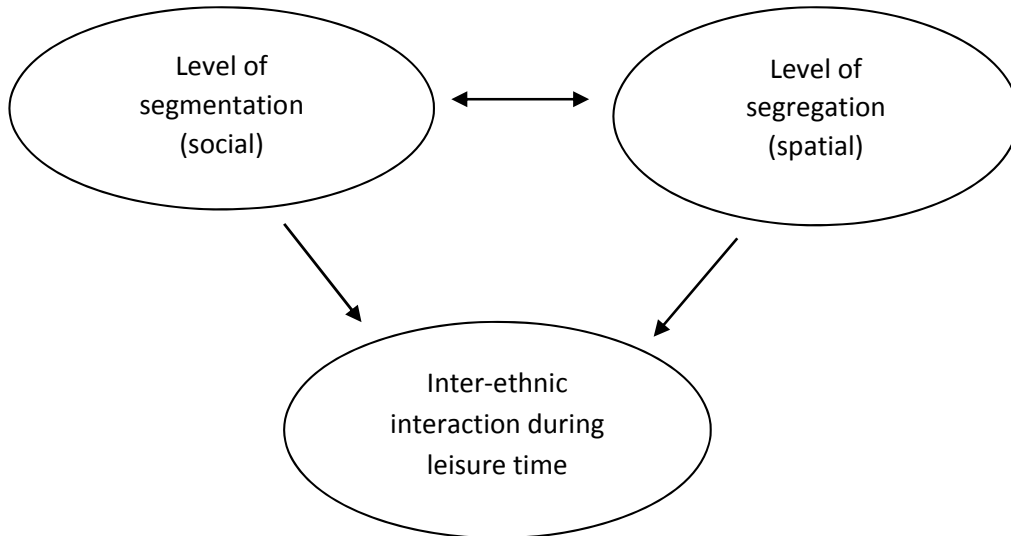
Figure 1. The two underlying dimensions of ethnic separation facilitating inter-ethnic contact during leisure time.
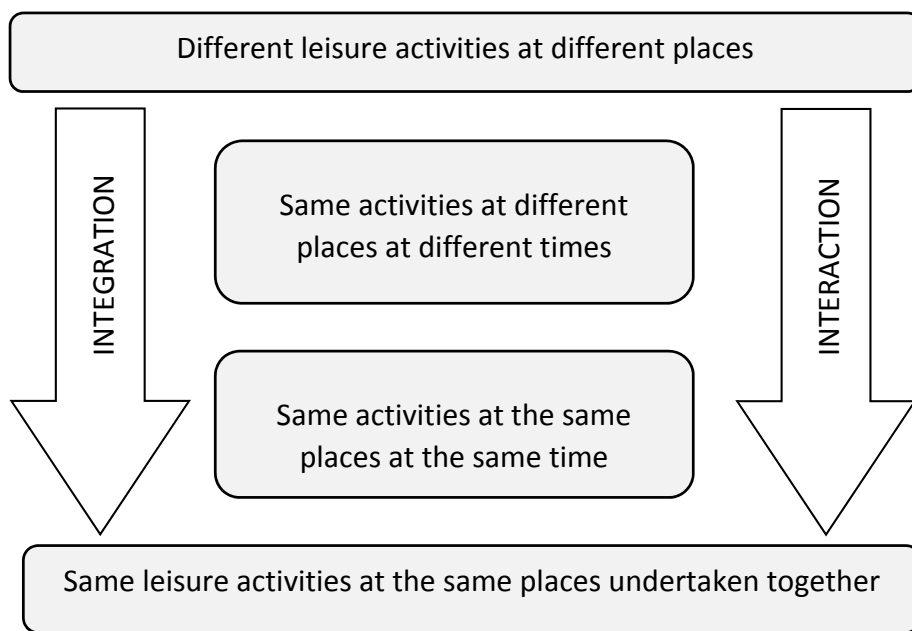
Figure 2. The progression of ethnic integration and inter-ethnic interaction during leisure time.

Table 1. Participation in leisure time activities by ethnicity (%) in 2000 and 2010 in Tallinn.

	Total		Estonians		Russians	
	2000	2010	2000	2010	2000	2010
Culture	63.3	79.0	73.3	85.4	55.7	75.1
Theatre	42.0	55.0	50.7	62.9	35.1	50.0
Concert	45.9	63.8	55.3	68.0	39.6	61.1
Cinema	27.3	45.1	35.0	48.6	21.3	44.3
Museum/art gallery	34.3	56.7	42.7	63.8	26.5	50.8
Entertainment	64.5	79.5	70.1	83.1	60.7	76.7
Restaurant/pub	47.5	69.3	53.1	75.0	44.8	63.7
Nightclub/disco	24.5	22.1	29.9	26.7	21.0	18.1
Casino	6.8	2.4	6.6	3.3	7.3	1.7
Funfair/zoo	39.8	42.5	43.6	44.1	34.6	42.0
Nature	62.2	85.8	56.0	84.8	70.2	86.5
Sports	66.9	45.7	71.4	50.6	62.7	42.0

2000 N=1161; 2010 N=810

Table 2. Participating in out-of-home leisure time activities in Tallinn, 2000 and 2010 (odds ratios, ref. Russian).

Leisure activities	2000	2010
Culture total	2.72***	1.33
Theatre	1.77***	1.10
Concert	1.87***	0.86
Cinema	2.34***	0.74
Museum/art gallery	1.85***	1.13
Entertainment total	1.64***	1.39
Restaurant/pub	1.22	1.45*
Nightclub/disko	1.56**	1.51
Casino	0.99	1.14
Fun fair/zoo	1.73***	1.13
Nature	0.47***	0.82
Sports	1.63***	1.08

*** p<0.01 ** p<0.05 * p<0.1; 2000 N=1161; 2010 N=810