

UNIVERSITY OF LATVIA
FACULTY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT

Ieva Birka

**INTEGRATION AND SENSE OF BELONGING – CASE
STUDY LATVIA**

Doctoral Thesis

Ph.D. supervisor: *Dr sc.pol.*, asoc. prof. Daunis Auers (2011-2013), *Dr. sc.pol.* Nils
Muižnieks (2009-2011)

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Abstract

The theoretical contribution of the work is in identifying an innovative approach to the study of social integration and a sense of belonging. The framework is tested through secondary data analysis of Russian language speaking youth survey data from 2004 and 2010 in Latvia, in order to identify what factors show a consistent correlation with expressed belonging and how social integration impacts feelings of belonging. The work concludes that there is a serious misfit between policy and the stated goal of integration to foster a sense of belonging to Latvia, as the main focus of policy is on language and culture which in the empirical analysis showed an inconsistent correlation with belonging. The dissertation also examines the phenomenon of transnationalism and external homeland, and empirically shows that too little attention is afforded to the influence external homeland belonging has on Russian language speaker perception of the sense of community indicators and Latvian integration efforts.

Keywords: Latvia, Russian speakers, integration, sense of belonging, sense of community theory, external homeland.

Anotācija

Promocijas darba teorētiskais pienesums ir inovatīva pieeja, ar kuras palīdzību pētīt piederību nacionālajai kopienai, nosakot, kādi faktori uzrāda korelāciju ar piederību integrācijas kontekstā. Izmantojot datus no Latvijas krievvalodīgās kopienas 2004. un 2010.gadā, tiek analizēta piederības sajūtas veicinošo faktoru ietekme un tas, kā integrācijas politikas nostādnes sekmē piederības sajūtas attīstību. Darbā tiek secināts, ka pastāv neatbilstības starp valsts izvirzītajiem mērķiem piederības veicināšanā un tās integrācijas politikas pieeju, jo galvenais uzsvars tiek likts uz valodu un kultūru, kas promocijas darba empīriskajā analīzē neuzrāda neapšaubāmu korelāciju ar piederības sajūtu Latvijai. Promocijas darbā tiek pētīts arī dalītās piederības fenomēns un radnieciskās valsts piederības ietekme, kā arī empīriski norādīts, ka pārāk maz uzmanības tiek veltīts Krievijas piederības ietekmei uz krievvalodīgajiem Latvijas iedzīvotājiem un integrācijas centieniem kopumā.

Atslēgas vārdi: Latvija, krievvalodīgie, integrācija, piederības sajūta, kopienas piederības teorija, radnieciskās valsts ietekme.

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Abbreviations

BISS - Baltic Institute of Social Sciences

DnB - Den Norske Bank

ECMI - European Centre for Minority Issues

EFMS – European Forum for Migration Studies

ESRC - Economic and Social Research Council

EU - European Union

EUI – European University Institute

FSI - Filozofijas un socioloģijas institūts (Institute of Philosophy and Sociology)

IMISCOE – International Migration, Integration, and Social Cohesion

ISSP - International Social Survey Programme

IUSSP – International Union for the Scientific Study of Population

LU – Latvijas Universitāte (University of Latvia)

LR – Latvijas Republika (Republic of Latvia)

MIPEX - Migrant Integration Policy Index

NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NGO – Non-governmental organization

OSCE - Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

OSI - Open Society Institute

PFL - Popular Front of Latvia

PSR - Padomju Sociālistiskā Republika (Soviet Socialist Republic)

RSC – Robert Schuman Centre

SIF - Society Integration Foundation

SPPI - Sociālo un politisko pētījumu institūts (Advanced Social and Political Research Institute)

SPSS - Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

TIES - The Integration of the European Second Generation

UN – United Nations

USA – United States of America

USSR - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

INTRODUCTION

Introduction to the Topic

The overall objective of this dissertation is to look at minority integration and identity formation efforts, specifically focusing on the Russian language speakers' case in Latvia. In contributing a fresh perspective to this previously explored academic field, the author intends to focus particularly on analyzing the concept of a sense of belonging within the integration policy context. This will gauge the role of feelings of belonging within the integration process.

Latvia has faced a well documented struggle with the naturalization and integration efforts of the historic legacy immigrants left within its borders after ethno-nationalism helped bring about the collapse of the Soviet Union.¹ Twenty years later, numerous governments, policies, pressure from international organizations and outside influences have failed to bring about a resolution to the sizable non-citizens, or residents lacking citizenship of any state, population within Latvia – the Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs of Latvia documents these figures, as of 2013, at 13.5% (297,883) of the population.² The large non-citizens population is problematic because the lack of formal citizenship limits the individuals' rights to participate in the political process, impacts employment opportunities, and complicates the integration process into the welfare system.³

The problems of integration, however, do not end with the stateless non-citizens, as the population of Latvia is further segregated into two linguistically identified groups. The titulars, or the Latvian language speakers, and what Laitin has termed the 'Russian-speaking population', a conglomerate identity consisting of Russians, Belarusians, Ukrainians, Poles, and Jews who use Russian as their first language.⁴ The degree of segregation inevitably varies; however, there is room for

¹ Galbreath, D. (2005). *Nation Building and Minority Politics in Post-Socialist States: Interests, Influence and Identities in Estonia and Latvia*. Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag, p. 36.

² LR Pilsonības un migrācijas lietu pārvalde (2013). *Statistika – Iedzīvotāju reģistrs (Statistics - Register of Residents)*. Viewed 11.10.2013 from <http://www.pmlp.gov.lv/lv/sakums/statistika/iedzivotaju-registrs/>

³ Aasland, A., Fløtten, T. (2001). Ethnicity and Social Exclusion in Estonia and Latvia. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 53(7), p. 1028.

⁴ Laitin, D. (1998). *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*. Cornell: Cornell University Press.

concern as the populations on both sides are sizable. According to the Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia, as of 2012 60.5% (1,235,228) of the population are identified as Latvian, and 35% (716,364) fall into the Russian speaking population definition.⁵

The recent joint effort publication by a team affiliated with the Advanced Social and Political Research Institute at the University of Latvia reviewed integration achievements, failures, and challenges in Latvia thus far. The project utilized the editors definition of social integration to be, „...a process of unifying society by promoting participation, non-discrimination and intercultural contact.”⁶ In the various chapters dealing with history, policy, and integration at various realms of life, the audit paints a contradictory picture with achievements in some spheres (Latvian language knowledge, education system), backsliding in others (labor market, social policy), and continued segregation in media, public, and political life.⁷ Further, in his chapter, Tabuns discusses the persistent weak identification and sense of attachment of Russian language speakers to Latvia and their stated support for a strategy of separation, „...in which individuals attach a great deal of importance to the preservation of their culture, but avoid contacts with members of other ethnic groups and feel no sense of belonging to Latvia.”⁸

Concern with Russian speaker sense of belonging to Latvia is warranted. Social surveys have consistently revealed the weak nature of Russian speaker belonging and identification with Latvia. The latest data, from the *Latvia: Human Development Report 2010/2011* shows that of the Russian speakers surveyed, 72 per cent feel a ‘strong’ or ‘very strong’ sense of belonging to Latvia.⁹ However, the expressed sense of belonging figures tend to be more troubling in specific target group surveys, such as minority students. This is especially evident in the data set that will be used as the empirical basis for this dissertation. The two surveys conducted by the Baltic Institute of Social Sciences will show the dramatic drop in

⁵ LR Centralālās statistikas pārvalde (2012). *Iedzīvotāji un sociālie procesi: Pastāvīgo iedzīvotāju etniskais sastāvs gada sākumā 2012 (Residents and Social Processes: Permanent Resident Ethnic Composition Beginning of the Year 2012)*. Viewed 11.10.2013 from <http://data.csb.gov.lv/>

⁶ Muižnieks, N. (2010). Conclusion. In: Muižnieks N. (ed.) *How Integrated is Latvian Society?* Rīga: University of Latvia Press, p. 279.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

⁸ Tabuns, A. (2010). Identity, Ethnic Relations, Language and Culture. In: Muižnieks N. (ed.) *How Integrated is Latvian Society?* Rīga: University of Latvia Press, p. 257.

⁹ Zepa, B., Kļave E. (2011). *Latvija. Pārskats par tautas attīstību 2010/2011 (Latvia: Human Development Report 2010/2011)*. Rīga: LU Sociālo un politisko pētījumu institūts, p. 22.

expressed sense of belonging amongst minority students from 2004 to 2010. Attachment dropped from 70 per cent expressing a ‘strong’ or ‘very strong’ sense of belonging to Latvia in 2004, to only 30 per cent echoing the same sentiment by 2010.¹⁰

While belonging is most certainly a relation process and a state of being, within the integration discourse much of how belonging is understood and felt depends on others and political structures. The idea that integration should be based on fostering a sense of belonging is a topic frequently emphasized by prominent politicians and academics. Quite recently, it seems that the Latvian government has taken notice of the issue of belonging, specifically within the integration context. In 2011, the Latvian government adopted the policy guidelines on *National Identity, Civil Society and Integration 2012-2018*.¹¹ Within the new document, belonging or sense of belonging is mentioned roughly forty-five times in a wide variety of contexts ranging from; belonging in general, belonging to the Latvian state, nation, or cultural sphere, emphasizing belonging to Europe through European traditions, values, and principles and the Western way of thinking. This is in stark contrast to the original 2001 government adopted national program on the *Integration of Society in Latvia*, where belonging is only mentioned three times; once in stating the necessity of the integration program, then in relation to non-governmental organizations, and once within the context of cultural belonging stemming from participation in the song festivals.¹²

The concept of belonging is so centrally rooted within the *National Identity, Civil Society and Integration 2012-2018* policy guidelines, that it is even used in defining social integration. The social integration definition in the document states that, “...the basis of integration is the Latvian language, sense of belonging to Latvia, and the democratic values, respect for the unique cultural sphere of Latvia, and formulation of cohesive social memory.”¹³ The document goes on to say that it is

¹⁰ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2010). *Vidusskolēnu pilsoniskās un lingvistiskās attieksmes, apgūstot mazākumtautību izglītības programmas (Civic and Linguistic Understanding of Middle School Pupils in Minority Education Programs)*. Rīga: BISS, p. 11.

¹¹ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011). *Nacionālās identitātes, pilsoniskās sabiedrības un integrācijas politikas pamatnostādnes 2012-2018 (National Identity, Civil Society and Integration 2012-2018 policy guidelines)*. Rīga: Ministru kabineta 2011.gada 20.oktobra rīkojums Nr. 542.

¹² LR Valsts programma (2001). *Sabiedrības integrācija Latvijā (The Integration of Society in Latvia)*. Rīga: Ministru kabineta 2001.gada 6.februāra protokollēmums Nr. 6 34, p. 12, p. 58.

¹³ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011), p. 7.

state responsibility within social integration policy to, "...strengthen national identity, and the sense of belonging to Latvia..."¹⁴ Integration and the fostering of feelings of belonging, according to the document, is important because, "The state shapes the framework within which democracy can operate, but democracy cannot function without people who feel a belonging to the particular state and feel a responsibility for it."¹⁵ Therefore, sense of belonging is vital within the integration context but also because a, "...sense of belonging to Latvia, is responsibility for the democratic state of Latvia, for the Latvian nation and the prerequisite for sustainable existence of all Latvian peoples."¹⁶ As a result, it can be deduced that the policy document concludes that without feelings of belonging to Latvia, the Latvian state as such is unsustainable.

If belonging and feelings of belonging are assigned such a central role in the overall preservation of the Latvian state, and seen as a vital component of integration, it is imperative to understand what accounts for a sense of belonging and how to define belonging. However, surveys such as the *Evaluating Vibrant Communities Survey 2002-2010* in asking participants to define what belonging means to them uncover the complexity of the concept.¹⁷ The respondents were not provided with a definition of belonging and were asked to answer based on their own understanding of the term. The overarching answer drawn from the survey is that a sense of belonging means that the participants feel themselves to be an integral part of the whole. However, the 'whole' can be further separated into three broad categories most frequently referred to in the survey answers. These categories can be classified as place, group or community, and the system.

Structure of Dissertation

The dissertation proposes to achieve the above mentioned aim of understanding what accounts for feelings of belonging, how belonging can be influenced through the state led process of integration, and how correct are the assumptions of the Latvian government about what has an impact on the sense of

¹⁴ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011)., p. 9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁷ Tamarack Institute for Community Engagement (2009). *Seeking Community - Finding Belonging in Chaotic Times Survey Results*. Viewed 11.10.2013 from <http://tamarackcommunity.ca/downloads/home/belonging.pdf>

belonging of Russian speakers to Latvia, through a three-step process. First, the dissertation intends to compile a comprehensive overview of theoretical literature on sense of belonging and integration. The theoretical contribution of this dissertation will be in identifying the appropriate framework for the study of social integration and a sense of belonging. It is the intention of this dissertation to define how the process of social integration is inter-linked with sense of belonging development, and identify what specific dimensions and factors aid in forming, or diminishing, national attachments.

Next, the empirical section of the dissertation will look at survey data of Russian speaking minority youths from 2004 and 2010. The aim will be to test the validity, in the Latvian case, of the theoretical assumptions of belonging and integration and establish if the fulfillment of theoretical integration promoting factors does indeed have a positive correlation with the expressed sense of belonging of minority youths to Latvia. The use of two different years will allow for testing if factors affecting sense of belonging are constant, or if sense of belonging is influenced by national, external homeland, and global process. In using the survey data findings, the dissertation will also look at the influence of multiple belongings, or transnational attachments, on Russian speaking youths' sense of belonging to Latvia. The data will ascertain how European belonging and Russian belonging impacts the perception of the sense of community indicators, and how transnational attachments influence Latvian integration efforts.

Then the dissertation intends to evaluate the focus and construction of the *National Identity, Civil Society and Integration 2012-2018* policy guidelines, in order to ascertain the special role afforded to the concept of a sense of belonging within the integration context in Latvia and the document itself. The objective of the assessment will be to establish how the policy document understands belonging, how it proposes to endorse feelings of belonging to Latvia, and how much of the academic perspective on belonging and integration, discussed in the theoretical section of the dissertation, does the policy document take into consideration. Then the focus areas of the document will be compared with the survey data findings, thus allowing to gauge the applicability of the *National Identity, Civil Society and Integration 2012-2018* policy guidelines and to test if the areas of focus specified by the document in reality do correlate with the areas of concern highlighted by the survey data findings.

Aims:

- Compile a comprehensive overview of theoretical literature on sense of belonging and integration, show how the two processes are interlinked, and identify a novel approach to the study of sense of belonging and integration;
- Test the theoretical assumptions of belonging and integration through secondary data analysis of Russian speaking youths in Latvia survey responses from 2004, and compare with data from 2010, in order to test if factors showing a correlation with belonging are constant, or if they change in accordance with global processes;
 - Evaluate the influence of multiple attachments on sense of belonging to Latvia. Establish how European belonging and Russian belonging influences the perception of sense of community indicators, and how transnational attachments impact Latvian integration efforts.
- Evaluate the *National Identity, Civil Society and Integration 2012-2018* policy guidelines:
 - Ascertain how the policy document understands belonging, how it proposes to endorse feelings of belonging to Latvia, how this correlates with the academic perspective on belonging and integration discussed in the first section of the dissertation;
 - Compare the empirical findings with the analysis of the *National Identity, Civil Society and Integration 2012-2018* policy document in order to determine if the focus of the policy document is evidenced based, and does it highlight the areas identified by the survey data findings as important to Russian language speakers' sense of belonging to Latvia.

Research Question and Hypothesis

In order to achieve the above mentioned aims, the dissertation proposes the following research question and hypothesis:

R1: How effective is the sense of community theory and indicators in forecasting the sense of belonging of Russian speaking youths in 2004 and 2010? What factors have a strong correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia and are they constant?

H1.1: Sense of Community Indicator – Membership:

H1.1.1: Identification with the group will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging.

H1.1.2: Inter-group contact, willingness to engage in contact, will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging.

H1.1.3: Language knowledge and use will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging.

H1.2: Sense of Community Indicator – Emotional Connection:

H1.2.1: Shared interests will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging.

H1.2.2: Favorable perception of the group will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging.

H1.2.3: Considering Latvia as homeland will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging.

H1.3: Sense of Community Indicator – Influence:

H1.3.1: Ability to express views freely will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging.

H1.3.2: The power to influence decision making will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging.

H1.3.3: Civic participation will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging.

H1.4: Sense of Community Indicator – Fulfillment of Needs:

H1.4.1: Envisioning future opportunities in Latvia will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging.

H1.4.2: Lack of perceived discrimination within the economic sector will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging.

H1.5: Formal membership, or citizenship, will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging.

H1.6: Multiple belongings do not necessarily have a negative correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia:

H1.6.1: A sense of belonging to Europe will have a positive influence on the perception of sense of community indicators that strengthen a sense of belonging to Latvia.

H1.6.2: External homeland belonging to Russia will have a negative influence on the perception of sense of community indicators that strengthen a sense of belonging to Latvia.

Relevance of the Topic

Integration achievements in Latvia, in various spheres, have been analyzed and measured; however, thus far the influence of integration achievements on Russian speaker sense of belonging has not been discussed or gauged. The aim of this dissertation is to utilize current interdisciplinary academic literature in order to contribute to the clarification of the definition of belonging within the three broad categories of place, group or community, and the system. The analysis will show the interconnectedness of the sources of belonging with the dimensions of integration, specifically in the Latvian context. As a result, the findings of the dissertation will make a significant theoretical contribution to the integration discourse, specifically to the integration policy perspective.

It seems particularly useful to explore notions of belonging within the current context of globalization, where the limited national understandings of belonging to the nation-state is often in conflict with what Castles and Miller have termed the new age of migration.¹⁸ However, it is precisely the problems associated with migration and globalization that necessitates a nation-state response, and as Meyer and his colleagues write, "...globalization certainly poses new problems for states, but it also strengthens the world-cultural principle that nation-states are the primary actors charged with identifying and managing those problems on behalf of their societies."¹⁹ States maintain their relevance in the globalized world by having to respond to these challenges, specifically the integration of minorities and migrants. Taking a look again at integration, specifically of how feelings of belonging come to be, and to what

¹⁸ Castles, S., Miller, M.J. (1998). *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World, 2nd edition*. New York: Guilford Press.

¹⁹ Meyer, J., et.al. (1997). World Society and the Nation-State. *American Journal of Sociology*, 103, p. 157.

extent can the state influence or manipulate these feelings in its residents, is a globally relevant topic that is especially pertinent to Latvia for several reasons.

The naturalization rates of Latvia have reached a low point, with only 2,213 individuals granted citizenship in 2012.²⁰ If naturalization rates are taken as core integration indicator, then the high remaining level of non-citizens is a negative benchmark for Latvian integration efforts.²¹ Further, survey data demonstrates that the current non-citizens of Latvia have no near future plans for naturalization.²² However, there seems to be a strong link between sense of belonging and citizenship. The survey, *On the Road to Civic Society*, conducted in 1997, found that 23 per cent of the non-citizens eligible for citizenship did not plan to apply because they did not feel a sense of belonging to Latvia.²³ The *New Citizens Survey*, conducted in 2001, established that 90 per cent of the new-citizens stated that sense of belonging to Latvia was a ‘very important’ or ‘important’ factor in their application for citizenship.²⁴ The survey findings demonstrate that sense of belonging can be both; the main motivational aspect for acquiring citizenship, and the lack there of can serve as the main hindrance to non-citizens completion of the naturalization process. By defining and identifying what contributes to feelings of belonging within the Latvian context, and identifying the means of belonging considered most important by survey respondents, amendments to integration policy can be suggested to overcome factors hindering sense of belonging development, which in turn can overcome the hesitation to naturalize.

Additionally, the research can help pin-point why recently there has been a surge in non-citizens seeking Russian citizenship and what this means for integration efforts in Latvia. Data from the Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs suggests that in 2010 the rate of non-citizens seeking Russian citizenship doubled, in

²⁰ LR Pilsonības un migrācijas lietu pārvalde (2013). *Statistika – Naturalizācija (Statistics – Naturalization)*. Viewed 11.10.2013 from <http://www.pmlp.gov.lv/lv/sakums/statistika/naturalizacija.html>

²¹ Brands Kehris, I. (2010). Citizenship, Participation, and Representation. In: Muižnieks N. (ed.) *How Integrated is Latvian Society?* Rīga: University of Latvia Press, p. 100, p. 121.

²² AC Konsultācijas, SIA. (2008). *Kvantitatīvs un kvalitatīvs pētījums par sabiedrības integrācijas un pilsonības aktuālajiem aspektiem (Quantitative and Qualitative Survey about Current Issues Regarding Social Integration and Citizenship)*. Rīga: SIA "AC Konsultācijas", p. 40.

²³ Baltic Data House (1998). *Pētījumu un rīcības programma "Ceļā uz pilsonisku sabiedrību" (Research and policy program „On the Road to Civic Society”)*. Rīga: Baltic Data House, p. 40.

²⁴ Baltijas Sociālo Zinātņu institūts (2001a). *Jaunpilsoņu aptauja (New Citizens Survey)*. Rīga: Baltijas Sociālo Zinātņu institūts, p. 41.

comparison to 2009. In total, 5763 Latvian non-citizens became Russian citizens.²⁵ The proposed research will look at how problematic is external homeland belonging to Russia formally (through citizenship) and informally (diaspora identity) for integration efforts in Latvia. Does external homeland belonging hinder sense of belonging development to Latvia, and does it impact how integration efforts are perceived? Therefore, the proposed research can serve as a powerful tool for further naturalization efforts of the non-citizens population, help in understanding their decision making process, and offer insight into how integration policy can best reach out to those who feel a strong belonging to Russia. As such, the work will establish the extent of Russian influence, both through formal and informal channels, on Russian speaker sense of belonging to Latvia.

The dissertation is also applicable to the analysis of the current overall problem of migration. Data suggests that it is not only the Russian language speakers and non-citizens who are experiencing a decline in sense of belonging to Latvia, but that the sense of attachment to Latvia of the overall population of Latvia is diminishing. This is attested by high rates of emigration and lack of future vision of self realization in Latvia.²⁶ In attempting to dissect the relationship between sense of belonging and the nation-state, the dissertation will analyze the various elements - emotive and instrumental - of sense of belonging and attempt to provide a framework for understanding what components of sense of belonging root individuals within territory, and state, and ultimately keep a community together.

Finally, the dissertation aims to contribute to the academic literature of post-communist political, economic, social and cultural transformation, by showing how the relative success or failure of each particular phase of transition has shaped the understanding of belonging in Latvia. The dissertation endeavors to demonstrate how integration efforts have been hampered by considerable influence from the past and the exerted sway of the external homeland. Integration policy has been constrained by both theoretical limitations, past experiences, and entrenched expectations and

²⁵ LR Iekšlietu ministrija (2011). *Pērn dubultojies Krievijas pilsonībā pārgājušo nepilsoņu skaits (Last year the non-citizens receiving Russian citizenship doubles)*. Viewed 11.10.2013 from <http://www.iem.gov.lv/lat/aktualitates/jaunumi/?doc=22205>

²⁶ Hazans, M. (2011b) Latvijas emigrācijas mainīgā seja: 2000-2010 (The Changing Face of Latvian Emigration 2000-2010). In: Zepa, B., Kļave, E., (eds.) *Latvija. Pārskats par tautas attīstību 2010/2011 (Latvia: Human Development Report 2010/2011)*. Rīga: LU Sociālo un politisko pētījumu institūts, pp. 70-91.

relationships ensuing from the USSR. Additionally, the dissertation analysis of the particular context of the Russian speaking minorities in Latvia can potentially yield useful outcomes in other former territories of the Soviet Union in understand how to encourage a sense of belonging in legacy immigrants.

Methodology

This dissertation, in the theoretical section, will provide an overview of the theoretical approaches and academic literature that shapes the top-down state controlled process of integration. The theoretical section will also analyze the applicable academic literature on sense of belonging and sense of belonging promoting factors and conditions. The empirical section, through policy analysis, will establish to what extent the Latvian integration policy reflects the assumptions of academic theory and how the latest policy document proposes to endorse feelings of belonging within the context of integration. Then, by looking at empirical survey data, the dissertation will evaluate how applicable are academic theories, supporting the elements of sense of community theory, in forecasting a sense of belonging amongst the Russian speaking population in Latvia and to what extent do multiple belongings promote or hinder the process of integration. Thus, the dissertation proposes to test both the applicability of academic theory to the Latvian case, and evaluate the underlying theoretical architecture and its applicability of the Latvian integration policy in order to gauge if the focus of the policy is evidence based.

The work proposes to look at the macro level of analysis in order to establish the impact global conditions wield on feelings of belonging, as well as to understand the exerted influence of national policy and structures (state and state policy, economy and economic structures, culture, society and public discourse). Further, the meso level of analysis will evaluate the impact of networks, including the relations between the minorities and the country of origin. Finally, the micro level of analysis will ascertain the impact of individual needs, interests and motives in the process of sense of belonging formation. In order to do so, the dissertation will use the mixed-method approach and employ both quantitative and qualitative data that will supplement each other.

Mixed-method research in this dissertation is defined as, "...the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research

techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study.”²⁷ The approach allows the researcher a certain level of freedom in selecting the appropriate methods for the research task at hand and does not restrict information source selection. “Mixed methods research also is an attempt to legitimate the use of multiple approaches in answering research questions, rather than restricting or constraining researchers’ choices.”²⁸ Qualitative methods will be used to look at theoretical literature on the topic, government policy, and existing applicable research to identify factors considered as vital for sense of belonging development. The quantitative methods will be used to analyze the survey data of minority students in Latvia in order to establish the relevancy of academic theory and scope of integration policy.

The version of the *National Identity, Civil Society and Integration 2012-2018* guidelines used within this dissertation is the unofficial translation into English by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Latvia, supplied to the author by the Ministry of Culture. All subsequent translations and terminology in English used within this work, stem from this version of the policy guidelines. The dissertation will apply the content analysis method of research to the reading of the government adopted policy guidelines. Content analysis is defined as, “...a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use.”²⁹ The policy document will be systematically read, while noting the common threads and links with the literature review of academic theory in order to evaluate its theoretical construction. Then the proposed initiatives of the document will be compared and contrasted with the empirical findings from the minority student surveys in order to ascertain if the policy document takes into consideration the bottom-up response to previous initiatives, best-practice suggestions from academic theory, and if the stated emphasis in the document does indeed have consistent correlation with a sense of belonging.

The quantitative data used for defining the sources and feelings of belonging and measuring the applicability of sense of community indicators, academic theory, and Latvian integration policy, stems from secondary data analysis of two different

²⁷ Johnson, R. B., Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2004). Mixed Methods Research: A Research Paradigm Whose Time has Come. *Educational Researcher*, 33(7), p. 17.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

²⁹ Krippendorff, K. H. (2003). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*. London: Sage Publications Inc., p. 18.

surveys conducted in Latvia in 2004 and 2010 by the Baltic Institute of Social Sciences.³⁰ The aim of the surveys was to look at the level of civic and linguistic integration of minority youths within the context of the minority education reform. The 2004 survey report was translated into English by the Baltic Institute of Social Sciences and all the survey question wordings and terminology used within this dissertation stem from this official translation.

In the first survey, conducted in April of 2004, 1,189 students in grades from 9th to 12th were interviewed in fifty minority schools in Latvia. In the second survey, conducted in 2010, 514 students in grades from 10th to 12th in minority schools in Latvia were interviewed. The 2010 survey, conducted in May, was specifically constructed in a way to allow for data compatibility and comparison with the 2004 survey as a follow-up measure.³¹ The work recognizes that by concentrating on Russian speaking youths a specific group perspective is presented, that may not be representative of the whole Russian speaking population, but the justification for the selection is discussed in detail in the Borders and Limitations section below.

The quantitative data will be tested using the IBM SPSS Statistics program using multiple regression to determine if the variables identified as significant to sense of belonging by the sense of community theory have a correlation with expressed level of belonging to Latvia. The use of two different years will offer a chance to evaluate if the factors shown to have a correlation with sense of belonging are constant, and how answers from similarly aged students to the same questions have changed within the six year time span in the context of education reform, economic transition (from admittance to the European Union to the 2008/2009 economic crisis), political development, increased exposure to the globalized international system, and Russian influence. The sample group is especially interesting for the dissertation, because it will allow to test the significance of citizenship status for expressed belonging to Latvia, as some of the respondents are citizens, while others are non-citizens.

³⁰ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2004a). *Integration of Minority Youth in the Society of Latvia in the Context of the Education Reform*. Rīga: Baltic Institute of Social Sciences.; Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2010). *Vidusskolēnu pilsoniskās un lingvistiskās attieksmes, apgūstot mazākumtautību izglītības programmas (Civic and Linguistic Understanding of Middle School Pupils in Minority Education Programs)*. Rīga: Baltic Institute of Social Sciences.

³¹ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2010), p. 3.

The findings from the quantitative data analysis will be further supplemented with additional data from surveys, reports, position papers, and materials produced by public bodies. The information will be used to gauge overall trends within Latvian society and to pin-point if the correlations identified in the main empirical data used within the dissertation are constant with other research findings.

Limitations of the Topic

One of the main difficulties of writing about the topic of belonging is trying to identify what is meant by the concept in the work of other authors. As Buonfino and Thomson state, the notion of belonging is indeed so intuitive, that often times it is not explained.³² This can also be attested by the wide variety of various surveys that deal with the general notion of belonging, without specifically calling it belonging, such as the Eurobarometer survey which asks about attachments, the European Values Survey and the World Values Survey which ask about belonging to geographical groups, and the ISSP International Social Survey which asks about closeness felt. Thus, within the scope of this dissertation, the concept of a sense of belonging will be used interchangeably with felt sense of attachment, sense of closeness, and sense of community.

The work recognizes that belonging in each country and group of individuals is shaped by different historical experiences, structural constraints, and cultural influence. It is the aim of this work, in the Latvian case, to study belonging from a policy perspective in order to understand how integration policy defines and understands belonging, how the policy intends to shape belonging, how this understanding correlates with the academic perspective, how transnational attachments facilitate or impede the process, and use the empirical survey data to validate or overturn the existing policy focus areas. Thus, the work intentionally does not center its attention on understanding the Russian speaker discourse and does not provide the Russian speaking community perspective of what they feel shapes their attachment to Latvia. Future research should focus on understanding the Russian speaking community perspective of what shapes or hinders their sense of belonging to Latvia through in-depth interviews and qualitative analysis of Russian

³² Buonfino, A., Thomson, L. (2007). *Belonging in Contemporary Britain*. London: Commission on Integration and Cohesion, p. 6.

speaking sources, such a work would be supplemental to the empirical section and the survey response analysis of this dissertation.

Two additional limitations of the research scope are discussed in more detail below. Those being; why the work concentrates on the particular time frame in the empirical analysis of the problem, and why have Russian speaking students been selected as the target group of the study used to validate, or overturn, the particular Latvian integration policy areas and their relationship with the theoretical assumptions of belonging.

Time Frame Selection

The time frame selected for the dissertation, the years 2004 and 2010, has been done with the socio-political and socio-economic context and the research hypothesis in mind. The year 2004 is interesting because Latvia joined the European Union on May 1, 2004. The survey questions and discussion groups were held in February and April. The joining of the European Union was an issue which polarized society; as it was considered both a conscious move away from the Soviet past and neighboring Russia, but also a move that inspired economic hope.³³

The joining of the European Union, in terms of minority integration, is relevant because leading up to the accession there was vast speculation as to what effect would EU conditionality have on Latvia's integration policy. Some academics suggested that EU pre-accession conditionality would finally require Latvia to resolve its non-citizen and minority integration issues, would simplify the naturalization procedure, and would require legislation to be more accommodating toward minority language use.³⁴ Others were more skeptical and found the effects of EU activities in the field of minority integration and citizenship policy to be lacking or even superficial.³⁵ However, effective or ineffective EU pre-accession conditions have

³³ Šūpule, I. (2004b). Vēlreiz par referendumu. *Politika. lv*. Viewed 11.10.2013 from <http://politika.lv/article/velreiz-par-referendumu-etniska-skelsanas-balsojuma-par-latvijas-iestanos-es-petijumu-rezultati>

³⁴ Jubulis, M. A. (1996). The External Dimension of Democratization in Latvia: the Impact of European Institutions. *International Relations*, 13(3), 59-73.; Dorodnova, J. (2000). *EU Concerns in Estonia and Latvia: Implications of Enlargement for Russia's Behaviour towards the Russian-speaking Minorities*. EUI working paper, RSC 2000/58. Italy: European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre.

³⁵ Hughes, J., Sasse G. (2003). Monitoring the Monitors: EU Enlargement Conditionality and Minority Protection in the CEECs. *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe*, 1, pp. 1-37.; Gelazis, N. (2004). The European Union and the Statelessness Problem in the Baltic States. *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 6(3), pp. 225-242.; Van Elsuwege, P. (2004). *Russian-*

been in influencing the domestic policy of Latvia, the survey of minority youths will provide an opportunity to evaluate how feelings of belonging, or not belonging, to Europe influence expressed attachment to Latvia.

In 2004, significant amendments to the Republic of Latvia Education Law were set to go into force on 1st of September.³⁶ The minority education reform mandated the implementation of bilingual education in primary schools, with 60 per cent of subjects to be taught in Latvian at the minority language schools. The minority education reform brought about significant political action from the minority interest groups in early 2004, and political and protest participation amongst the Russian speakers reached an unprecedented level. By looking at the survey responses from 2004 of minority youths, the impact of the national political context on expressed sense of belonging on the group most affected by the changes can be established.

Additionally, using data from 2004, when the education reform had not yet gone into force, allows for evaluation of the effectiveness of the education policy reform in terms of promoting integration, as the stated objective of the reform, "...was to unite society on the basis of language, not assimilation."³⁷ According to advocates of bilingual education, the reform would promote Latvian language knowledge, increase the competitiveness of non-Latvian speakers in higher education and the labor market, and encourage acquisition of Latvian citizenship.³⁸ In using survey data from 2004 and 2010, it is possible to evaluate the relative success or failure of the education reform in promoting language knowledge and use, in the six year time period, and what impact, if any, has the education policy reform had on respondents' sense of belonging. The findings can then be used to evaluate the stated focus of the government adopted policy guidelines on *National Identity, Civil Society and Integration 2012-2018* in order to establish if the recent integration document is evidence based and has taken the real situation, and the impact the language reform in the education sector has had, into consideration.

Speaking Minorities in Estonia and Latvia: Problems of Integration and the Threshold of the European Union. ECMI Working Paper #20. Flensburg: European Centre for Minority Issues.

³⁶ LR Izglītības likums (1998) *Saeima stājās spēkā 10.06.1999 (Education Law in effect 10.06.1999).* *Latvijas Vestnesis*, Nr. 343/344. Viewed 11.10.2013 from <http://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=50759>

³⁷ Poleshchuk, V. (2001). *Integration in Estonia and Minority Education in Latvia.* ECMI Report #18. Flensburg: European Centre for Minority Issues, p. 17.

³⁸ Van Elsuwege, P. (2004), p. 12.

In addition to the above mentioned justification for using 2010 data for the evaluation of the success or failure of the education reform, 2010 data is also very interesting in terms of the socio-political and socio-economic context. The effects of the global recession and the Latvian bail-out were still very much felt in 2010. Budget cuts and welfare spending reductions were still being implemented, and unemployment at nearly 22 per cent was the highest in the European Union.³⁹ This had a further negative impact on the already sensitive issue of youth employment in Latvia.⁴⁰ The young adults, target group of this study, were most severely affected by the unemployment and economic climate as according to the data from the Central Statistics Bureau of Latvia of the unemployed in 2010 searching for employment, 31 per cent were of the 20-24 age group.⁴¹ Further, the DnB Nord Latvian Barometer consistently showed the dissatisfaction of Latvian residents with their economic situation, the grim predictions for future economic development, and overall dissatisfaction with the direction the development of Latvia had taken.⁴² Thus, the survey data from 2010 will reflect the effect, if any, the socio-economic context has on respondent feelings of belonging. All of the above mentioned reasons make for a fascinating context in which to study how influence and needs fulfillment factors of the sense of community theory impact the expressed level of national belonging within the set time period from 2004 to 2010.

Justification for the Particular Empirical Data Set

As already mentioned, the focal point of this dissertation centers on establish the impact the state, through its policy, can have on integration and sense of belonging development. The selection of the target group for this study, Russian speaking youths within the minority education system of Latvia, has been done on account of several reasons. First of all, youths are the future of society and their viewpoints are indicative of potential developments. For this reason, children and youths have been

³⁹ Kolyako, N. (2010). Latvia's Unemployment Level Remains the Highest in the EU in February. *The Baltic Course*. Viewed 14.10.2013 from <http://www.baltic-course.com/eng/analytics/?doc=25371>

⁴⁰ Koroļeva, I. (2007). *Jaunieši darba tirgū: situācijas un nodarbinātību ietekmējošo faktoru analīze' (Youth in the labor market: situation and employment influencing factor analysis)*. Rīga: Socioloģisko pētījumu institūts, p. 15.

⁴¹ LR Centrālās statistikas pārvalde (2010). *Iedzīvotāji un sociālie procesi: Nodarbinātība un bezdarbs: Ekonomiskās aktivitātes, nodarbinātības līmenis, darba meklētāju īpatsvars 2010 (Residents and Social Processes: Employment and Unemployment: Economic activities, employment, and share of unemployed 2010)*. Viewed 14.10.2013 from: <http://data.csb.gov.lv/>

⁴² DNB Latvijas barometrs (2010). *Darba tirgus Nr. 22 (The Labor Market Nr. 22)*. Viewed 14.10.2013 from <https://www.dnb.lv/lv/publikacijas/dnb-latvijas-barometers/2010>

considered by the 2001 National Program on the Integration of Society as the ‘most important target group’ of the social integration process.⁴³ As the participants of the two surveys from 2004 and 2010 were aged between 14-18 years of age, they fit into the Latvian integration policy target group definition.

Parsons has written about the role of education, at the secondary level of socialization, as promoting the internalization of the norms and values of the society outside of the family and home. The particularistic values of the family, during secondary socialization, are to be replaced by the universalistic values of the society.⁴⁴ According to the writings of Bourdieu, it is through the school and education system that the state shapes a community of those who belong by categorizing and facilitating a common habitus.⁴⁵ The integrative role of the school is also recognized by the 2001 national program the *Integration of Society in Latvia*, which describes the education system as, “...the most important driving force of the integration process”.⁴⁶

The Russian speaking youths, in minority schools, have been in the majority of cases socialized in the independent Latvia through a state supported education system. This makes the particular group an interesting example for the analysis of the integrative and socializing capacity of the Latvian education system in general, however, as already discussed, as the students were surveyed in 2004 and 2010, the responses can also be analyzed in relation to the minority education reform of 2004 with the increased focus on teaching of the Latvian language. Thus, the selected target group will make for an interesting subject through which to test the theoretical assumptions of belonging, and the accuracy of the focus of the Latvian integration policy for sense of belonging facilitation.

As will be discussed in more detail in the following sections of the dissertation, and illustrated in Table 1 (p. 99) and Table 2 (p. 100), the Russian speaking youths are a fascinating case for the analysis of sense of belonging, as their expressed level of belonging to Latvia has consistently been lower than the expressed sense of attachment of the general Russian speaking population in the years analyzed. Additionally, the target group is interesting for the analysis of Russian external

⁴³ LR Valsts programma (2001)., p. 51.

⁴⁴ Trevino, J. A. (2001). *Talcott Parsons Today: His Theory and Legacy in Contemporary Sociology*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, pg. xli.

⁴⁵ De Cellia, R., Reisigl, M., Wodak, R. (1999). The Discursive Construction of National Identities. *Discourse & Society*, 10(2), p. 156.

⁴⁶ LR Valsts programma (2001)., p. 51.

homeland influence on feelings of belonging and motivation to integrate. As already stated, the survey respondents have been socialized within the Latvian education system and the majority holds Latvian citizenship; 66 per cent in 2004 survey, and 88 per cent in 2010 survey, however, the self identification of most was as having a Russian nationality; 68 per cent in 2004 survey, 70 per cent in 2010 survey.⁴⁷ Also, the Russian speaking youth have an overall higher level of expressed sense of attachment to Russia, illustrated in Table 2 (p. 100), in 2004 and 2010, then the general Russian speaking population illustrated in Tables 1 (p. 99). The maintenance of a Russian identity, through self-identification and feelings of belonging, will be looked at in relation to the strength of attachment felt toward Russia and Latvia.

The combination of the above mentioned factors makes this the appropriate group within which to study the impact government policy, both through integration strategy and its implementation through the education system, and also through external homeland influence, can have on Russian speaker sense of belonging to Latvia.

⁴⁷ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2004a)., p. 59.; Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2010)., p. 9.

THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF INTEGRATION AND A SENSE OF BELONGING

1. Introduction to Theoretical Approaches

The categories of belonging (to place, group or community, or system), and the medium through which the state controlled process of integration influences belonging and how individuals understand and value attachment, derive from the various theoretical models of belonging discussed within academic literature. In explaining how individual sense of belonging develops or deteriorates, how states are involved in the construction process of belonging, and what elements influence the sense of belonging in the data set of analysis, first, the paradigms shaping the various theories will be discussed. The overall interpretation of the theories by the author, through the analytical lenses of constructivism, such as rationalism/perspective theory, cultural/interpretive theory, and structuralism, will shape the arguments in this dissertation.

1.2. Constructivism

Constructivism is a, "...theory which asserts that human knowledge and understanding are constructed through social institutions and practices"⁴⁸. The work will proceed in the Constructivist epistemology which, as outlined by Alexander Wendt states, "(1) that the structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces, and (2) that the identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given by nature."⁴⁹ The dissertation will hold that all micro and macro action; whether individual behavior, group behavior, state policy, national or global structures can be subjected and influenced by constructivist forces.

Wendt understands constructivism as a moderate form that draws on structuralism and symbolic interaction, hence emphasizing the role structures, social interactions, and social psychology has on the individual. The constructivist approach

⁴⁸ McLean, I., McMillan A. (2009). *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics*, 3rd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 117.

⁴⁹ Wendt, A. (1999). *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.1.

argues that there is no such thing as a given individual preference, and instead urges investigation of how preferences come to be formed through powerful influences in society.⁵⁰ In evaluating the role of policy on individual attachment development, the function of structures, both national and international, will be framed within the constructivist approach.

Especially relevant to the dissertation's analysis of feelings of belonging is the symbolic interactionism perspective of constructivism developed by Herbert Blumer.⁵¹ Blumer outlined three main premises of symbolic interactionism; first, humans behave according to the meanings that things and events have for them; two, individual meanings of things and events stem from interaction with others; three, meanings entail interpretation rather than simple literal compliance with standardized expectations.⁵² In summary, people act toward things based on the meaning those things have for them, and these meanings are derived from social interactions and modified through interpretation.

In the section below the additional theoretical approaches and tools of constructivism are discussed. The rational choice/perspective theory is regarded as susceptible to constructivism, through the influence of structuralism and culturalism. The synthesis of these paradigms below will explain how constructivism can influence and shape self interest, how culture and norms can be construed to define socially acceptable choices, and how constructivism works through structures to constrain or enable action.

1.2.1. Rationalism / Perspective Theory

Rational choice theory states that patterns of behavior in societies reflect the choices made by individuals as they try to achieve some given end and maximize their utility, while at the same time minimizing their costs. The patterns of behavior in society reflect the results of those individual choices. According to rational choice theory, changes in social values occur for the same reason human behavior changes: because there are shifts in the real or assumed benefits and costs (advantages and

⁵⁰ Marsh, D., Furlong, P. (2010) A Skin Not a Sweater: Ontology and Epistemology in Political Science. In: Marsch, D., Stoker, G. (eds.) *Theory and Methods in Political Science, 3rd edition*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, p. 185.

⁵¹ Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

⁵² Larson, C. J. (1986). *Sociological Theory from the Enlightenment to the Present*. New York: General Hall, Inc., p. 143.

disadvantages) associated with the existing social practices and with their possible alternatives.⁵³

The individualistic approach of traditional rational choice theory is usually not very compatible with constructivism and structuralism, as thick rationalists are accused of ignoring the reality of the interconnectedness of various variables that go into decision making and expect their subjects to make rational individualistic decisions of achieving particular goals while thinking only of their utility. Rational choice theory is not free-standing, it needs other perspectives to help explain why individuals have the interests they do, how they perceive those interests, and the distribution of rules, power and social roles that determine the constraints of their actions⁵⁴. Therefore, the rationalism approach proposed within this dissertation for the analysis of a sense of belonging allows for additional outside influences and calculates utility not only through material well-being but also social relationships.

The rationalism approach used in this dissertation to look at the preference of group belonging and socio-economic belonging in individuals will be that of Kristen Renwick Monroe's modified version of the John Harsanyi conception of rational-behavior argument. This rational theory approach explains that all human behavior is based on maximizing two dominant interests: economic gain and social acceptance.⁵⁵ Utility, as the combined measure of both the potential economic gains and the social acceptance, has to include in the cost-benefit analysis any possible social sanctions for the choices made.⁵⁶ In addition, the theory accounts for constructivist constraints on rational choice decision making in stating that:

At any given moment, the area in which people are free to follow their rational choice and to select the course of action yielding the highest utility to them is restricted by personal commitments to their family, their close friends, and certain social organizations and non-organized social groups they are attached to.⁵⁷

⁵³ Harsanyi, J. (1969). Rational-Choice Models of Political Behavior vs. Functionalist and Conformist Theories. *World Politics*, 21(4), p. 529.

⁵⁴ Ward, H. (2002) Rational Choice. In: Marsch, D., Stoker, G. (eds.) *Theory and Methods in Political Science, 2nd edition*. Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 65.

⁵⁵ Harsanyi, J. (1969)., p. 524.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 531-532.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 523.

Because of the difficulty in clarifying the relationship between economic and non-economic interests, between group and individual interests, between short and long-term concerns, this theory, unlike traditional rational choice theory, cannot present its findings only empirically. The theory requires a certain amount of inference of people's utility weights, and hence, requires qualitative analysis, observation of and assumptions about human behavior.

The Perspective theory, as put forward by Monroe, does exactly that. It first outlines several assumptions about human behavior assumed to be true. First, that humans are self-interested and desire to further one's perceived well-being. Second, individuals desire respect, affection, and group membership in a valued social unit, and these desires balance the selfish individual desires. Third, individuals desire predictability and control in their decision making world, and need to feel that choices exist. And finally, people act with intentionality and make sense of daily lives through inference of other's actions. The essence of the Monroe's Perspective theory is that certain kinds of political action emanate primarily from one's perception of self in relation to others⁵⁸. Thus, this theory, based in rational choice, allows for cultural influence and structural constraints as it believes individuals do act in their self-interest, but their calculation of self-interest depends on the values and interactions of the society in which they live.

1.2.2. Cultural / Interpretive Theory

To help understand the influence of the past and culture on the various theories of group belonging, participation and integration, cultural or interpretive theory will be used. Culturalists also assume that individuals act rationally in their decision making, but believe that the individual or group actions are, first and foremost, guided by rules and norms.⁵⁹ The theory holds that the knowledge and actions of all actors are the products of the cultural context, and all actions and desires are shaped by and rooted in the cultural past and present. Further, cultural norms are to be found in all of society's institutions – political, religious, economic, and social – and in the society as a whole.

⁵⁸ Monroe, K. R. (1997). Human Nature, Identity, and Politics. In: Monroe, K. (ed.) *Contemporary Empirical Political Theory*. Berkley: University of California Press, p. 289.

⁵⁹ Lichbach, M. (2003). *Is Rational Choice All of Social Science?* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, p. 73.

According to culturalists, culture is responsible for shaping the self, the group's shared understanding, the common identity, and the political community. Within the culturalist paradigm it is understood that an individual can best realize himself within his culture. As culture shapes the individual identity, the self becomes a 'communal self' developed in interactions with others. Culture also becomes the definitive element in defining group membership criteria, and distinguishing between those who belong and those who do not, setting the boundaries between insiders and outsiders.⁶⁰

The culturalist approach is useful in that it offers an understanding of meanings, and can produce arguments that link meaning with action.⁶¹ However, the cultural theory in its application requires supplemental historical and factual knowledge and interpretation of the specific case, and is therefore mostly qualitative in nature.

1.2.3. Structuralism

Structuralists study the structural dynamics and the conditions that produce actions in society and are interested in the relationships among actors. Structuralists emphasize that in order to understand decision making, the structures and linkages between individuals, collectivities, institutions, and organizations that influence decision have to be studied. "Structuralists thus believe that actors are situated within historically concrete institutions and configurations of power"⁶². As Lichbach makes clear, "Structuralists are interested in public policy, political economy, and interest representation because they involve transactions across supposedly bounded entities; they want to show how polity and society are related to one another."⁶³ In regards to the state and public policy, structuralists believe the state to be a relatively autonomous institution, and argue that it is one of the primary responsibilities of the state institutions in a capitalist society to identify and determine how to achieve, through state action, the long-term political interests of the society.⁶⁴ International institutions and global relationships are also of importance to structuralists.

⁶⁰ Lichbach, M. (2003), pp. 81-82.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100

⁶⁴ Lowi, T., Harpham, E. (1997). Political Theory and Public Policy. In: Monroe, K. (ed.) *Contemporary Empirical Political Theory*. Berkley: University of California Press, p. 258.

An interesting and applicable approach of structuralism that links individual actors, structural constraints, and cultural influence is Pierre Bourdieu's theory of constructivist structuralism or structuralist constructivism.⁶⁵ Structural constructivism attempts to bridge subjectivism (the individual) and objectivism (society). By structuralism Bourdieu, "...mean(s) that there exists, within the social world itself and not only within symbolic systems (language, myths, etc.), objective structures independent of the consciousness and will of agents, which are capable of guiding and constraining their practices or their representations."⁶⁶ In combining the two approaches, Bourdieu attempts to examine the social construction of objective structures, while at the same time looking at how people perceive and construct their own social world. In short, structuration takes both perspectives of the structure and the individual and looks at how structure influences human behavior, while also looking at the human capacity of changing the social structures they inhabit.⁶⁷

In summary, the dissertation will move forward in the constructivist paradigm, maintaining that feelings of belonging are socially constructed notions and not primordial, naturally occurring sentiments stemming from pre-existing ethnic origins or territorial attachments. However, additional elements of cultural/interpretive theory will be used to explain why structural constraints can lead to romanticized notions of the ancestral homeland and the ethnic group. In turn, the amended version of rational choice theory, as offered by Perspective theory, will allow gauging of the influence cultural and structural constraints have on individual self interest and decision making. Thus, "Belonging should not be seen neither in existential terms (as primordial attachment to some kind of face-to-face community), nor as discursively constructed, but as socially constructed, embedded process in which people reflexively judge the suitability of a given site as appropriate given their social trajectory and their position in other fields."⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Bourdieu, P. (1989). Social Space and Symbolic Power. *Sociological Theory*, 7(1), pp. 14-25.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁶⁷ Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁶⁸ Savage, M., Bagnall, G., Longhurst B. (2005). *Globalization and Belonging*. London: Sage Publications, p. 12.

2. Explaining the Concept of Social Integration

Within the scope of the social sciences, no single, agreed upon, definition of social integration exists. Various theories highlight various factors, components, and facets of integration. The understanding of the concept of integration is often assumed to be a given, and the process of defining the concept of integration itself is often a step that is overlooked in policy and academic literature. Thus, the first step in the theoretical overview of this dissertation will be to outline the various components of integration, highlight the main focal points in the understanding of the concept of social integration, discuss the particularities of integration in the globalized world, and the role of government in implementing integration initiatives.

Within the scope of classic literature on migration, social integration refers to the process by which ‘pushed’ or ‘pulled’⁶⁹ immigrants and their descendants are incorporated into both the structures and the society of the new ‘home’ state. It is the process through which the newcomers relate to the already established people and institutions. However, integration research is not limited to only first generation migrants, but also to their descendants, or people with a migration background.⁷⁰ These generations, together in communities, within a host country can also be referred to as minorities.

Additionally, when speaking of integration the focus can also be on, “...the incorporation of historically evolved ethnic or national minorities, who have not migrated, but whose territories have been incorporated into a nation state of a different ethnicity or culture”.⁷¹ The distinction between people with a migration background, or minorities, and national minorities is the fact that national minorities, “...aspire to some degree of cultural and political autonomy within the nation state they live in, including official recognition of their language. They want to keep ethnic boundaries in tact, and not become similar to the ethnic majority.”⁷² Thus, integration in this instance is not social integration, but a process of integration into the system and power structures.

⁶⁹ Lee, E. S. (1966). A Theory of Migration. *Demography*, 3(1), pp. 47-57.

⁷⁰ Heckmann, F. (2006). *Integration and Integration Policies IMISCOE Network Feasibility Study*. European Forum for Migration Studies. Bamberg: EFMS Institute at the University of Bamberg.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

The distinction between the two groups is important, not only because each group requires a separate approach to integration because of different needs, interests, and motives. But the distinction is important because of the way international law, conventions, agreements, and treaties recognize the legitimacy of national minorities to strive for ethnic pluralism.⁷³ Thus, in this dissertation the distinction will be made between minorities, as a group with a migration background, and national minorities.

When looking at, and trying to understand the concept of integration, there are two important points that have to be highlighted. First, “Integration is a second order or derivative concept: it always presupposes something else, in other words the entity into which something is to be integrated and the reason mandating the process of integration.”⁷⁴ Within the modern, academic discourse, according to Heckmann, “Integration is usually understood as integration into a national society”.⁷⁵ Thus, the process of social integration presumes that there already exists a unified receiving national society. In order to understand what is meant by integration into a national society, it is important to understand what is meant by a unified receiving society, and how this society is understood to be united in the first place.

The understanding of a unified society, as outlined above, and the process of social integration understood as, „...a process of unifying society by promoting participation, non-discrimination and intercultural contact”⁷⁶, presupposes the existence of a nation as envisioned by Ernest Gellner. For Gellner, a nation is a category of persons with shared attributes, such as language, history, customs and traditions, and/or the sharing of a specific territory. What matters is not so much the attributes themselves, but the importance the members of the group attach to them. What makes a nation is the fact that, “...the members of the category firmly recognize certain mutual rights and duties to each other in virtue of their shared membership in it.”⁷⁷ Gellner refers to this as ‘voluntaristic’ definition of a nation. Thus, “It is their

⁷³ Heckmann, F. (2006)., p. 14.

⁷⁴ Kostakopoulou, D. (2010). Introduction. In: van Oers, R., Ersbøll, E., Kostakopoulou, D. (eds.) *A Re-definition of Belonging? Language and Integration Tests in Europe*. Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, p.4.

⁷⁵ Heckmann, F. (2006)., p. 14.

⁷⁶ Muižnieks, N. (2010)., p. 279.

⁷⁷ Gellner, E. (1994). Nations and Nationalism. In: Betts, R. (ed.) *Conflict after the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace*. New York: Macmillan, p. 285.

recognition of each other as fellows of this kind which turns them into a nation”.⁷⁸ In contrast, there is also the ‘cultural’ definition of a nation which requires that the members of the nation share a culture, or a, “...system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating”.⁷⁹

Gellner’s separation of nations, or receiving societies, into ‘voluntaristic’ or ‘cultural’ stems from two distinct academic positions: primordialism and constructivism. Primordialism views national identity as something objective, acquired by birth, and fixed. This materializes in the ethnic conception of nation in terms of common ethnic descent, common language, and common customs and emphasizes identification with the group and the ancestral homeland. Kymlicka states that the role of an ethnic nation is to, “...take the reproduction of a particular ethno-national culture and identity as one of their most important goals.”⁸⁰ Brubaker expands on this notion by defining the ‘nationalizing’ concept of, “...a state of and for a particular ethnocultural ‘core nation’ whose language, culture, demographic position, economic welfare, and political hegemony must be protected and promoted by the state”.⁸¹

Constructivism believes that the group itself, and the societal conditions, play a leading role in the construction and reconstruction of identities, setting boundaries, and asserting meanings. Thus, the recognition emphasized by Gellner’s ‘voluntaristic’ society. This conception corresponds with the civic understanding of nation that emphasizes individual will in identification with the territory of residence, laws, and a common civic culture and ideology.⁸² This position equates with Hans Kohn’s conception of ‘Western’ nationalism, which is rational and universal, with the nation envisioned as a community of citizens “...integrated around a political ideal.”⁸³ However, Kymlicka rightly points out that the ‘civic’ nation is by no means culturally neutral, and it inevitably expressed a particular heritage, or ‘societal culture’ centered

⁷⁸ Gellner, E. (2006). *Nations and Nationalism*, 2nd edition. New York: Cornell University Press, p. 7.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁸⁰ Kymlicka, W. (2001). Western Political Theory and Ethnic Relations in Eastern Europe. In: Kymlicka, W., Opalski, M. (eds.) *Can Liberal Pluralism be Exported?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 16.

⁸¹ Brubaker, R. (1996). *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁸² Smith, A. D. (1991) *National Identity*. Reno, Nevada: University of Nevada Press, pp. 9-11.

⁸³ Kohn, H. (1944). *The Idea of a Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Background*. New York: Macmillan, pp. 574-575, 329-330.

on a shared language.⁸⁴ However, the level of emphasis each conception of nation places on culture differs.

Jurgen Habermas has suggested a third conception – constitutional democracy or constitutional patriotism.⁸⁵ In this conception the ‘demos’, the political sovereignty of the people, and the ‘ethnos’, affiliation with an imagined cultural community have to be separated. This would leave only the civic conception, without any cultural content. He insists that for a stable democracy to exist, culture does not have to be shared by all citizens, it is enough to share a, “...common political culture marked by mutual respect for rights.”⁸⁶ Brubaker has argued that such a model is incompatible with historical experience and that the civic identity cannot be separated from self-recognition as a member of a cultural community.⁸⁷ As such, there are no modern nation states that correspond to the constitutional democracy conception suggested by Habermas.

The conception of the nation as either ethnic or civic, or ‘cultural’ and ‘voluntaristic’, will greatly influence the government approach to integration of migrants and minorities through policy and the extent to which the society, or the nation, is receptive to the process of integration. The ethnic or civic dichotomy will dictate the structure of the polity into which immigrants and minorities are expected to integrate into, the permeability of national boundaries, and if the process is understood as either integration or assimilation.

The two concepts were closely interlinked within the academic discourse of immigration in the last century, specifically in explaining the American experience.⁸⁸ Assimilation was seen as the ultimate end-goal of the process of integration. However, with the prevalence of transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and multiculturalism, which will be discussed in detail below, “Assimilation today is not a popular term.”⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Kymlicka, W. (2001)., pp. 17-18.

⁸⁵ Habermas, J. (1991). Yet Again: German Identity: A Unified Nation of Angry DM-Burghers? *New German Critique*, 52, Special Issue on German Unification, pp. 84-101.

⁸⁶ Gutmann, A. (1994). *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. x.

⁸⁷ Brubaker, R. (1992). *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, p. 182.

⁸⁸ Alba R., Nee, V. (1997). Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration. *International Migration Review*, 31(4), p. 827.

⁸⁹ Glazer, N. (1993). Is Assimilation Dead? *The Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Sciences*, 530, p. 122.

What tends to distinguish these two concepts today, are the different requirements from the minority and majority population each envisions. Assimilation requires the immigrants and the minority to embrace the culture and values of the host community, and to abandon ethnic, cultural or religious aspects of their own identity.⁹⁰ John Berry, in defining assimilation, also emphasizes the expectation of the host society by stating that assimilation is the situation in which, "...a national society expects foreigners to adopt wholly the culture of the larger national society."⁹¹ However, in his definition there is also the second component, the fact that the minority does not consider it of value to maintain one's identity and characteristics, however, seeks out and considers of value a relationship with the larger society.⁹² By rejecting the minority culture and adopting the cultural norms and values of the host society, a minority assimilates. According to traditional assimilation theories, the length of stay in the host country will also play a role in the willingness of immigrants or minorities to integrate, and discourage engagement in transnational activities.⁹³

In turn, social integration, according to most conceptions, "...requires minority groups to identify with the common culture of citizenship in the public arena, while maintaining their cultural differences in the private sphere."⁹⁴ Cultural integration, within this understanding, is only one of the phases of the process of integration and by no means the exclusive means of belonging. The process of social integration proceeds in dimensions, all of which are interlinked, and with each bearing a certain degree of responsibility for the success of the entire integration process. Though, the dimensions are interlinked and supplement each other, it is still possible to discuss and measure the progress of each separately. Thus, the dimensions of integration will be singled out and discussed in detail below.

⁹⁰ Kostakopoulou, D. (2010), p. 5.

⁹¹ Sam, D. L. (2006). Acculturation: Conceptual Background and Core Components. In: Sam, D. L., Berry, J.W. (eds.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 12.

⁹² Berry, J.W. (2006). Contexts of Acculturation. In: Sam, D. L., Berry, J.W. (eds.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 35.

⁹³ Alba R., Nee, V. (1997), pp 826-874.

⁹⁴ Kostakopoulou, D. (2010), p. 6.

2.1. Dimensions of Integration

Milton Gordon in 1964 introduced the seven dimensions of assimilation, though what he described would now be termed integration, and claimed that the integration process progressed in a linear fashion in stages.⁹⁵ The key stages of integration in his model were the process of ‘structural’ assimilation and ‘acculturation’.⁹⁶ According to Gordon, for acculturation to take place the minority group has to adopt the ‘cultural patterns’ of the host society. This extends beyond the simple acquisition of language, and includes dress, outward emotional expression, and personal values.⁹⁷ Then the process can progress toward what he terms ‘structural’ assimilation; or the entry of members of an ethnic minority into primary group relationships with the majority. Finally, identificational assimilation required the, “...development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on the host society.”⁹⁸

The same three dimensions mentioned by Gordon, plus an additional one, have now become accepted as the dimensions in which integration is typically studied. The terminology of the phases sometimes differs; however, the basic conception is that integration can be studied in the cultural, structural, social or interactive, and identificational dimension.⁹⁹ The diagram below illustrates these four dimensions, their succession and mutual interdependence, and each dimension is discussed in detail in the following section of the dissertation.

⁹⁵ Gordon, M. (1964). *Assimilation in American Life*. New York: Oxford University Press.

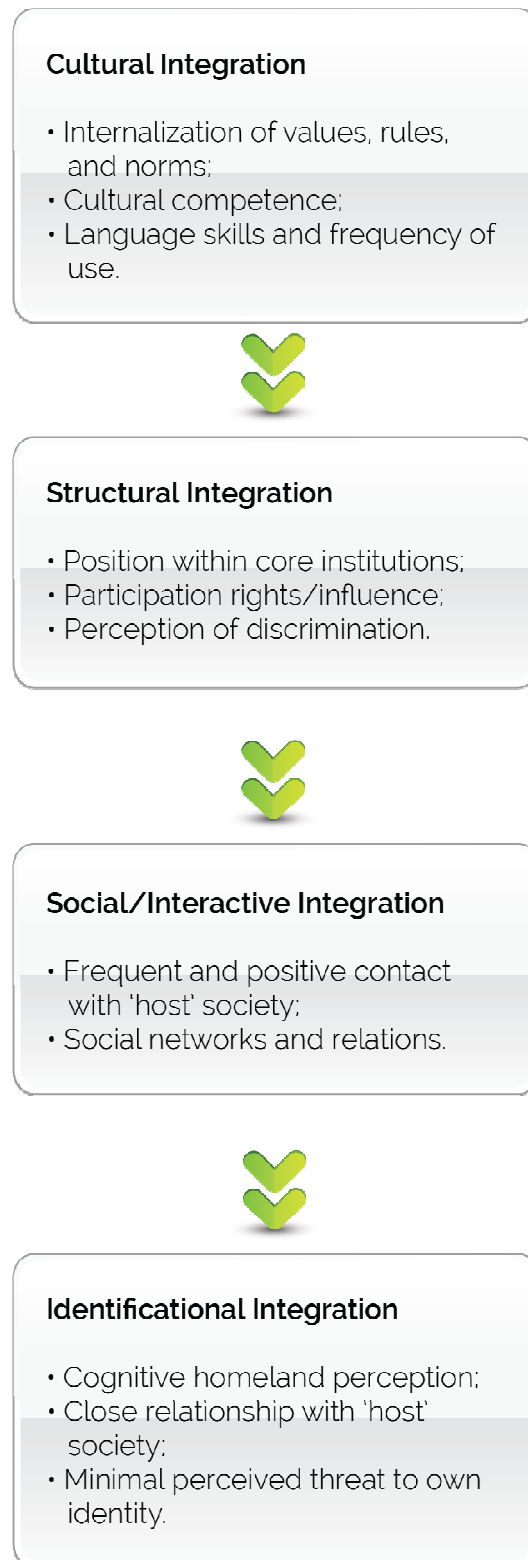
⁹⁶ Alba R., Nee, V. (1997)., p. 829.

⁹⁷ Gordon, M. (1964)., p. 79.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁹⁹ Heckmann, F., Schnapper, D. (2003). Introduction. In: Heckmann, F., Schnapper, D. (eds.) *The Integration of Immigrants in European Societies: National Differences and Trends of Convergence*. Stuttgart: Lucius and Lucius, p. 10.

Diagram 1. Integration Dimensions



According to Heckmann and Schnapper, a precondition to participation and any further integration efforts, is cultural integration. In their definition cultural integration, "...refers to process of cognitive, cultural, behavioral and attitudinal change of

persons”¹⁰⁰ and, “...also includes the internalization of values, norms, attitudes and the formation of belief systems.”¹⁰¹ They view the process as mostly one-sided, concerning primarily the immigrants and their descendants. Similarly, Esser views the cultural integration process, which he has termed ‘culturation’ or ‘acculturation’, as being comparable to the process of socialization. For Esser, in this stage the acquisition of sufficient knowledge of rules and norms, cultural and language skills are key for further successful interaction with the receiving society.¹⁰²

However, acculturation within the context of cultural integration can also imply the two-sided process of integration, requiring adjustments from both the migratory background individuals or minorities, and the host population.¹⁰³ The Migrant Integration Policy Index, or MIPEX, has been an advocate of the mutual adjustments necessary for successful integration policy. MIPEX highlights the need for the receiving society to take an active role in encouraging cultural integration. As the optimal case in integration policy, MIPEX sees the state encouraging language training through incentives, such as targeting the specific needs of migrants and minorities such as professional or education language training.¹⁰⁴ Thus, language proficiency and its use serves as the main means of measuring the level of cultural integration, however, it has also been suggested that participation in ceremonies, traditions, and customs can also be applied to measuring the level of acculturation.¹⁰⁵

Heckmann maintains that structural integration is the most important dimension of integration, „...since structural integration is integration into the core institutions of society”¹⁰⁶ and determines the socio-economic status and opportunities of an individual in modern society. „Structural integration means the acquisition of rights and the access to positions and membership statuses in the core institutions of the immigration society: economy and labor market, education and qualification systems, housing systems, welfare

¹⁰⁰ Heckmann, F., Schnapper, D. (2003), p. 10.

¹⁰¹ Heckmann, F. (2003). From Ethnic Nation to Universalistic Immigrant Integration: Germany. Heckmann, F., Schnapper, D. (eds.) *The Integration of Immigrants in European Societies: National Differences and Trends of Convergence*. Stuttgart: Lucius and Lucius, p. 65.

¹⁰² Esser cited in Heckmann, F. (2006). *Integration and Integration Policies IMISCOE Network Feasibility Study*. European Forum for Migration Studies. Bamberg: EFMS Institute at the University of Bamberg, p. 9.

¹⁰³ See: Berry, J.W. (2006). Introduction. In: Sam, D. L., Berry, J.W. (eds.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-7; Gibson, M. (2001). Immigrant Adaptation and Patterns of Acculturation. *Human Development*, 44(1), pp. 19-23.

¹⁰⁴ Huddleston, T., Niessen, J., Chaoimh E.N., White, E. (2011). *Migrant Integration Policy Index*. Brussels: British Council and Migration Policy Group, p. 12.

¹⁰⁵ Williams, A. J., Ortega, S.T. (1990). Dimensions of Ethnic Assimilation: An Empirical Appraisal of Gordon’s Typology. *Social Science Quarterly*, 71(4), pp. 697-710.

¹⁰⁶ Heckmann, F. (2006), p. 2.

state institutions including the health system, and citizenship as membership in the political community.”¹⁰⁷

For Esser, this stage of integration is termed as ‘placement’. By placement, Esser means that the social integration process allows for an individual to gain a position in society within the core institutions, such as the education or economic systems. Within the placement phase, also rights associated with the social position are acquired, such as citizenship rights and participation rights.¹⁰⁸ Thus, the person with a migratory background can access cultural, social and economic capital and influence the decision making process.

Penninx and Martinello define integration as, “...the process of becoming an accepted part of society”.¹⁰⁹ They see the acceptance of the new population in the legal-political, the socio-economic and the cultural and religious dimensions as key to integration and to the overall sense of belonging of the minority. Thus, discrimination, or the rejection of, the immigrant or minority poses a serious barrier to the social integration process. This is because, “The ‘openness’ of the receiving society is a necessary precondition for the integration of immigrants.”¹¹⁰

If the minority feels discriminated or prejudiced in relation to their legal rights, this can have significant negative consequences for their efforts to integrate. “Factors such as extended uncertainty about future residence rights, and a lack of access to local and/or national political systems and decision-making processes, obviously have a negative implication for migrant’s opportunities and preparedness to integrate.”¹¹¹ Within the social context, the exclusionary policies and classification of minorities and immigrants as outsiders, provides ample reason to classify them as the ‘other’ and further exclude them from the socio-economic and cultural domain. Further, “Practices of exclusion, discrimination or forced assimilation against immigrants can prevent integration and encourage a homeland orientation.”¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ Heckmann, F. (2006)., p. 15.

¹⁰⁸ Esser cited in Bosswick, W., Heckmann, F. (2006). *Integration of Migrants: Contribution of Local and Regional Authorities*. Dublin: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ Penninx, R., Martiniello, M. (2004). Integration Processes and Policies: State of the Art and Lessons. In: Penninx, R., Kraal, K., Martiniello, M., Vertovec, S., (eds.) *Citizenship in European Cities: Immigrants, Local Politics and Integration Policies*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., p. 141.

¹¹⁰ Heckmann, F. (2006)., p. 14.

¹¹¹ Penninx, R., Martiniello, M. (2004)., p. 141.

¹¹² Castles, S. (2002). Migration and Community Formation under Conditions of Globalization. *International Migration Review*, 36, p. 1161.

Thus, MIPEX has campaigned for effective anti-discrimination policy as a means to facilitate the integration process. In the best case scenario envisioning a situation where, “All residents, whatever their background, can fight discrimination and benefit from equal opportunities.”¹¹³ In terms of political participation, MIPEX has been an advocate for political participation as a means of structural integration, not only for citizens but also for legal residents.¹¹⁴ Thus, membership in the political community, within the structural integration dimension, can also be understood as voting rights for legal residents in local elections, allowing them to have a voice and a certain amount of influence in the political system. Additionally, structural integration should foresee migrant or minority political representation within the political system, making it possible for them to stand for local election. Within the education sector, MIPEX has encouraged an intercultural approach to education, with classes in minority language and culture on offer, and envisions the school functioning as a mechanism for pupil integration.¹¹⁵ Thus, in order to measure the level of structural integration, education and employment data can be looked at, naturalization rates and the attitudes toward naturalization, as well as level of political involvement and perception of discrimination.

Successful cultural and structural integration promotes acceptance and reduces discrimination and gives way to more opportunities for interactive integration. The phase of interactive integration foresees the development of social networks and relations with the receiving society. It can be defined as, “...the acceptance and inclusion of immigrants in the primary relationships and social networks of the host society.”¹¹⁶ As indicators of the relative success of interactive integration, the data on social networks, friendships, partnerships, marriages and membership in voluntary organizations can be looked at.¹¹⁷

However, interactive integration can also happen only at the ethnic community level. This is often the case when immigrants first move to the new host country with a presence of a large ethnic community. At first, is helpful for the immigrants to have support from co-ethnics, exchange information and experience, but can later have a negative effect on the integration process as the co-ethnic relationships replace the need to seek out relations with the native society.¹¹⁸ When the individual places value on only

¹¹³ Huddleston, T., Niessen, J., Chaoimh E.N., White, E. (2011)., p. 24.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹¹⁶ Bosswick, W., Heckmann, F. (2006)., p. 10.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹¹⁸ Heckmann, F. (2006)., p. 17.

maintaining relations with own ethnic group and avoids interaction with the receiving society, then, according to Berry, he is choosing the separation strategy and not perusing integration.¹¹⁹

Alternatively, interactive integration can also be hindered by the process termed as ‘selective acculturation’¹²⁰ or ‘segmented assimilation.’¹²¹ In a sense, this is integration beyond society’s core institutions. Within this approach to integration, the immigrant or minority population, to some extent, learns the language and cultural characteristics of the receiving society; however, this is combined with continued emphasis on maintenance of strong bonds with the ethnic community. For Portes and Rumbault, the selective acculturation approach within the United States has been shown to be of benefit to the immigrants.¹²² However, other authors argue that selective acculturation slows the process of cultural integration, and hence, all the other phases of integration, because it is more difficult for parents and children to learn new customs and language while embedded within an ethnic community.¹²³ Selective acculturation, indisputably, hinders the onset of the final phase of integration – identificational integration.

Sense of belonging and feelings of belonging have traditionally been studied within the identificational integration phase. It comes as no surprise, as most authors mention belonging within the definition of identificational integration. For example, Heckmann states that, “...identificational integration – shows in feelings of belonging to an identification with groups, particularly in forms of ethnic, regional, local and/or national identification, or in sophisticated combination of these.”¹²⁴ Esser also emphasizes the emotional component of identificational integration as it involves one’s identification with society and results in a ‘we-feeling’ towards a group or a collective.¹²⁵ There is an agreement between authors that identificational integration takes time, and is

¹¹⁹ Berry, J.W. (2006)., p. 34.

¹²⁰ Portes, A., Rumbaut, R. (1996). *Immigrant America: A Portrait*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 250.

¹²¹ Portes, A., Zhou, M. (1993). The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and its Variants Among Post-1965 Immigrant Youth. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 530, pp. 74-96.

¹²² Portes, A., Rumbaut, R. (1996).

¹²³ Hammer, C. S., Miccio A. W., Rodriguez, B. (2002). Bilingual Language Acquisition and the Child Socialization Process. In: Goldstein, B.A. (ed.) *Language*. Baltimore: Paul H. Brookes Publishing Co., p. 37.

¹²⁴ Heckmann, F. (2006)., p. 17.

¹²⁵ Esser cited in Heckmann, F. (2006)., p. 9.

contingent upon the previously mentioned dimensions of integration, as participation and inclusion in the new society are a pre-requisite for the development of these feelings.¹²⁶

In order to measure the extent of identificational integration at the national level, most studies have focused on ethnic self-identification, self-categorization, and identification with a national identity. However, Nimmerfeldt in her research has recognized the particular difficulty with approaching the measure of identificational integration within the Baltic context simply by measuring the level of national identification. As she states, measuring the attachment to an identity category within the Baltic's will be understood as a measure of ethnicity, and much less identification with the national level. Thus, she proposes to measure identificational integration through various factors that influence, "...feelings of being at home in their country of residence and feelings of being accepted and being part of its society."¹²⁷ Thus, she suggests measuring the influence of factors such as citizenship status, close relations with Estonians, experienced and perceived discrimination, perceived threat to cultural identity, transnational ties and activities, emotional connectedness to the kin state and the strength of ethnic identity on identificational integration and feelings of belonging.

According to Heckmann and Schnapper, much of modern day social integration is actually the result of individual choice.¹²⁸ Alba states that, "Assimilation (in this sense integration) can occur as the often unintended, cumulative by-product of choices made by individuals seeking to take advantage of opportunities to improve their social situation."¹²⁹ Thus, in the best case scenario, integration happens naturally, through the phases discussed above, as the immigrant or minority strives to better their social standing. However, if the process fails to occur naturally, the state, or the government of the state, is faced with two possibilities depending on if the lack of integration is of concern. If the government and receiving society is not concerned with the lack of integration, then there is no political motivation to remedy the situation. If the state chooses to ignore the immigrant and/or minority issues, then

¹²⁶ Heckmann, F. (2006)., p. 17.

¹²⁷ Nimmerfeldt, G. (2011). Sense of Belonging to Estonia. In: Vetik, R., Helemae, J. (eds.) *The Russian Second Generation in Tallinn and Kohtla-Järve: The TIES Study in Estonia*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, p. 204.

¹²⁸ Heckmann, F., Schnapper, D. (2003)., p. 10.

¹²⁹ Alba, R. (1999). Immigration and the American Realities of Assimilation and Multiculturalism. *Sociological Forum*, 14(1), p. 8.

segregation or marginalization of the immigrants/minorities is likely.¹³⁰ When the lack of integration is a concern for the government and/or society, creating political motivation to remedy the situation, the state can choose to intervene through policy means.

Integration in modern states is facilitated through policy, as a politically promoted process that sets conditions and provides opportunities, if the individual motivation for integration is seen as lacking. Echoing the sentiments of Entzinger and Biezeveld¹³¹, Dora Kostakopoulou states that, “In much of the present integration discourse and policy, governments have assumed the role of independent observers endowed with duty to diagnose problematic symptoms and to prescribe the right remedy by changing law and policy.”¹³² Through policy, with certain end-goals in mind, the government will attempt to remedy the situation.

As discussed above, the ethnic or civic conception of the nation will greatly influence the government approach to integration of migrants and minorities through policy, and the extent to which the society, or the nation, is receptive to the process of integration and, thus, willing to provide incentives for integration. In its approach, each state and government is different and the stance of the government and society toward the reception of minorities and immigrants, “...can range from a favorable or at least neutral stance, to active hostility and discrimination.”¹³³

Historically, most Western nations have favored integration within one national community, delineated by a national identity. As Bhikhu Parekh makes clear there is, “...no single and homogenous discourse on national identity”¹³⁴, thereby reaffirming the critical importance of national histories and different national political cultures in constructing the national identity. However, it is possible to speak of broad levels of analysis of the national identity. Such levels of analysis are suggested by Cecile Laborde.¹³⁵ She suggests that nations conceived as ethnic, will focus on primordial links based on birth and kinship; and/or emphasize culture, language, ways

¹³⁰ Berry, J.W. (1997). Acculturation and Adaption. In: Berry, J.W., Segall, M.H., Kağitçibasi, C. (eds.) *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology, Vol. III: Social Behavior and Application*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, pp. 291-326.

¹³¹ Entzinger, H., Biezeveld, R. (2003). *Benchmarking in Immigration Integration*. European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations. Rotterdam: Erasmus University of Rotterdam.

¹³² Kostakopoulou, D. (2010), p. 3.

¹³³ Portes, A., Rumbaut, R. (1996), p. 249.

¹³⁴ Parekh, B. (1994). Discourses on National Identity. *Political Studies*, 42(3), p. 501.

¹³⁵ Laborde, C. (2002). From Constitutional to Civic Patriotism. *British Journal of Political Science*, 32, pp. 591-612.

of life and social customs characteristic of a particular community, to define the content of national identity. This also reflects Gellner's interpretation of a 'cultural' nation. However, nations conceived as civic, will focus on political culture, embodied in political institutions, practices, symbols, ideological and rhetorical traditions and so forth and/or the abstract political ideas, procedures, and general principles outlined in the constitution.¹³⁶ Thus, reflecting the 'voluntaristic' nature of nations envisioned by Gellner.

The conception of the nation as either ethnic or civic will determine the focus of integration policies and dictate the specific requirements immigrants/minorities must fulfill before they are awarded certain legal rights and entitlements. Within the scope of integration policy, as outlined by Glover et al., government may choose to focus on the following: granting or monitoring access to employment, granting or monitoring access to housing, health, education and benefits, family reunion, language acquisition and proficiency, combating social exclusion, promoting equality and combating discrimination, promoting civic and cultural involvement (including funding for initiatives), frameworks for citizenship acquisition, granting or monitoring access to voting and candidature, and flexibility in accommodating cultural/religious customs.¹³⁷ Thus, by implementing new legislation or by amending existing laws the government can intervene in the integration process, and by specifically focusing on one dimension of integration, such as the cultural dimension or structural dimension, express the national character of the particular nation-state as either 'cultural' or 'voluntaristic'.

The main argument against this approach to government involvement in the integration process has been that the process of simply bringing people into pre-existing forms of organization, no matter if these forms and structures are 'cultural' or 'voluntaristic,' "...fails to consider that active participation by those who have previously been excluded from such endeavors may entail a transformation of those very forms."¹³⁸ The simple inclusion of immigrants, or minorities, through legislation into the existing structures of the nation-state, may not meet the participation and fulfillment of needs requirements of the group previously excluded. Thus, an

¹³⁶ Laborde, C. (2002), p. 599.

¹³⁷ Glover, S., et al. (2001). *Migration: an Economic and Social Analysis*. Occasional Paper, No. 67. London: Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate, pp. 24-28.

¹³⁸ Yuval-Davis, N. (2006b). Introduction. In: Yuval-Davis, N., Kannabiran, K., Vieten, U. (eds.) *The Situated Politics of Belonging*. London: Sage Publications Ltd, p. 8.

alternative approach to integration, available to government, is the pursuit of cultural pluralism, or multiculturalism. The multiple inclusions model, or multiculturalism, is the term used to describe the government endorsed and mediated relationship between different cultural communities within one civic state framework.

Where integration attempts to unify society through achievements within the four dimensions noted earlier, with the ultimate goal of achieving the ‘we-feeling’ towards a group or a collective through identificational integration, it, as Kymlicka rightly points out, inevitably expressing a particular heritage, or ‘societal culture’ centered on a shared language.¹³⁹ Multiculturalism, however, moves away from the need to achieve this agreement on a ‘societal culture’ and encourages the celebration of ethnic and cultural distinctiveness. Integration centered on a particular ‘societal culture’ becomes unacceptable as, “...a multicultural society may not have a single culture for all the groups and no one culture may take precedence over the others.”¹⁴⁰ Thus, the multicultural approach emphasizes the need for, “...various norms not just derived from one culture, to properly evaluate claims and apply principles of justice.”¹⁴¹

Multiculturalism emphasizes the two-way process of integration to the extreme. As Kymlicka states, within a multicultural state, “...the larger society must express a commitment to its immigrant citizens, and adapt its institutions to accommodate their identities and practices. Just as immigrant citizens are expected to make a new home in the receiving country, so the receiving country must make them feel at home.”¹⁴² This adjustment includes group-specific measures, or ‘polyethnic rights’ that are intended to promote the expression of ethnic group cultural particularities, without hindering their achievements in the structural institutions of the host society.¹⁴³ These rights enshrine, and protect, cultural difference permanently from generation to generation, as cultural difference is not seen as something to be done away with.

However, multiculturalism fails to create ties that bind. Criticism of multiculturalism has hinged on the fact that multiculturalism has done little to promote social cohesion or social trust, and that in actuality it has undermined these

¹³⁹ Kymlicka, W. (2001)., pp. 17-18.

¹⁴⁰ Sam, D. L. (2006)., p. 20.

¹⁴¹ Parekh, B. (2006). *Rethinking Multiculturalism*. New York: Palgrave, p. 13.

¹⁴² Kymlicka, W. (2001)., p. 36.

¹⁴³ Kymlicka, W. (1995). *Multicultural Citizenship*. Oxford: Clarendon, p. 31.

goals by, "...creating 'multiple enclaves' that have little mutual interaction."¹⁴⁴ Thus, quite recently there has been a notable turn away from embracing such liberal policies of multiculturalism as, "Multiculturalism and the politics of recognition have been superseded by a model of integration that shifts the attention away from issues such as equal treatment, non-discrimination and social inclusion toward conditional socio-political membership, the preservation of core national norms and values and toward social cohesion."¹⁴⁵

Once again, within Europe, the government policy focus has become integration, with heavy emphasis on the cultural dimension of integration. "In the eyes of governmental elites, social cohesion, national unity and belonging can be bolstered by requiring migrants to learn to speak the language of the host state and by re-educating them so that they can embrace a country's history and institutions, its values and the national way of life."¹⁴⁶ Thus, as illustrated above, there are consistent problems with defining an unwavering approach to the integration strategy of most Western nations. As Heckmann and Schapper point out, the term national integration strategy should imply a process that is planned, consistent, systematic, with a certain end-goal in sight, and implemented on a national scale. As such, they are unable to identify any European nation-state that has such a strategy in place. The greatest obstacle to implementing such a well planned strategy is the political nature of questions of migration and integration policy. These are policy areas that are often sensitive to political pressures and, "...change according to the political climate in the society and according to power relations."¹⁴⁷

However, even though with the European Union each member state is responsible for setting its own immigration policy and overseeing the integration process, quite recently there has been an attempt by the European Union to synchronize the process within the member states by defining common elements to serve as building blocks of policy. This comes in the form of a European Council agreement on *Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the EU*.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ Kostakopoulou, D. (2010), p.2.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.1.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

¹⁴⁷ Heckmann, F., Schnapper, D. (2003), 47.

¹⁴⁸ European Union Justice and Home Affairs Council (2004). *Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the EU*. Press Release 14615/04 (Presse 321).

The wording of the agreement is rather vague, leaving plenty of room for interpretation and not pushing member states in any particular direction in regards to immigrant integration programs. Still, Bosswick and Heckmann have branded the declaration a ‘landmark’ in integration policy.¹⁴⁹ This is because the declaration emphasizes the understanding of integration within the European Union to be a two-way process of accommodation, with participation expected from the immigrants and their descendants, and the adherence to policies of non-discrimination and the promotion of equality from every resident of the member states. The principles also note the obligation to safeguard cultural and religious diversity, while also emphasizing within the fourth principle the importance of knowing the host society’s language, history and institutions for integration success.

The other significant aspect of the document is its emphasis on European Union values and European level policies. This is evident in the second principle, which states, “Everybody resident in the EU must adapt and adhere closely to the basic values of the European Union as well as to Member States law”.¹⁵⁰ Thus, the document differentiates between a European set of norms and values and specific member states laws, hinting at something more than just identification with mere national member state identity, and evoking the concept of European identity. This highlights one of the particularities of integration in the globalized world, supra-nationalism or supra-national belonging. This, along with other particularities of the modern age, will be discussed in greater detail in the section below.

2.2. Integration in a Globalized World

Thus far, the dimensions of integration discussed have focused on integration in the classical conception, or as integration into the national society. However, the validity of the concept of integration into a national society in the ‘age of migration’¹⁵¹ has come under challenge and criticism, and has given rise to alternative concepts such as integration into ethnic subsystems, participation in transnational systems, supra-national belonging with internationally extended rights, and has even given a platform to advocates of the concept of cosmopolitanism. Thus, before moving

¹⁴⁹ Bosswick, W., Heckmann, F. (2006)., p. 17.

¹⁵⁰ European Union Justice and Home Affairs Council (2004)., p. 19.

¹⁵¹ Castles, S., Miller, M.J. (1998).

forward and discussing sense of belonging and the role government through policy can have on promoting a sense of belonging, these alternatives to national identity and national belonging are to be discussed.

The effects of globalization further highlight the problems of the traditional relationship between the individual and macro societal structures.¹⁵² The need to integrate within the traditional boundaries, and accept the national identities of nation-states, has been seriously challenged by the global developments in the organization of modern societies. This is particularly relevant to the discussion of feelings of belonging to Europe, within the context of the European Union.

The European Union is more than just an imagined space; it is also grounded in real legal, economic and cultural structures within which most Europeans now function. In recent years there has been a dramatic growth in the political and legal authority of the European community as bodies which intervene and interfere in the internal workings of the national member states. Although, as already mentioned, the European Union has attempted to bolster the traditional understanding of immigrant and integration policy within the member states through the *Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the European Union*¹⁵³, it cannot be denied that the EU is envisioned as something more than just an overarching structure overseeing member state policy coordination. As national boundaries erode within the European community with the encouragement of the transfer of labor, goods, and people while maintaining rights safeguarded within the whole of the territory, the European Union as such takes on an identity of its own.

Braidotti emphasizes Europe's progressive potential as a site of possible political resistance against nationalism and the pressures to assimilate.¹⁵⁴ In a way, the European Union no longer coincides with individual European national-identities of the member states, but rather constitutes a rupture from it and provides an escape within an overarching concept. The European Union has managed, through constructivism, to create a new trans-national space and unlike the individual nation-

¹⁵² Turner, B. S. (1993). Contemporary Problems in the Theory of Citizenship. In: Turner, B.S. (ed.) *Citizenship and Social Theory*. London: Sage Publications. p. 1.

¹⁵³ European Union Justice and Home Affairs Council (2004).

¹⁵⁴ Braidotti, R. (2007). On Becoming Europeans. In: Passerini, L. et al., (eds.) *Women Migrants from East to West*. Oxford: Berghahn Books. p. 26.

states rooted in the past; it has turned the collective memory of its residents to ‘a new political and ethical project, which is forward-looking and not nostalgic’.¹⁵⁵

In a way, Europe has succeeded in creating a post-national identity. It is an identity based on values; such as democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. The European identity invokes the earlier discussion of civic and ‘voluntaristic’ conceptions of nations; focused on political culture, embodied in political institutions, practices, symbols, ideological and rhetorical traditions. Currently, identification with a European identity is something that supplements the member state national identity, as citizenship and residency within the EU is still managed by the individual member states. However, the European identity can also provide a means of belonging that is supra-national, thus providing a means of belonging to a territory and a community, without having to embrace the particular national identity of a member state, or feel a particular homeland attachment to a specific national territory. Therefore, the impact of supra-national belonging to Europe on the levels of national attachment is an interesting phenomenon.

In contrast to the supra-national belonging to no one particular nation-state, the phenomenon of transnationalism involves multiple inclusions, or belonging to several territories or communities simultaneously. Integration into ethnic subsystems in its mildest form as ‘segmented assimilation’ or ‘selective acculturation’ was discussed within the context of interactive integration. However, when the ethnic subsystem is more than just an ethnic community, and when the ‘home’ or ‘sending’ country starts playing a role, then the process is termed transnationalism.

As defined, “Transnationalism is the process by which immigrants, through their daily activities, forge and sustain multi-stranded social, economic, and political relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, and through which they create transnational social fields across borders.”¹⁵⁶ Transnationalism does not necessarily have to involve border crossings as such, but it does imply the living of ‘dual lives’, between to countries, with two (or more) systems of cultural reference and language. Transnationalism emphasized the enduring relationship between migrants and their ‘home’ or ‘sending’ countries and as a result, their interconnectedness.

¹⁵⁵ Braidotti, R. (2007), p. 37.

¹⁵⁶ Basch, L., Schiller, N.G., Blanc, C.S. (2003). *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. New York: Routledge, p. 22.

Transnationalism, and the enduring bonds forged between the ‘home’ and ‘sending’ countries, are not necessarily to be viewed as a negative. If transnationalism is understood from the perspective of Deutsch and the theory of transactionalism, it will promote political integration and a sense of community between the two, or more, states. Transactionalism suggests that as communication and interaction between two states increases, a sense of community would form and this would lead the states to resolve their conflicts through peaceful means.¹⁵⁷ However, Deutsch notes that, „The kind of sense of community that is relevant for integration...turned out to be rather a matter of mutual sympathy and loyalties; of ‘we-feeling,’ trust, and mutual consideration...”¹⁵⁸ In situations where there is a lack of trust and shared interests or values, and the ‘sending’ country presents itself as the rightful homeland of the migrant or minority population, the ‘sending’ country can be termed the ‘external homeland’.

Brubaker has called this relationship between the minorities, nationalizing states, and the external national homelands as the triadic nexus.¹⁵⁹ The extent to which the external homeland, or kin-state, is able to involve itself in the relationship between the minority population and the ‘home’ state depends on the level of loyalty the minority or migrant population still maintains and if it envisions itself as part of the homeland, thus defining itself as a diaspora. Walker Connor defines a diaspora as a, “...segment of people living outside the homeland.”¹⁶⁰ Therefore, the diaspora has to recognize another nation-state as their rightful homeland, and has to be encouraged by the external homeland to define themselves as rightful group co-members through ethno-cultural affinity. Brubaker explains that:

A state becomes an external national “homeland” when cultural or political elites construe certain residents and citizens of other states as co-nationals, as fellow members of a single transborder nation and when they assert that this

¹⁵⁷ Deutsch, K. W. (1957). *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 228.

¹⁵⁸ Deutsch, K.W. (2003). Political Community and the North Atlantic Area. In: Nelsen, B.F., Stubb, A. (eds.) *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, 3rd edition. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, p. 129.

¹⁵⁹ Brubaker, R. (1996).

¹⁶⁰ Connor, W. (1986). The Impact of Homelands Upon Diasporas. In: Sheffer, G. (ed.) *Modern Diasporas in International Politics*. London: Croom Helm, p. 16.

shared nationhood makes the state responsible, in some sense, not only for its own citizens but also for ethnic co-nationals who live in other states.¹⁶¹

As claimed by Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller, an increasing number of states are implementing measures to facilitate the maintenance of loyalty and encourage remittances, investments, and political contributions from the migrant population within these transnational activities. Thus, they are situating themselves as the external homeland. Initiatives, such as political representation of their expatriates and speaking for the population have, "...transformed the way in which migrants incorporate themselves into the societies where they reside."¹⁶² Some research suggests that transnational involvement does not impede integration, but rather that these two processes can be positively related.¹⁶³

However, especially in instances where the migrant or minority population has had a negative experience with integration or has felt a negative reception from the 'host' country or population, and in instances of economic hardships, transnational activism can function as a compensatory mechanism for the immigrants' or minorities status loss.¹⁶⁴ In developing a sort of 'reactive ethnicity' the immigrant or minority population attempts to improve its life chances by mobilizing community solidarity and invoking transnational links.¹⁶⁵ As such, the minority or migrant no longer seeks a voice within the host country, and is instead focused on maintaining the relationship with the external homeland, thus, the process discourages integration and the formation of a sense of belonging to the country of residence.

As suggested by Snel, the strength of transnational ties can be measured by looking at travel between the two destinations, cross-border economic, political or socio-cultural activities, money transfers, political participation in the country of

¹⁶¹ Brubaker, R. (1996)., p. 5.

¹⁶² Guarnizo, L., Portes, A., Haller, W. (2003). Assimilation and Transnationalism: Determinants of Transnational Political Action among Contemporary Migrants. *American Journal of Sociology*, 108(6), p.1214.

¹⁶³ See: De Haas, H. (2005). International Migration, Remittances and Development: Myths and Facts. *Third World Quarterly*, 26(8), pp. 1269-1284; Gustafson, P. (2002). *Place, Place Attachment and Mobility: Three Sociological Studies*. Goteborg Studies in Sociology, No. 6. Goteborg: Goteborg University Department of Sociology.

¹⁶⁴ See: Castles, S. (2002). Migration and Community Formation under Conditions of Globalization. *International Migration Review*, 36, pp. 1143-1168; Jones-Correa, M. (1998). Different Paths: Gender, Immigration and Political Participation. *International Migration Review*, 32(2), pp. 326-349; Guarnizo, L.E., Smith, M.P. (1998). The Locations of Transnationalism. In: Smith, M.P., Guarnizo, L.E. (eds.) *Transnationalism from Below, vol. 6: Comparative Urban and Community Research*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, pp. 3-34.

¹⁶⁵ Castles, S. (2002)., p. 1161.

origin, visiting cultural events with artists from the country of origin, participating in meetings that many compatriots attend, or mobilizing political support for parties of movements in the country of origin.¹⁶⁶ Thus, even within the transnational perspective, the assumption is that these groups of people cannot escape the integration and national building influence of the nation state and have a certain level of belonging to one or the other nation-state. “By living their lives across borders, transmigrants find themselves confronted with an engaged in the nation building processes of two or more nation-states. Their identities and practices are configured by hegemonic categories, such as race and ethnicity that are deeply embedded in the nation building processes of these nation-states.”¹⁶⁷

Other authors have gone as far as to say that space has lost its meaning in late-modern society and that contemporary migrants function in transnational communities, rather than within their countries of residence.¹⁶⁸ This more closely corresponds to the concept of cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism is closely tied to the literature on globalization and migration and the transformation of the nation-states autonomous hold over its citizens and residents. Cosmopolitanism emphasizes the strength of the global economic forces within the world-economic system and as a result of migration rejects communitarian and nationalist arguments that justice can properly be applied only within reasonably cohesive social groups.¹⁶⁹

Cosmopolitanism has generally referred to the lack of a need to belong to a specific nation-state and embraced world citizenship, tolerance, and worldwide community of human beings and a global culture.¹⁷⁰ Thus, cosmopolitanism does not require integration or immersion in a single culture, and does not tie feelings of belonging to one specific nation state. Waldron’s assertion that it is possible for individuals to live fulfilling lives in the cosmopolitan lifestyle in a kaleidoscope of cultures is a strong argument against the need to integrate into a particular national community. He states that while, “...immersion in the culture of a particular

¹⁶⁶ Snel, E., Engersen, G., Leerkes, A. (2006). Transnational Involvement and Social Integration. *Global Networks*, 6(3), p. 269.

¹⁶⁷ Basch, L., Schiller, N.G., Blanc, C.S. (2003)., p. 22.

¹⁶⁸ Faist, T. (2000). *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*. Oxford; Oxford University Press.

¹⁶⁹ Scheffler, S. (2002). Conceptions of Cosmopolitanism. In: Scheffler, S. (ed.) *Boundaries and Allegiances: Problems of Justice and Responsibility in Liberal Thought*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 112.

¹⁷⁰ Yuval-Davis, N. (2006b)., p. 4.

community...may be something that particular people like and enjoy...they no longer can claim that it is something that they need.”¹⁷¹

3. Explaining Sense of Belonging

Drawing from academic literature, this section of the dissertation will try to outline what factors have an effect on feelings of belonging in order to show how belonging and social integration concepts are linked, and define the role of government in shaping feelings of belonging. In trying to explain belonging, this dissertation will proceed in line with recent sociological research suggesting that emotions are very much conditioned by cultural norms, and as such are susceptible to social construction.¹⁷² The constructivist approach to the theory of emotions holds that, “...particular emotions such as, say, pride or love, are physiologically undifferentiated and that their characteristic features arise socially in the way actors apply culturally given norms and expectations to the cognitive apprehension of their circumstance”.¹⁷³ Therefore, in order to understand what sense of belonging is, it becomes relevant to study the elements construed as important for belonging within the applicable cultural context.

As discussed in the introduction, sense of belonging is a complicated concept, which in general refers to individuals feeling themselves to be an integral part of the whole. The definition of the whole can then be further separated into three broad categories: place, group or community, and the system. Place refers to the physical territory; of being comfortable in your surroundings, of feeling at home, identifying with the landscape. Sense of belonging to the group touches upon the importance of similar values and beliefs, cultural camaraderie, of feeling welcome and recognized, of being able to identify with the community and having others perceive you as belonging. And finally system, is a broad category referring to aspect that oversee security and participation, such as being able to contribute and expect in return certain

¹⁷¹ Waldron, J. (1992) *Minority Cultures and the Cosmopolitan Alternatives*. *University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform*, 25(3), p.762.

¹⁷² See: Kemper, T. (1978). *A Social Interactional Theory of Emotions*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.; Gordon, S.L. (1981). *The Sociology of Sentiments and Emotions*. In: Rosenberg, M., Turner, R.H. (eds.) *Psychology: Sociological Perspectives*. New York: Basic Books; pp. 562-593.; Hochschild, A.R., (1983). *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

¹⁷³ Barbalet, J.M. (1993). *Citizenship, Class Inequality and Resentment*. In: Turner, B.S. (ed.) *Citizenship and Social Theory*. London: Sage Publications, p. 50.

benefits, the well-being of the individual and family, having influence and a stake in the overall success and future vision.

Hedetoft notes four parameters within which the concept of belonging must be understood and the phases that belonging passes through in varying importance to various identity groups. He defines the four parameters of belonging as: sources of belonging, feelings of belonging, ascriptions and constructions of belonging, and fluidities of belonging.¹⁷⁴ Sources of belonging are entrenched in the local and the familiar, and belonging is conditioned by, "...persons, landscapes, sensory experiences and mental mappings of an immediate and familiar kind."¹⁷⁵ These are the building blocks of belonging, and necessary pre-conditions, but not sufficient in themselves to account for feelings of belonging. In the second phase, feelings of belonging start to develop as a result of positive identification with the above mentioned sources. "Belongingness plays itself out in terms of the satisfaction of needs, recognition by a specific community, participation in its cultural and social activities, and a shared horizon of ideas, knowledge, networks and topography."¹⁷⁶

It is only through the combination of sources of belonging and the positive identification with the elements, such as group, landscape, and actions, that lead to participation and the fulfillment of needs that a sense of belonging develops. Thus, belonging refers to the fulfillment of material, symbolic, and emotional dimensions of one's life.

3.1. Sources of Belonging

The phenomenon of attachment, or sense of belonging, in academic literature generally highlights the group and territorial dimension and is best expressed by John Breuilly when he states that, "People do yearn for communal membership, do have a strong sense of us and them, of territories as homelands, of belonging to culturally defined and bounded worlds which give their lives meaning."¹⁷⁷ The validity of the above statement is based in social psychology theory, specifically the concept of sense of community. In social psychology theory, two factors are held to be

¹⁷⁴ Hedetoft, U. (2004). Discourses and Images of Belonging. In: Christiansen, F., Hedetoft, H. (eds.) *The Politics of Multiple Belonging: Ethnicity and Nationalism in Europe and East Asia*. London: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., p. 24.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁷⁷ Breuilly, J. (1993). *Nationalism and the State*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 401.

instrumental in the development of a sense of community – the territorial and relational dimensions. The territorial dimension, or the physical rootedness, refers to the actual territory inhabited, and corresponds to Hedetoft’s discussion of sources of belonging. The relational dimension, or the social bonding aspect, refers to the quality and nature of the relationship between the inhabitants within the territory.¹⁷⁸ This is the phase of belonging, discussed by Hedetoft, which is conditioned by positive identification and relationships.

3.1.1. Territorial Belonging

There are two predominant approaches to the conceptualization of territory and in understanding what accounts for the feelings of belonging to a landscape – biological and socio-political.¹⁷⁹ On the one hand, similar to the primordial or ethnic conception of the nation discussed earlier, there are theories that claim territorial attachments are natural, or biological. Humans are supposedly genetically disposed to feeling attachments to certain territories, or lands, which produce groups of distinctive people. Thus, according to Smith, territorial attachments are to a specific piece of land, to a ‘historic land’ or a ‘homeland’ where the, “...terrain and people have exerted mutual, and beneficial, influence over several generations.”¹⁸⁰ Of importance become physical markers of the landscape, such as lakes, rivers, mountains and so forth which take on mystical meanings and serve as reminders of the ancestors. Within this conception, it is the attachments and associations, rather than physical residence within the territory that matter for identification and belonging.¹⁸¹

On the other hand, there are the constructivist theories which claim that territorial attachments are the result of socio-political conditioning. Even before the dawn of the modern nation-state, control of a certain territory and the defining of boundaries was important for safety concerns. According to constructivist, attachments to a certain land or territory stem from wishing control of the resources of that space, “...people behave territorially because they need to, or perceive the need to, not because it is an innate characteristic.”¹⁸² Storey, however, claims that in order

¹⁷⁸ Riger, S., Lavrakas, P. (1981) Community Ties, Patterns of Attachment and Social Interaction in Urban Neighborhoods. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 9(1), pp. 55-66.

¹⁷⁹ Storey, D. (2001). *Territory: The Claiming of Space*. Harlow: Prentice Hall/Pearson Education, pp. 9-17.

¹⁸⁰ Smith, A. D. (1991). , p. 9.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁸² Storey, D. (2001)., p. 15.

to fully understand human emotional attachments to territories, elements of both approaches are necessary.¹⁸³

His view is also endorsed by Jan Penrose, who also claims that it is the combination of two distinct paradigms that can ever fully account for the territorial attachments. She presents two conceptions of territory. One is a territory that is culturally defined, “Here, the significance of territory is that it encompasses the geographical distribution of a culture.”¹⁸⁴ However, she also makes a claim for a territory in which, “...the material resources of a territory, including the symbolic significance of controlling it, that has primary influence in its formation and in strategies to preserve it.”¹⁸⁵ In the end, it is the combination of both approaches that conditions belonging because human beings need to feel that a territory satisfies their material and safety requirements of life, and the cultural connection, reinforced through history, memory and myth, satisfies the emotional requirements.

Another interesting and applicable synthesis of the two distinct ways of understanding territorial attachments comes from Mike Savage et al., who present the concept of elective belonging. In this concept, it is of importance that the individuals can envision themselves within a landscape, construed as central to the understanding of self. Within elective belonging, “Individuals attach their own biography to their ‘chosen’ residential location, so that they tell stories that indicate how their arrival and subsequent settlement is appropriate to their sense of themselves.”¹⁸⁶ This is especially relevant to the discussion of first and second generation immigrant settlers because, “People who come to live in an area with no prior ties to it, but who can link their residence to their biographical life history, are able to seem themselves as belonging to the area”.¹⁸⁷ Thus, elective belonging encompasses both the emotional attachment to a landscape by requiring individuals to be able to justify to the understanding of self how they came to live where they do, and a reflexive ability to judge the current place and its resources against other possible places and potential opportunities.

¹⁸³ Storey, D. (2001), p. 9.

¹⁸⁴ Penrose, J. (2002). Nations, States and Homelands: Territory and Territoriality in Nationalist Thought. *Nations and Nationalism*, 8(3), p. 284.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

¹⁸⁶ Savage, M., Bagnall, G., Longhurst B. (2005), p. 29.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

The above discussion has already demonstrated that it is impossible to completely separate territorial attachments from other factors influencing belonging. Thus, even though people do feel a certain geographical attachment to a place, and the territorial unit can become of vital importance in self-identification, territory by itself is not enough to account for a sense of belonging. The territory is of importance because it, "...provides an essential link between society and the space it occupies primarily through its impact on human interaction and the development of group spatial identities."¹⁸⁸ Therefore, of significant importance are the nature and quality of the relationships between individuals within a certain territory and the extent to which they meet Hedetoft's outlined requirements of need satisfaction, recognition, participation, and shared culture, that in turn result in positive identification and feelings of belonging.

3.2. Sense of Community Theory

In academic theory, the convergence of the factors outlined as important for sense of belonging and the dimensions of integration described in the previous chapter of this dissertation, happen within the sense of community theory. The sense of community theory was developed by McMillan and Chavis to study the human phenomenon of collective experience and sense of belonging. They state that, "Sense of community is a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together."¹⁸⁹ The statement, once again, highlights that sense of belonging is a multi-faceted concept, involving the satisfaction of real, or rational, and emotional needs.

Since its conception in 1986, sense of community theory has been used to study a wide variety of human collectives and, "This breadth of application highlights the importance of the construct to a diverse array of settings and populations...."¹⁹⁰ Sense of community theory is applicable to the study of national belonging, because

¹⁸⁸ Soja, Edward W. (1971) *The Political Organization of Space*. Association of American Geographers. pg. 33.

¹⁸⁹ McMillan, D., Chavis, D. (1986). Sense of Community: A Definition and Theory. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 14(1), p. 9.

¹⁹⁰ McMillan, D., Peterson, A., Speer, P.W. (2008). Validation of a Brief Sense of Community Scale: Confirmation of the Principal Theory of Sense of Community. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 36(1), p. 62.

as Benedict Anderson has famously stated nations, in their essence, are an imagined community. More precisely he states that a nation, "...is an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign."¹⁹¹ Thus a nation has a limited membership, delineated by some commonly agreed on characteristics, and this community seeks to have independent authority and the right to govern relationships within a certain territory.

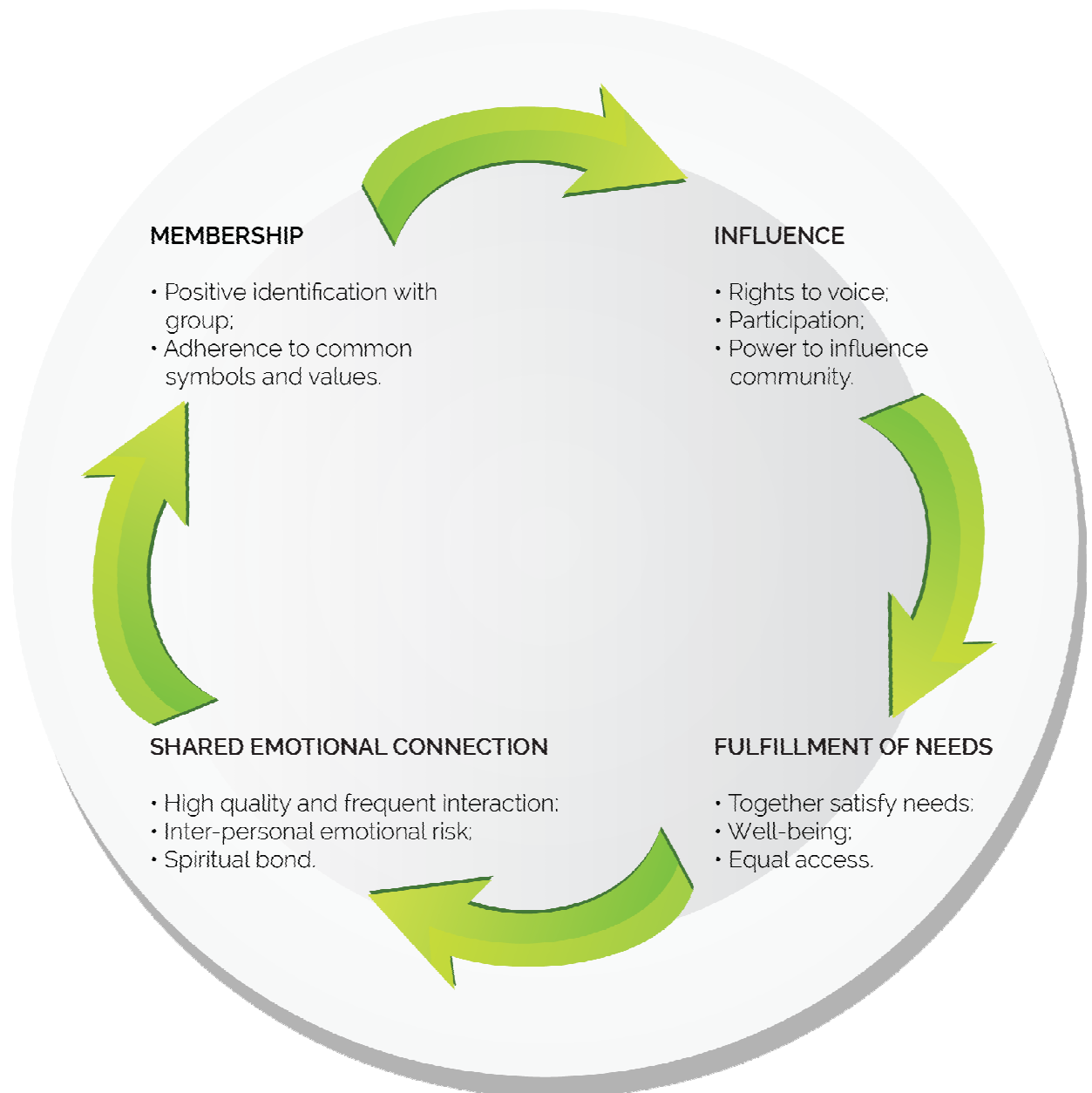
Sense of community theory, in taking the territory as a given, outlines four, mutually reinforcing factors, which contribute to the development of bonds within the defined territory. First there is membership, which in itself includes boundaries that delimit 'us' from 'them', creates emotional safety, a sense of confidence and identification, requires personal investment, and adherence to a common system of symbols and values. The second factor contributing to a sense of belonging is influence. For group cohesion some influence over the members is needed by the group, and the individual needs to feel that their voice matters, or that they have influence. The third element is integration and fulfillment of needs, "This is the feeling that members' needs will be met by the resources received through their membership in the group."¹⁹² Finally, there is the shared emotional connection element, which includes a shared history, or identification with a shared history, a collective memory of shared participation, and positive and frequent contact between members.¹⁹³ The diagram below illustrates the interconnectedness of the dimensions of the sense of community theory and how each dimension reinforces the others.

¹⁹¹ Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso., p. 6.

¹⁹² McMillan, D., Chavis, D. (1986)., p. 9.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Diagram 2. Sense of Community Theory



The elements emphasized as crucial for the development of feelings of belonging, according to the sense of community theory, draw parallels with the dimensions of integration discussed earlier. The requirements of the membership dimension directly correlate with the cultural integration phase, in which the internalization of values, norms and belief systems for belonging to the national group were emphasized. The structural dimension of integration requires the fulfillment of the influence and satisfaction of needs elements of sense of community theory. And finally, interactive integration and identificational integration echo the emotional component of sense of community theory, emphasizing shared experiences, frequent and positive contact, and the development of a ‘we-feeling’ toward a group or a

collective. In order to attest this claim that sense of community theory provides a bridge between integration dimensions and feelings of belonging, each element of the sense of community theory and its relationship with the dimension of integration within the context of academic theory, will be discussed below.

3.2.1. Membership

This section will analyze the membership aspect of the sense of community theory and draw parallels with cultural integration. Membership is the most difficult element of the sense of community theory to explain, and in order to be properly explained warrants the discussion of group belonging as a fundamental human need and how social identity theory delineates group boundaries. Then the work will proceed with explaining the various groups and memberships that can hold meaning for individuals within a national context, how the national groups are imagined, and what governs membership. Then the work will jump to the fourth element of the sense of community theory – the shared emotional connection, to show how the national setup of groups satisfies the emotional requirement of a community. The discussion will then turn to how these national group set-ups impact the remaining two factors - influence and fulfillment of needs - of the sense of community theory.

According to McMillan and Chavis, “Membership is a feeling that one has invested part of oneself to become a member and therefore has a right to belong.”¹⁹⁴ Thus, membership denotes boundaries, and defines those who belong, who have invested, and who have been recognized as belonging, from those who do not. Those who belong, form a defined group, within the nation-state context they form a national group. Abraham Maslow in *A Theory of Human Motivation* identified the emotional and relational aspect of belonging to a group as a fundamental human need, placing it behind only physiological and safety needs.¹⁹⁵ Maslow emphasized that for all members of society, a place in a group that for them holds meaning is vital for self identification, and is a means to achieving positive self-esteem.

Helping to explain why humans are driven to divide themselves into groups, is the social identity theory as developed by Tajfel and Turner.¹⁹⁶ Social identity theory

¹⁹⁴ McMillan, D., Chavis, D. (1986), p. 9.

¹⁹⁵ Maslow, A. (1943). *A Theory of Human Motivation*. *Psychological Review* 50, pp. 370-396.

¹⁹⁶ Tajfel, H., Turner, J. (1986). *The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior*. In: Worchel, S., Austin, W. (eds.) *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, pp. 7-24.; Tajfel, H., et

maintains that individuals are easily divided into groups through the process of identification with the group, and once these divisions have been made, these groups come to hold meaning for the individuals and constitute their identity. Additionally, the theory claims that once these groups have formed and the boundary-maintaining characteristics identified, the groups are likely to reinforce in-group identification if there is a felt threat to what has been delineated as the markers of the group identity. Allport in his classic book, *The Nature of Prejudice*, identifies the central role of in-groups, group membership, and boundaries for belonging and writes, “The human mind must think with the aid of categories.”¹⁹⁷

In short, social identity theory offers two valuable insights. First, people are driven to divide themselves quickly and easily into social categorizations based upon the nature and feelings of belonging and by comparing themselves to others.¹⁹⁸ The, “...relational comparisons refer to defining an identity group by what it is not – that is, the way it views other identity groups, especially when those views about the other are a defining part of the identity.”¹⁹⁹ Secondly, the groups that the individuals feel themselves as belonging to become important to them and contributes to their understanding of self and their own positive self-evaluation.²⁰⁰ Identification is, “...constructed on the recognition of some common origin or characteristic with another person or group, or with an ideal”²⁰¹ and from this mutual recognition, solidarity and allegiance flourishes.

The groups themselves, their norms and values that serve as markers of membership, make the relational comparisons between ‘us’ and ‘them’ possible. “This entails the radically disturbing recognition that it is only through the relation to the ‘other’, the relation to what it is not, to precisely what it lacks, to what has been called its constitutive outside that the ‘positive’ meaning of any term – and thus its ‘identity’ – can be constructed.”²⁰² Groups can function as points of identification

al. (1971). Social Categorization and Intergroup Behavior. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 1(2), pp. 149-178.

¹⁹⁷ Allport, G. (1954/1958). *The Nature of Prejudice*. Cambridge: Perseus Book Publishing, p. 19.

¹⁹⁸ McDermott, R. (2009). Psychological Approaches to Identity: Experimentation and Application. In: Abdelal, R., et al. (eds.) *Measuring Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 347.

¹⁹⁹ Abdelal, R., et al. (2009). Identity as a Variable. In: Abdelal, R., et al. (eds.) *Measuring Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 19.

²⁰⁰ McDermott, R. (2009), p. 348.

²⁰¹ Hall, S. (1996). Who Needs Identity? In: Hall, S., du Gay, P. (eds.) *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage Publications Ltd., p. 2.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

and attachment precisely because they have the capacity to exclude those who do not meet some formal requirement of membership, or do not adhere to the set markers of group identity.

Barth writes that, "...the cultural features of greatest import are boundary-connected: the diacritica by which membership is signaled and the cultural standards that actors themselves use to evaluate and judge the actions of ethnic co-members."²⁰³ Socially relevant factors become the means through which membership is determined. Thus, the inclusion of newcomers into the membership group is contingent on agreement from both sides.

Inclusion depends on the individuals' willingness to identify with the community, or the group, and its distinctive markers, and to subject himself to be judged according to the defining criteria of the group. In order to determine if an individual is willing to become a group member, Daniel Druckman has proposed a scale that allows for analysis of the level of identification one has with the group. The scale consists of the following steps:

1. Motivated toward becoming a member;
2. Assuming the group's norms and values;
3. Using the group's standards for evaluating performance;
4. Taking a positive orientation toward the group;
5. Understanding the group's norms and values;
6. Recognizing the group's existence.

Moving up the scale, the greater the identification of the individual with the group, the closer the individual moves to step one.²⁰⁴ Around step four is the so called 'tipping point' at which the new group is seen to meet the individual's needs and complement his self-esteem to the same, or a greater, extent than his current membership group. However, membership also depends on the recognition by the group. The group, or community, has to be willing to recognize and accept the newcomer as belonging. In short, a vital component of developing a sense of belonging is the ability to self-identify as part of the in-group and having others perceive you as such

Within the national context, in order to establish the membership criteria through which newcomers are evaluated, the distinctive markers with which a

²⁰³ Barth, F. (1998). *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. Long Grove: Waveland Press, p. 6.

²⁰⁴ Druckman, D. (1994). Nationalism, Patriotism, and Group Loyalty: A Social Psychological Perspective. *Mershon International Studies Review*, 38(1), p. 61.

newcomer has to identify, the permeability of group boundaries through integration, and the likelihood of a newcomer being recognized, the discussion of national group conception as ethnic or civic, once again, becomes pertinent.

3.2.1.1. Cultural Membership

As already discussed in the integration section of the dissertation, nations conceived as ethnic will focus on primordial links based on birth and kinship to determine membership. This corresponds to what Anthony Smith labels the non-Western, or ethnic, concept of the nation where the membership of the community is determined by birth, and a nation is, "...first and foremost a community of common descent."²⁰⁵ Individuals belong to this group by birth, and as such the membership boundaries of this group are stringent and not applicable to the discussion of integration as, "Whether you stayed in your community or emigrated to another, you remained ineluctably, organically, a member of the community of your birth and were for ever stamped by it."²⁰⁶ Thus, membership in this specific community appears as an innate characteristic that cannot be acquired.

In its less stringent form, primordialism will manifest itself in Gellner's version of a cultural nation. A cultural nation is rooted in broad culture, language, ways of life and social customs of a particular community. As Laitin points out, "Members of a cultural group typically share a set of symbolic practices such as language, religion, artistic forms, and rituals."²⁰⁷ As voiced by Kymlicka and Brubaker earlier in the dissertation, at the national level, the preservation of this particular culture of the community will take highest precedence, thus the community's, "...language, culture, demographic position, economic welfare, and political hegemony..."²⁰⁸ will be protected and promoted by the state.

Belonging to this group is contingent upon the acceptance of the group's norms, values and membership criteria, with little flexibility for mutual accommodation. This model corresponds to Anthony Smith's definition of a Western national model based on the idea that an individual has to belong to a nation, but he has a choice of where to belong.²⁰⁹ Therefore, the membership boundaries are less

²⁰⁵ Smith, A. D. (1991), p. 11.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

²⁰⁷ Laitin, D. (2007). *Nations, States, and Violence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 64.

²⁰⁸ Brubaker, R. (1996), p.103.

²⁰⁹ Smith, A. D. (1991), p. 11.

stringent, but membership is conditional and depends on inter-group interaction and the demonstration of adherence to group norms accepted by others.

Membership in a cultural community also requires undivided loyalty and an identity based exclusively on identification with the community. This is best illustrated by the ‘cricket test’ advocated by the Conservative party of the United Kingdom. In the 1990’s the Conservative minister Norman Tebbit advocated that belonging could be determined by watching a sports match between the country of residence and the ‘home’ country. According to Tebbit, “...if people watched a cricket match between Britain and the team of the country from which they or their family originated and cheered that latter team, it meant that those people did not really ‘belong’ to the British collectivity.”²¹⁰ Newcomers are, thus, required to shed their old national identity and forget their previous attachments. Any transnational feelings or external homeland sympathizing is viewed negatively, as belonging either ‘here’ and ‘there’ become defined as separate, mutually exclusive entities.

In determining the applicability of the primordial or cultural community model of belonging with the nation-state context, integration policy should be evaluated in order to ascertain the emphasis placed on language, culture, official histories, indivisible loyalty, and annual national celebrations. The requirements for naturalization of newcomers, wishing to gain full formal membership in the state in the form of citizenship and the states openness to dual-citizenship should also be looked at. In particular, language of the national community and the state, and its role in policy becomes an effective indicator of the foundation of national identity and newcomer adherence to membership norms, and will be discussed in detail below.

3.2.1.2. Voluntaristic / Civic Membership

A national community can also be characterized by its ‘voluntaristic’ or civic makeup. This coincides with the earlier discussion of a state in which the boundaries are territorially defined and the material resources of the territory, and the sharing of these resources, form the national community. Belonging to a ‘voluntaristic’ nation, as already discussed, is based on the idea of contract between the individuals and the political community as, “...the members of the category firmly recognize certain

²¹⁰ Yuval-Davis, N. (2006a). Belonging and the Politics of Belonging. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 40(3), p. 210.

mutual rights and duties to each other in virtue of their shared membership in it.”²¹¹ Thus, in this conception of membership one also belongs to a group, but that group is a political community. A political community as defined by Parekh is, “...a territorially concentrated group of people bound together by their acceptance of a common mode of conducting their collective affairs, including a body of institutions and shared values.”²¹² In this case, the place of origin or a shared past is not as important as a shared vision for the future and shared interests, values, and habits.

Belonging is thus understood as not stemming automatically from descent and not passively imposed from above, but is rather negotiated through active participation, self-interest fulfillment, and mutual recognition. Belonging to a civic community or a civil society is belonging to groups that base themselves around common interests and envisioned as a community of citizens, “...integrated around a political ideal”.²¹³ Manuel Castells, in paraphrasing Gramsci, defines civil society as formed by a series of ‘apparatuses’ such as the church, unions, parties, cooperatives, civic associations, and so on.²¹⁴ The civil society is rooted in people and organizes around the maintaining of voluntary social relationships between the group members. Further, Robert Putnam characterizes civic community as a community based on active participation, cooperation, and egalitarian political relations.²¹⁵

Membership within a civic nation can be further separated in two categories; as formal members, or citizens, and national residents. The distinguishing characteristic between ‘us’ and ‘them’ becomes the level of political rights and the emphasis placed on participation for either group. In the best case scenario the state allows all residents to participate in democratic life and encourages political awareness. There are opportunities for legal residents to vote and stand for election in local and regional elections just like nationals, participate in consultative decisions, legal residents can join and establish political associations.²¹⁶ In this case, the boundary between groups is permeable and requires only formal residency.

A civic nation can also choose to accept and promote policies of multiculturalism and focus on mutual accommodation of needs. However, “No state

²¹¹ Gellner, E. (1994), p. 285.

²¹² Parekh, B. (1994), p. 501.

²¹³ Kohn, H. (1944), pp. 329-330, pp. 574-575.

²¹⁴ Castells, M. (1997). *The Power of Identity*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, p. 9.

²¹⁵ Putnam, R. (1993). *Making Democracy Work*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 15.

²¹⁶ Huddleston, T., Niessen, J., Chaoimh E.N., White, E. (2011), p. 18.

offers individuals an unlimited range of choices regarding the language they can use in public institutions”.²¹⁷ As already stated, no civic nation is culturally neutral and inevitably it will express a particular heritage and be based around a ‘societal culture’ centered on a shared language.²¹⁸ However, the emphasis on linguistic integration will focus on promoting participation, strengthening representative institutions, and doing away with discrimination. Thus, in establishing if a nation-state envisions itself as a ‘voluntaristic’ or civic nation, it becomes useful to look at the level of emphasis placed on the next two indicators of sense of community theory: influence and need fulfillment as means of belonging and newcomer integration in official policy.

3.2.1.3. Language and Membership

Dating back to the nineteenth-century, language has served as the definitive way to group national communities and delineate state borders through the so called ‘one state - one language – one nation’ model.²¹⁹ This harks back to the earlier discussion of a culturally defined territory, which encompasses a geographical distribution of culture. For culturally defined national communities, language serves as the principle means of signaling membership and distinguishes one community from another. Hobsbawm, in his work, has noted the role of language in popular identification and observed that in the absence of other means of identification, language can be used to create lines of division between social groups.²²⁰

For cultural communities, language serves as a means of signaling membership and is an indivisible part of the group’s norms, values, and membership criteria. Within cultural communities, “...language is also often seen as a way of maintaining inter-generational links with one’s ancestors and honoring those who fought to preserve the language in the past.”²²¹ It is also a means of delineating outsiders, as Taras in the chapter on *Language Belonging in the New Eastern Europe* notes, a group defined by culture and a cultural identity as such cannot, “...exist

²¹⁷ Kymlicka, W., Grin, F. (2003). Assessing the Politics of Diversity in Transition Countries. In: Daftary F., Grin, F. (eds.) *Nation-Building, Ethnicity and Language Politics in Transition Countries*. Budapest: Open Society Institute, p. 9.

²¹⁸ Kymlicka, W. (2001), pp. 17-18.

²¹⁹ Laponce, J.A. (2002). Language and Politics. In: Hawkesworth, M., Kogan, M. (eds.) *Encyclopedia of Government and Politics, Volume I*. New York: Routledge, p. 596.

²²⁰ Hobsbawm, E. (1990). *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 46-53.

²²¹ Kymlicka, W., Grin, F. (2003), p. 11.

without an encounter with the ‘other’.”²²² And it is this relational comparison with the ‘other’, distinguished by their use of another language that reinforces and defines group membership. Thus, in trying to establish if the national community is envisioned as a cultural community, it becomes useful to look at the emphasis placed on language and culture through language policy and language requirements within the integration context.

However, language is not exclusive to cultural communities as a marker of belonging. Esser in his article also notes the power of language and how accents can serve as either symbols of belonging or foreignness.²²³ Further, he notes the dual function of language as both a medium of belonging through everyday communication, as a means of participation, and as a resource in fulfillment of needs within the socio-economic context. A common language is also important to the proper workings of a democracy and representative institutions, which are necessary for the formation of civic nations. According to John Stuart Mill, free institutions that encourage the ‘we-feelings’ of a peoples, are unable to function if there is linguistic fragmentation within a state. He notes that, “Among a people without fellow-feelings, especially if they read and speak different languages, the united public opinion necessary to the workings of representative institutions cannot exit.”²²⁴ Linguistic homogenization within the conception of a national identity, according to Mill, is a prerequisite for trust, shared sympathies, loyalties, and to eliminate any competing claims on people’s political allegiances.

Thus, within the state context the recognition of one dominant language as a membership criterion is never exclusively just about the language. Language serves multiple functions as, “It is also imposing a set of political and cultural claims about the primacy of the state, the need for common rules and centralized institutions, the need to learn a new history and literature and the construction of a new nation-state loyalties and identities.”²²⁵ Because language, “...contributes to values, identity, and a sense of peoplehood, a common vernacular also establishes effective boundaries

²²² Taras, R. (2004). Language Belonging in the New Eastern Europe. In: Christiansen, F., Hedetoft, U. (eds.) *The Politics of Multiple Belonging: Ethnicity and Nationalism in Europe and East Asia*. London: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., p. 129.

²²³ Esser, H. (2004). Migration, Language and Integration. *AKI Research Review*, 4. Programme on Intercultural Conflicts and Societal Integration (AKI). Berlin: Social Science Research Center, pg. i.

²²⁴ Mill, J.S. (1972/1861) *Utilitarianism, Liberty, Representative Government*. London: J.M. Dent, p. 230.

²²⁵ Kymlicka, W., Grin, F. (2003), p. 11.

between ‘ingroups’ and ‘outgroups’”,²²⁶ language can be operationalized as an effective indicator of community membership, level of cultural integration, and willingness to adhere to group norms. Language knowledge and use can, therefore, serve as an indicator of the minorities’ personal investment, adherence to the national groups’ values and norms, and willingness to be evaluated by the set membership criteria of the group. Thus, it can be a measure of both the membership component of sense of community theory and a measure of cultural integration.

3.2.2. Shared Emotional Connection

The previous section discussed the various conceptions of a national group, and the various norms and values that define that community. Ultimately one feels a member of a group through identification with the group and acceptance by the group, and through this identification feelings of belonging solidify. According to Brubaker, a group is a collection of individuals who not only share a descriptive label but also think of themselves as a community.²²⁷ This is exactly what was required by the identificational dimension of integration; that one identifies with the society and there is a ‘we-feeling’ towards a group or a collective. In order for a group of individuals to start thinking of themselves as a community, McMillan and Chavis assert that a shared emotional connection is essential where there is, “...belief that members have shared and will share history, common places, time together, and similar experiences.”²²⁸

The sense of community theory maintains that strong communities, generating a shared emotional connection, “...offer members positive ways to interact, important events to share and ways to resolve them positively, opportunities to honor members, opportunities to invest in the community, and opportunities to experience a spiritual bond among members.”²²⁹ In explaining the various components of the shared emotional connection, McMillan and Chavis draw on the contact hypothesis and state that, “The more people interact, the more likely they are to become close.”²³⁰ However, in echoing the work of Gordon Allport²³¹, they also state that the interaction must be positive, “The more positive the experience and the relationships, the greater

²²⁶ Schmid, C. L. (2001). *The Politics of Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 9.

²²⁷ Brubaker, R. (2004). *Ethnicity without Groups*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, p. 66.

²²⁸ McMillan, D., Chavis, D. (1986)., p. 9.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²³¹ Allport, G. (1954/1958).

the bond.”²³² As a result, for individuals of different backgrounds to come together within the limits of the community, there must be positive contact between the members under appropriate conditions.

Further, McMillan and Chavis mention investment of oneself as a definitive way to generate the shared emotional connection. Investment can be understood as investment of time and energy, material investment, but also as intimacy or, “The amount of interpersonal emotional risk one takes with the other members and the extent to which one opens oneself to emotional pain from the community life....”²³³ This risk, can in turn impact the individuals level of honor or humiliation in the eyes of other community members. If one is recognized for the risks taken, the recognition in the presence of the community will positively impact one’s sense of belonging. However, echoing the work of David Laitin²³⁴ highlighting the risks associated with rejection by the dominant group, if one is humiliated or rejected, the community for that individual becomes much less attractive.

The final element facilitating the shared emotional connection of members is the spiritual bond. As McMillan and Chavis state, “It is very difficult to describe this important element”.²³⁵ The spiritual bond is in part shaped by shared participation in history, or identification with the history, and the *volkgeist* or (folk spirit).²³⁶ This resonates in the identification of a community and its territory as homeland or fatherland, even if the ethnic roots of the individual might be from somewhere else.

Additionally, the shared emotional connection between the individual and a community can be measured through trust. In group relations trust is viewed as the, “...glue that holds relationships together.”²³⁷ When there is a high level of trust in other community members, one is willing to attribute to their actions positive intentions and take them at their word.²³⁸ On the other hand, if there is a high level of

²³² McMillan, D., Chavis, D. (1986)., p. 13.

²³³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²³⁴ Laitin, D. (2007)., p. 55.

²³⁵ McMillan, D., Chavis, D. (1986)., p. 14.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²³⁷ Lewicki, R.J., (2000). Trust, Trust Development and Trust Repair. In: Deutch, M. Coleman, P.T., Marcus, E.C. (eds.) *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice, 2nd edition*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass Publishers, p. 92.

²³⁸ Gambetta, D. (1998). Can We Trust Trust? In: Gambetta, D. (ed.) *Trust: Making and Breaking Cooperative Relationships*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 213-237.

distrust, the actions of other will be viewed as sinister, and there will be a desire to protect the self from the other's conduct.²³⁹

Trust, and social cohesion, in ethnic and cultural community groups emanates from shared common knowledge. Common knowledge is a cognitive criterion that is met when all the members of a group have knowledge about a set of things, and know that all other members of the group have this knowledge, and so on.²⁴⁰ The group members are assumed to share beliefs about what is right and wrong, and what is considered the best course of action for the group, creating a predictable framework for social cohesion amongst the members, and solidifying the belief that members, "...will share history, common places, time together..."²⁴¹

The theoretical discussion of the shared emotional connection based on trust and confidence, has its roots in the work of Ferdinand Tonnies and Emile Durkheim.²⁴² The *gemeinschaft* relationships, or mechanical solidarity, emanate from the traditional kinship relationships. People are homogenous in their backgrounds and as such have a predictable patter of actions. The *gemeinschaft* relationships are considered more emotional with a greater degree of concern for the welfare of all parties involved. The *gesellschaft*, or organic solidarity, relationships form as a result of modern world conditions and the interdependence of individuals. As opposed to the primordial relationships, organic solidarity is driven by rational self advancing considerations.

Thus, for members of a civic community (organic relationship) to come together within the imagined framework of community, and have that community invoke a sense of belonging and psychological affinity, a great deal of social capital is required. Social capital, "...refers to features of social organizations such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit."²⁴³ Social capital becomes the cement of society, binding together the individuals into a community of members with shared interest, shared assumptions

²³⁹ Kramer, R.M., Carnevale, P.J. (2001). Trust and Intergroup Negotiation. In: Brown, R., Gaertner, S. (eds.) *Intergroup Processes*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 431-450.

²⁴⁰ Laitin, D. (2007), p. 65.

²⁴¹ McMillan, D., Chavis, D. (1986), p. 9.

²⁴² See: Durkheim, E. (1997/1893). *The Division of Labor in Society*. New York: The Free Press.; Tonnies, F. (2002/1957). *Community and Society*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.

²⁴³ Putnam, R. (1995). Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital. *Journal of Democracy*, 6(1), p. 67.

about social relations, and a sense of the common good.²⁴⁴ In a sense, providing a shared emotional connection required by the sense of community theory.

In conclusion, the shared emotional connection element of the sense of community theory is very much dependent on the conception of the national community as ethnic or civic, because the shared emotional connection stems from membership within a group or community that provides meaning for the individual, and in which he is recognized as a member. Thus, to feel a sense of belonging to a community, in this case a national community, an individual needs to feel welcome and respected as part of the group, "...when one is accepted by the community one is more strongly attracted to that community."²⁴⁵ The acceptance and recognition works to solidify the emotional connection, and reduces the chance of humiliation through rejection or discrimination, which can be detrimental to the sense of emotional connection.

The emotional connection, and its impact on sense of belonging, can be established by looking at the correlation between belonging and interaction, the quality of interaction, the investment of oneself in relationships, or friendships with group members, and by looking at elements that suggest a spiritual bond such as recognition of territory as homeland. The emotional connection is further strengthened by the amount of trust amongst the community members and their collective participation, or collective memory of participation, within the framework of belonging. An applicable measure of trust is social capital; or the involvement in political and civic activities, strength of networks, trust in politicians and state institutions, belief in the ability to influence policy decisions etc., elements that also shape the next component of the sense of community theory – influence.

3.2.3. Influence and Fulfillment of Needs

Within the sense of community theory, the emotional component of group membership and the roused emotional connection are undeniably important for feelings of belonging, however, an indisputable role is also played by the rational considerations of belonging that govern one's influence in the community and need satisfaction. Thus, increasingly, it is becoming more important to think of sense of

²⁴⁴ Newton, K. (1999). Social Capital and Democracy in Modern Europe. In: Maraffi, M., Newton, K., van Deth, J., Whiteley, P. (eds.) *Social Capital and European Democracy*. London: Routledge, p. 4.

²⁴⁵ McMillan, D. (1996). Sense of Community. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 24(4), p. 317.

belonging in terms of preconditions governing the quality of life. This corresponds to the previously discussed concept of ‘elective belonging’, where the emotional attachment to the landscape also requires the individual to judge the current place of residence and its resources against other possible places and potential opportunities.²⁴⁶ An individual has to feel that his chosen country of residence and the national community affords him the opportunity to fulfill his needs, and as such associates his own future well-being with the well-being of the national community. Fulfillment of these needs will guide the decision of whether to stay, physically and/or emotionally, in the current community, or seek fulfillment elsewhere. This in turn will govern the newcomer’s willingness to submit himself to the integration process.

In the academic discourse, the emphasis placed on active participation and non-discrimination within the influence and needs fulfillment dimensions of the sense of community theory, is consistent with Bhikhu Parekh’s conception of ‘common belonging’.²⁴⁷ In defining ‘common belonging’, Parekh pushes beyond the emotional component of belonging generated by the membership group, and instead emphasizes elements of civic national identity. For belonging he emphasizes a common system of rights and obligations, participation, and most importantly the understanding that it is the inter-dependence of the group that shapes the future well-being of all involved. Thus, it is only through the belief that your own personal well-being depends on the future well-being of the group that a sense of common belonging to the national community solidifies.

Further, the sense of community elements of influence and integration and fulfillment of needs are closely related to the academic discourse on active society and integration through participation, and in stark contrast to the theoretical discussion of the causes of migration. Sense of belonging requires that one can see himself within the power structures of the society. These power structures can be political, business or civic, but one has to feel that through participation he is able to influence decision making. Same applies to public institutions; one has to feel that he has equal access to public institutions and that economic resources in the society are

²⁴⁶ Savage, M., Bagnall, G., Longhurst B. (2005)., p. 29.

²⁴⁷ Parekh, B. (2008). *A New Politics of Identity*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 87.

fairly distributed.²⁴⁸ Thus, perceptions of discrimination and belonging and social inclusion are interconnected, and through practices and experiences of social inclusion a sense of stake in the community and acceptance in society is created and maintained.²⁴⁹ For feelings of belonging, it is important for one to see himself as part of the social fabric and to have a stake in the future well-being of the community.

The influence and fulfillment of needs elements of a sense of community theory will be discussed together within this section, because the two concepts mutually reinforce each other and a sense of belonging development. In order to properly explain these two concepts, this section proposes to discuss academic theory governing the lack of influence and needs fulfillment and the resulting lack of sense of belonging. Thus, first, the section will briefly present the theory of voluntary migration.

3.2.3.1. Theory of Migration / Hirschman

The traditional view of voluntary migration has largely been connected to the pursuit of employment and the betterment of one's material conditions and/or social recognition. The basis of a theory of migration is rooted in the work of Ernest George Ravenstein. Ravenstein identified a set of conditions, or laws, that according to him, governed voluntary migration.²⁵⁰ In his model, the central reason voluntary migration takes place stems from economic motives. He further highlights that sense of belonging to one particular place might also be weakened, and hence migration encouraged, by lack of 'voice' or the ability to affect the structural conditions of a country, however, better economic opportunities elsewhere according to him are the main reason for migration. He states:

Bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, and unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings, and even compulsions, all have produced and are still producing currents of migration, but none of these currents can compare in

²⁴⁸ Migration Policy Institute (2008). *Part of Our Community: A Policy Discussion on Creating and Maintaining a Sense of Belonging*. Viewed 16.10.2013 from:

https://secure.migrationpolicy.org/images/2008.5.5_Summary.pdf

²⁴⁹ Anthias, F. (2006). Belongings in a Globalising and Unequal World. In: Yuval-Davis, N., Kannabiran, K., Vieten, U. (eds.) *The Situated Politics of Belonging*. London: Sage Publications Ltd., p. 21.

²⁵⁰ Ravenstein, E. G. (1885). The Laws of Migration. *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 48(2), pp. 167-235.

volume with that which arises from the desire inherent in most men to ‘better’ themselves in material respects.²⁵¹

Ravenstein’s theory was reformulated by Everett Lee to give more emphasis to the internal factors that encourage migration, or the disengagement of belonging. Lee states, “In every area there are countless factors which act to hold people within the area or attract people to it, and there are others which tend to repel them.”²⁵² He identifies the importance of the push-pull dichotomy of migration. For the pull factors he, once again, identifies the importance of economic benefits. Pulled migrants leave their place of residence voluntarily, in most cases for economic benefit. Push factors are the unfavorable conditions which give individuals reason to be dissatisfied with their current location and encourage ‘exit’. These can be a lack of ‘voice’ or the ability to affect structural conditions and the lack of opportunities.

The concept of ‘exit’ and ‘voice’, as mentioned in the above discussion of the theory of migration, stems from the work of Albert Hirschman.²⁵³ His work has been re-formulated within the field of political science in various ways to be applicable to the study of minorities within the integration context.²⁵⁴ Hirschman’s conception of ‘voice’ means that one has an ability to voice complaints, in order to facilitate improvements, as a participant in a community. In essence, it is the ability to participate in the decision making process of the community by voicing concerns that hinder one’s ability to fulfill needs. If one’s voice is ignored, and the individual perceives himself as lacking influence, then he is living in a system where the rules governing actions are made by others.

Influence in the political decision making process is especially important for minority or new settler’s sense of belonging, as in order for feelings of belonging to develop the individual must not only be equal under the law of the country of residence, but must also see himself as the authors of the laws that bind.²⁵⁵ The

²⁵¹ Ravenstein, E. G. (1885), p. 286.

²⁵² Lee, E. S. (1966), p. 50.

²⁵³ Hirschman, A. (1970). *Exit, Voice, Loyalty. Response to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

²⁵⁴ See: Bremmer, I. (1994). The Politics of Ethnicity: Russians in the New Ukraine. *Europe-Asia Studies* 46(2), pp. 26-83.; Evans, G. (1998). Ethnic Schism and Consolidation of Post-Communist Democracies. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 31(1), pp. 57-74.; Hughes, J. (2005). Exit in Deeply Divided Societies. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 43(4), pp. 739-762.; Laitin, D. (1995). Identity in Formation: The Russian-speaking Nationality in the Post-Soviet Diaspora. *European Journal of Sociology*, 36(2), pp. 281-316.

²⁵⁵ Gutmann, A. (1994), p. ix.

formal participation in the political process has been shown to acquaint non-citizens with the political culture and encourage in them sense of belonging and the wish to formalize their attachment to the nation-state through the process of naturalization.²⁵⁶ Further, it has been shown that political participation encourages social capital, and specifically trust in the democratic institutions.²⁵⁷

If formal political involvement, or influence, in terms of participating in elections and political decision making, is only afforded to full members of the political community, then alternative models of participation in civic culture can be an effective alternative for establishing belonging of non-citizens to the national community. For non-citizens active involvement in associations based on cultural and legal categories provide a forum for resisting and challenging the continued lack of recognition faced at the level of public discourse.²⁵⁸ The state support for non-citizens involvement at the civic level becomes an indicator of the state's willingness to promote minority or migrant integration through participation. Thus, it becomes relevant to look at the structural integration means afforded to minorities and newcomers through formal participation in elections, and also the state support and approval of non-citizen activism in consultative bodies through an active immigrant civil society.

If such opportunities for influence are missing, it is likely to impact the ability to fulfill emotional and physical needs, and as a result sense of belonging to this type of community will be weak or non-existent. Using Hirschman's terms, if 'voice' does not exist or is not perceived as a viable tool, then 'exit', either physically or mentally, is likely to become the only viable option. As discussed above, 'exit', physical or mental, happens mostly when one does not see a way to adequately improve his own material position or quality of life in the current community of residence, when one feels unjustly excluded from the opportunity to change the situation or discriminated, or when one compares opportunities afforded within the country of residence with opportunities afforded somewhere else.

²⁵⁶ Aleinikoff, A., Klusmeyer, D. (2001). *Citizenship Today: Global Perspectives and Practices*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment For International Peace, p. 43.

²⁵⁷ Munro, D. (2008). Integration through Participation: Non-Citizen Resident Voting Rights in an Era of Globalization. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 9(1), pp. 63–80.

²⁵⁸ Yuval-Davis, N. (2006b)., p. 11.

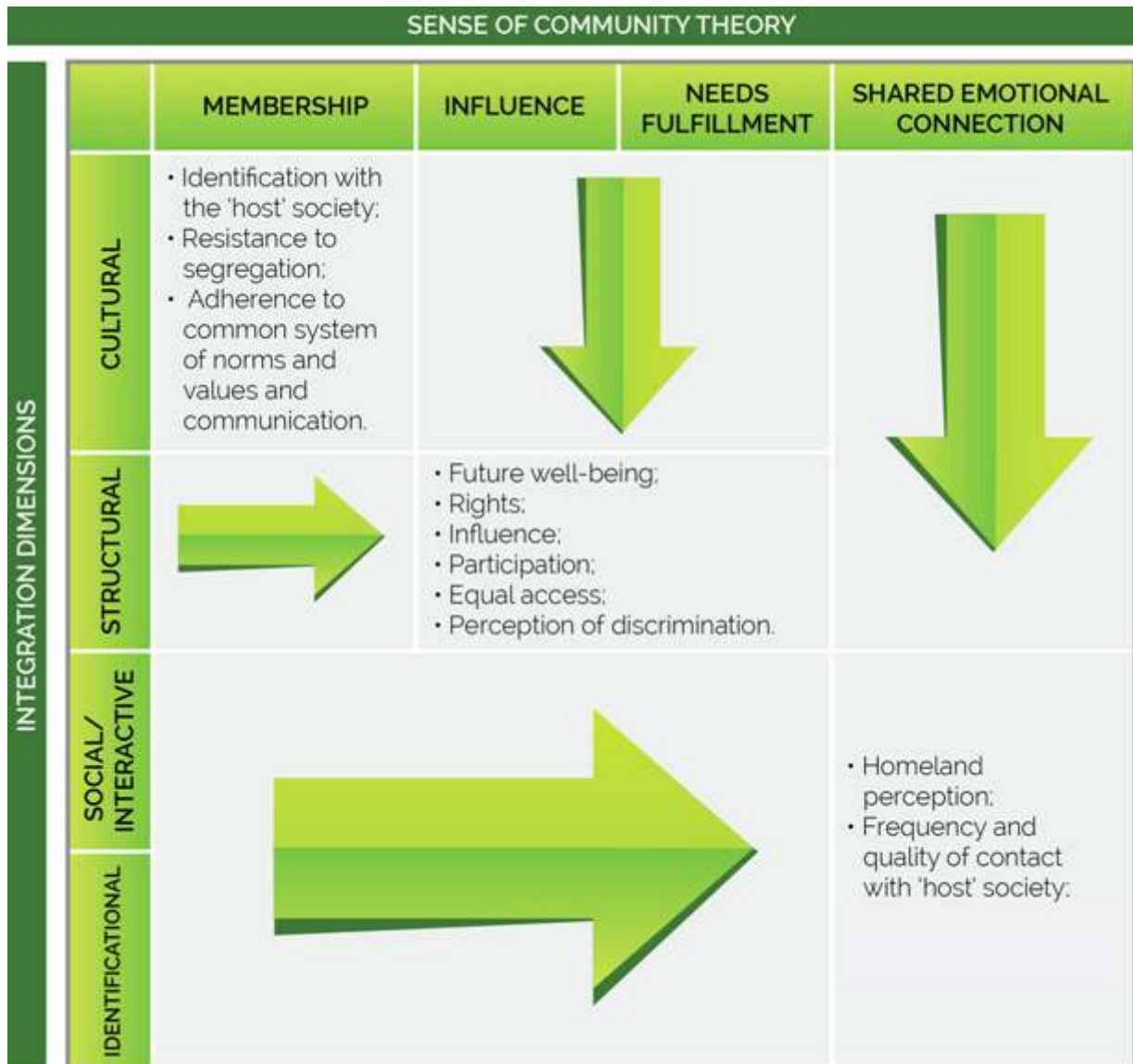
3.3. Convergence of Integration and Sense of Community

As stated in the introduction to this dissertation, the goal of this work is to make a theoretical contribution to the study of belonging within the context of social integration, by outlining a framework in which the dimensions of integration are shown to correlate with aspects of the sense of community theory, effectively identifying areas which contribute to feelings of belonging. The previous sections have outlined the dimensions of integration, showing in diagram Nr. 1 how the various dimensions feed into each other. Within this section of the dissertation, the various aspects of the sense of community theory were discussed and diagram Nr. 2 showed how each aspect of the sense of community theory was a prerequisite for the development of feelings of belonging.

The purpose of diagram Nr. 3, below, is to illustrate the findings of the comprehensive academic and theoretical analysis of the literature on sense of belonging and integration. The diagram shows how the two processes are interconnected and what requirements and dimensions are set forth as important for the development of feelings of belonging. The content of the diagram and the convergence of the phases of integration and the dimensions of sense of community theory are discussed in detail below.

Diagram 3. Convergence of Integration Dimensions and Sense of Community

Theory



Cultural integration, in the previous section of the dissertation, was outlined as a precondition to participation in the ‘host’ society. Esser, in his analysis, effectively equated cultural integration, or ‘acculturation’, with socialization, where skills are acquired and learned in order to promote further interaction and bond development with the ‘host’ society.²⁵⁹ The process was viewed as largely one-sided, with the minorities or migrants learning the necessary cultural competence. The sense of community theory effectively echoes the same verdict in stating that membership is

²⁵⁹ Esser cited in Heckmann, F. (2006)., p. 9.

the feeling that one has, "...invested a part of oneself to become a member...",²⁶⁰ requiring a certain sacrifice and adjustment to the pre-existing group norms.

Further, the membership dimension of the sense of community theory entails a positive identification with the group and the markers of group membership, which contribute to the overall self-understanding. This feeds into the social/interactive dimension of integration, where the development of social networks and primary relationships is emphasized, and the frequency and quality of contact is of importance. The identificational phase of integration, as the final dimension of integration, is contingent on the previously mentioned dimensions, as participation and inclusion play into one's perception of themselves as part of the society. The same notion is echoed by the shared emotional connection dimension of the sense of community theory, as one is understood to feel a part of the group and develop feelings of belonging when one can positively identify with the group, seeks out positive contact, is emotionally invested, and accepted by the group. Finally, as in the identificational phase of integration which requires the 'we-feeling' to form, in the shared emotional connection dimension one is understood to develop a spiritual bond with the group manifesting in the identification of a territory and a community as homeland.

In order to analyze the influence of the membership dimension of the sense of community theory on sense of belonging, the correlation between a sense of belonging and positive group identification, mutual understanding, willingness to engage in contact, adherence to group norms and values and willingness to use signifiers of membership, can be looked at. For the shared emotional connection dimension in correlation with a sense of belonging, emotional investment in relationships, homeland, and national identity perception can be analyzed.

Within the structural dimension of integration discussion in the previous section, Heckman was quoted as stating that the structural integration dimension is the most important dimension of integration, "...since structural integration is integration into the core institutions of society"²⁶¹ and will determines the socio-economic status and opportunities of an individual in modern society. For Esser structural integration, or placement, was associated with the resulting social position and the acquired participation rights governing the individuals' access to cultural, social, and economic capital.

²⁶⁰ McMillan, D., Chavis, D. (1986)., p. 9.

²⁶¹ Heckmann, F. (2006)., p. 2.

Sense of community theory emphasizes the same requirements for sense of belonging development, by stating that community bonds are very much dependent on rational need satisfaction through influence. McMillan and Chavis state that, "...for a member to be attracted to a group, he must have some influence over what the group does."²⁶² It is only through participation rights and the act of participating, that community members develop social capital as, "Participation in voluntary associations or in government programs yields a sharing of power that leads to greater 'ownership' of the community by the participants, greater satisfaction, and greater cohesion."²⁶³ Therefore, for sense of belonging development influence and participation play a key role as, "Members are more attracted to a community in which they feel that they are influential".²⁶⁴

The integration and fulfillment of needs component of the sense of community theory simply stated means that, "...individual-group association must be rewarding for its members."²⁶⁵ McMillan and Chavis maintain that individuals gravitate toward people and groups that offer the most rewards, and in making decisions, do what serves their needs. Accordingly, if a national community or the state, expects its members or residents to feel a sense of belonging to it, it must commit itself to needs fulfillment of the individual members. The status of membership within the community should generate a positive identity, as belonging is reinforced through the, "...status of membership, success of the community, and competence or capabilities of other members."²⁶⁶ Thus, an individual's willingness to associate himself with the community depends on the ability to influence the decision making of the community, this influence must be beneficial to the individual in striving to fulfill his needs, and membership in the community must be seen as advantageous in improving one's future well-being.

In order to test the influence of these elements of the sense of community theory on sense of belonging, the correlation between sense of belonging and political or civic participation can be looked at, the perception of individuals influence or 'voice' within the national community, and the overall conviction that community members have influence, or political trust. In order to test the correlation between needs fulfillment and sense of belonging, data on perceived discrimination can be looked at, as well as the

²⁶² McMillan, D., Chavis, D. (1986), p. 11.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

perception of future opportunities in the community of residence, and the overall willingness to migrate or 'exit' in order to fulfill needs.

3.4. Internal and External Dimensions of Politics of Belonging

As already discussed in the previous section of this dissertation, the government, through state policy, endeavors to play a role in the construction of feelings of belonging. In the case of migrants or minorities, this is done specifically through integration policy. In terms of government and policy, and its implications for belonging, Nira Yuval-Davis has frequently uses the term the 'politics of belonging'.²⁶⁷ Politics of belonging explores the power structures of the state and its relationship to individual belonging and is about the, "...struggles around the determination of what is involved in belonging, in being a member of a community."²⁶⁸ Within the discussion, issues such as participatory politics of citizenship, entitlement, and status are looked at. Adrian Favell has defined the politics of belonging to be about, "...the dirty work of boundary maintenance,"²⁶⁹ or the division of the political community of the state into 'us' and 'them'.

Central to the constructions of belonging along the power structures of the state is the previously discussed extent of national conception as either ethnic or civic. Nations conceived as ethnic will focus on the primordial links and emphasize camaraderie based on shared language and culture and the never ceasing relationship between the state and a national, where nations conceived as civic will focus on belonging embodied in political institutions and practices.²⁷⁰ Policies of integration, in the ethnic conception of the nation, will lean toward an assimilation approach, and expect the immigrant or minority to adapt wholly to the national society in order to belong. Civic nations, in turn, will promote social integration requiring, "...minority

²⁶⁷ See: Yuval-Davis, N. (2011b). *The Politics of Belonging: Intersectional Contestation*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.; Yuval-Davis, N. (2006b). Introduction. In: Yuval-Davis, N., Kannabiran, K., Vieten, U. (eds.) *The Situated Politics of Belonging*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.; Yuval-Davis, N. (2006a). Belonging and the Politics of Belonging. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 40(3), pp. 197-214.

²⁶⁸ Yuval-Davis, N. (2011a). Power, Intersectionality and the Politics of Belonging. Feminist Research Center. *FRELA Working Paper Series*, Nr. 75. Aalborg: Aalborg University Denmark, p. 3.

²⁶⁹ Favell, A. (1999). The Politics of Belonging: Some Theoretical Considerations. In: Geddes, A., Favell, A. (eds.) *The Politics of Belonging: Migrants and Minorities in Contemporary Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate, p. 211.

²⁷⁰ Laborde, C. (2002).

groups to identify with the common culture of citizenship in the public arena, while maintaining their cultural differences in the private sphere.”²⁷¹

Politics of belonging centers on two topics vital to the overall theme of this dissertation in terms of belonging and the state – the institutional dimension of belonging to the national community through citizenship, and the external aspect of politics of belonging involving transnational attachments to an external homeland.²⁷² As politics of belonging centers on who belongs and who does not in terms of citizenship, in external politics of belonging status is once again the focal point, however in a different conceptualization than traditional citizenship, as the individuals subject to external politics of belonging, “...may or may not be citizens or otherwise formal members of the state in question; in either case, their membership status, actual or claimed, is the focus of contestation.”²⁷³ Both dimensions, citizenship and belonging and belonging to an external homeland, will be discussed in detail below.

3.4.1. Citizenship and Belonging

Citizenship, enshrined in law, is the ultimate state means of recognizing belonging, and determining who is ‘in’ and who is ‘out’, or who belongs to the state and who does not. States control the ‘rules of access’ and determine how one becomes eligible for citizenship and under what conditions does someone who is eligible become a citizen.²⁷⁴ In academic literature the ‘rules of access’ to citizenship have been labeled as ‘liberal’, describing the *jus soli* approach where citizenship and nationality is recognized by birth on the national territory and where few barriers exist for those wanting to access citizenship, or as ‘restrictive’, where *jus sanguinis* principle determines citizenship by blood and other barriers to citizenship exist.²⁷⁵

²⁷¹ Kostakopoulou, D. (2010), p. 6.

²⁷² Geddes, A., Favell, A. (eds.) (1999). *The Politics of Belonging: Migrants and Minorities in Contemporary Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

²⁷³ Brubaker, R. (2010). Migration, Membership, and the Modern Nation State: Internal and External Dimensions of the Politics of Belonging. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, XLI:I, p. 66.

²⁷⁴ Goodman, S. W. (2010). Integration Requirements for Integration’s Sake? *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(5), pp. 756-757.

²⁷⁵ See: Hansen, R., Weil, P. (eds.) (2001). *Toward a European Nationality*. New York: Palgrave.; Howard, M.M. (2006). Comparative Citizenship: an Agenda for Cross-National Research. *Perspectives on Politics*, 4(3), pp. 443-455.; Joppke, C. (2008). Comparative Citizenship: a Restrictive Turn in Europe? *Journal of Law and Ethics of Human Rights*, 2(1), pp. 1-41.

Citizenship and integration, within the framework of the state, are undoubtedly interconnected. There are two main approaches to understanding the relationship between citizenship and integration; citizenship as a ‘tool’ in the integration process, and citizenship as a ‘reward’ for the successful completion of the integration process. According to Jurado, states conceived as ethnic tend to employ the assimilationist model of integration, and citizenship becomes the ‘reward’ individuals receive when they are understood to have ‘completed’, or are close to ‘completing’, the integration process and have proven their loyalty to the state and renounced their previous ‘national identity’.²⁷⁶ In order to complete the naturalization procedure, an individual within these states will be subject to strict language tests and tests dealing with the history, constitution, and public values.

Civic states, or states employing the multicultural model, will use citizenship as a tool for integrating societies. According to this understanding, citizenship status will encourage further integration by allowing for participation in state’s economic, cultural and political institutions, and this participation will shape individual loyalties.²⁷⁷ Naturalization requirements within these states will be minimal, usually requiring a modest period of residency. In either case, citizenship status is understood to signify a closer bond with the state, either because citizenship gives the minority or immigrant, “...a vested interest in society and signals acceptance” or because citizenship is “...awarded to those who have made a conscious choice” to belong by completing the integration process.²⁷⁸

Citizenship, as a status, is unique in that it is both emotional and practical. Shapiro states that, “Citizenship is located both in a legal, territorial entity, which is associated with the privileges of sovereignty and the rights of individuals, and in a cultural community where it is associated with a history of shared ethnic and social characteristics.”²⁷⁹ His ideas about the multiple meanings and functions of citizenship stem from the seminal work on citizenship of T.H. Marshall in his essay *Citizenship and Social Class*.²⁸⁰ According to Marshall, not only does citizenship meet the needs

²⁷⁶ Jurado, E. (2008). *Citizenship. Tool or Reward?* Policy Network Paper. London: Policy Network, p. 6.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

²⁷⁸ Ersanilli, E., Koopmans, R. (2010). Rewarding Integration? *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(5), p. 774.

²⁷⁹ Shapiro, M.J. (2000). National Times and Other Times: Re-Thinking Citizenship. *Cultural Studies*, 14(1), p. 81.

²⁸⁰ Marshall, T.H. (1950). *Citizenship and Social Class*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

and guarantee the rights of individuals, but it also has an integrating effect promoting, "...a direct sense of community membership based on loyalty to a civilization which is a common possession."²⁸¹ Formal membership in a community has also long been believed to be an effective tool in overcoming societal divisions based on culture, and as a means of promoting social cohesion.²⁸²

Further, citizenship can be explained as a set of practices (judicial, political, economic and cultural) which identifies a person as a competent member of society, and therefore, privileges that member to the flow of resources.²⁸³ In his writing, Bauböck presents the following summarization of citizenship:

- 1) a formal legal status that links individuals to a state or another established polity;
- 2) a bundle of legal rights and duties associated with this status, including civil liberties, rights to democratic representation, and social rights to education, health care, and protection from poverty risks;
- 3) a set of responsibilities, virtues, and practices that support democratic self-government;
- 4) a collective identity that can be shared across distinctions of class, race, gender, religion, ethnic origin, or way of life.²⁸⁴

Thus, citizenship as a category, within the context of explaining sense of belonging, deserves to be operationalized empirically separately because when understood in its broadest conception can meet all four elements, identified by McMillan and Chavis as necessary, for the development of inter-group bonds. Citizenship as a status can fulfill the membership and shared emotional connection requirement through the community of citizens it creates, and through the various rights and privileges associated with citizenship can meet the influence, integration, and fulfillment of needs requirements of the sense of community theory.

However, understandings of citizenship and its meaning to individuals can differ. Carens has termed this the 'psychological' dimension of citizenship, or the

²⁸¹ Marshall, T.H. (1950)., p. 40.

²⁸² Kivisto, P.(2004). Inclusion: Parsons and Beyond. *Acta Sociologica*, 47(3), p. 291.

²⁸³ Turner, B. S. (1993)., p. 2.

²⁸⁴ Bauböck, R. (2008). *Stakeholder Citizenship: An Idea Whose Time has Come?* TransAtlantic Council on Migration. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, p. 3.

citizens' subjective sense of belonging.²⁸⁵ Various other authors have pointed out the difficulties citizenship, in understanding national belonging, can pose. For example, Mouffe writes that in order to belong as a citizen, an individual has to subscribe to a certain norms of conduct and accept a specific language of civil intercourse.²⁸⁶ But as Carens writes this presupposes, "...an idealized (and misleading) conception of the nation-state as an administratively centralized, culturally homogenous political community in which citizenship is treated primarily as a legal status that is universal, equal, and democratic."²⁸⁷ Thus, in evaluating the impact of citizenship status on feelings of belonging what has to be kept in mind is that a sense of belonging to a common overarching citizenship identity depends on the actual rights and privileges citizenship bestows, and the sacrifices, in terms of ethnic identity, that are required in return for citizenship.²⁸⁸

3.4.2. External Homeland and Diaspora Belonging

As already mentioned in the theoretical discussion of groups, and the importance of groups for self-identification, the individual self is reflexive and influenced by the environment and the other groups around them, and is constantly driven by the need to maintain positive self-evaluation. Giddens writes that 'the self' is ever-changing in relation to the lived experiences and changes in the surrounding environment. The account of 'who we are' will continuously react to the evolving circumstances and how we align ourselves in relation to them.²⁸⁹ This becomes especially important in instances where the individual feels unable or unwilling to comply with 'in-group' norms, feels unwelcome, or is unable to maintain a positive self-evaluation within the provided framework. The particularity of the modern age, and the already discussed challenges to integration in the classical conception posed by supranational belonging, transnationalism, and the external homeland, can at this point, begin to influence individual and group identity.

²⁸⁵ Carens, J. H. (2000). *Culture, Citizenship, and Community. A Contextual Exploration of Justice as Evenhandedness*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 162.

²⁸⁶ Mouffe, C. (1991). Democratic Citizenship and the Political Community. In: Miami Theory Collective (ed.) *Community at Loose Ends*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, p. 77.

²⁸⁷ Carens, J. H. (2000)., p. 161.

²⁸⁸ Kymlicka, W., Wayne, N. (eds.) (2000). *Citizenship in Diverse Societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

²⁸⁹ Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p. 5.

In instances where the process of integration has failed to nationalize the immigrant or minority community and transform them into members of an imagined community, or in instances where the migrant or minority population has felt a negative reception, or simply has avoided full incorporation into the national community of the ‘host’ country, a diaspora identity can be constructed and an external homeland belonging evoked.²⁹⁰ As Brubaker notes, this situation of uncertainty in terms of being accepted, and the hesitance of the migrant or minority population to integrate, is particularly applicable to the former Soviet Union case because, “When the Soviet Union collapses, borders moved over people, not (immediately) vice versa, thus creating the post-Soviet internal and external membership politics in Russia and the other successor states.”²⁹¹

For a diaspora identity to emerge there has to exist a community of credible size that is able to provide social, economic, and psychological support seen as not available within the national community framework. Safran has defined a diaspora, in relation to sense of belonging, as follows: ‘expatriate minority communities’, that are dispersed from an original centre to at least two ‘peripheral’ places, that maintain a ‘memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland’, that ‘believe they are not- and perhaps cannot be – fully accepted by their host country’, and whose consciousness and solidarity as a group are ‘importantly defined’ by this continuing relationship with the homeland.²⁹² Thus, the requirements for an identity group to be defined as diaspora are that there has to be an element of dispersion across state boundaries, there has to be an orientation toward an external homeland who is inclined to perpetuate this identification, and the community has to have a characteristic shaping their distinct identity which it wishes to preserve.²⁹³

In turn an external homeland, in maintaining and encouraging this transnational relationship and diaspora identity, involves itself in external politics of belonging, which Brubaker defines as pertaining, “...to the membership status of populations that are durably situated outside the territorial ambit and jurisdiction of a

²⁹⁰ Roudometof, V. (2010). From Greek-Orthodox Diaspora to Transnational Hellenism. In: Gal, A., Leoussi, A.S., Smith, A.D. (eds.) *The Call of the Homeland*. Leiden, the Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV, p. 140.

²⁹¹ Brubaker, R. (2010), p. 69.

²⁹² Safran, W. (1991). Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 1(1), pp. 83-84.

²⁹³ Brubaker, R. (2005). The ‘Diaspora’ Diaspora. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28(1), pp. 5-6.

state but claim – or are claimed – to belong, in some sense to the state or to its nation.”²⁹⁴ The claim, in this case, is made by cultural or political elites of the external homeland who, “...construe certain residents and citizens of the other state as co-nationals, as fellow members of a single transborder nation....”²⁹⁵ External homeland politics can take on a variety of forms, and can include migration assistance and citizenship privileges for returning diaspora members, there can be attempts to influence the other state’s policies and stances toward the co-ethnics, or it can involve the conveyance of homeland values and political opinions to its diaspora representative.²⁹⁶

The involvement of the external homeland transforms the way in which migrants or minorities, “...incorporate themselves into the societies where they reside”.²⁹⁷ Because of the transnational relationship, the migrants or minorities are engaged in the nation building processes of two or more nation-states and, “Their identities and practices are configured by hegemonic categories, such as race and ethnicity, that are deeply embedded in the nation building processes of these nation-states.”²⁹⁸ As a result, their feelings of belonging to the country of residence, or the external homeland, are shaped by the confrontation of the internal and external politics of belonging of these two or more nation-states.

The extent to which diaspora representatives are influenced by external homeland politics, and how the transnational relationship impacts their social integration in the host society, inevitably varies. Snel, and partners, in their quantitative examination of transnational activism concluded that in general transnational involvement and identification did not impede immigrant integration and their sense of belonging. They state that their findings, “...largely support the assumption that transnational activities and identification do not need to constitute an impediment to integration.”²⁹⁹

Guarnizo, Portes and Haller in their analysis seem to support this finding by concluding that regular transnational activism and identification had a relatively

²⁹⁴ Brubaker, R. (2010)., p. 66.

²⁹⁵ Brubaker, R. (1996)., p. 5.

²⁹⁶ Brubaker, R. (1993). National Minorities, Nationalizing States, and External National Homelands in the New Europe. *IHS Reihe Politikwissenschaft*, 11, p. 9.

²⁹⁷ Guarnizo, L.E., Portes, A., Haller, W. (2003)., p. 1214.

²⁹⁸ Basch, L., Schiller, N.G., Blanc, C.S. (2003)., p. 22.

²⁹⁹ Snel, E., Engersen, G., Leerkes, A. (2006)., p. 304.

insignificant impact on integration; however, they also note that transnational activism is very sensitive to contextual changes and sharp increases in involvement can be noted in instances of political significance.³⁰⁰ This had lead other researchers to suggest that context of each situation is of significance, and point out that in instances of hardship, transnational activism can develop as a compensatory mechanism for status loss, or lack of voice.³⁰¹ Castles specifically mentions that transnational activism and a ‘reactive ethnicity’ can serve as an attempt by the immigrant or minority population to improve its life chances by invoking transnational links and mobilizing community solidarity.³⁰²

Thus, the multi-layered nature of the transnational relationship and external homeland involvement is a point of uncertainty for many nation-states. It is therefore, no surprise, that transnational communities are sometimes construed as, “...the paradigmatic ‘other’ of the nation-state.”³⁰³ Among the academics, worry has also been expressed that multiple belongings, in the context of social integration, can undermine a healthy liberal democracy by creating divided loyalties and that the retention of transnational ties and cultures will prevent the development of, “...a sense of belonging to the national identity of the receiving country.”³⁰⁴

The theoretical review of literature on transnational identification and involvement paints a contradictory picture on what the implications might be for immigrant or minority sense of belonging to the host country. What is clear, however, is that context in each instance is of significant importance, particularly when it comes to issues of political sensitivity.

4. Applicable Research Review

The theoretical discussion of the dimension of integration and sense of belonging already touched upon the difficulties these two vague concepts pose for

³⁰⁰ Guarnizo, L.E., Portes, A., Haller, W. (2003), p. 1238.

³⁰¹ Jones-Correa, M. (1998). Different Paths: Gender, Immigration and Political Participation. *International Migration Review*, 32(2), pp. 326–349.; Guarnizo, L.E., Smith, M.P. (1998). The Locations of Transnationalism. In: Smith, M.P., Guarnizo, L.E. (eds.) *Transnationalism from Below, vol. 6: Comparative Urban and Community Research*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, pp. 3–34.

³⁰² Castles, S. (2002), p. 1161.

³⁰³ Tölölyan, K. (1991). The National-State and Its Others: In Lieu of a Preface. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 1(1), p. 3.

³⁰⁴ Vasta, E. (2010). *Multiple Languages of Belonging in the Metropolis*. In: The Australian Sociological Association conference proceedings from the TASA Conference: Social Causes, Private Lives. Macquarie University: The Australian Sociological Association, pp. 2-3.

researchers in studying social integration. The concluding section of the theoretical discussion made a case for the sense of community theory as a unified approach for the study of feelings of belonging within social integration. This following section, in compiling and reviewing applicable academic research, will show how various facets of the proposed theoretical approach have already been used. In doing so, the research review will be divided into three sections: related research carried out around the world, and a section specifically dealing with applicable research on sense of belonging, sense of belonging influencing factors, and integration in Latvia. Finally, the dissertation will turn to reviewing research carried out by Estonian's which closely reflects the objectives of this work.

4.1. International Academic Research

Most research on a sense of belonging in the context of integration has been framed within the realms of diversity and ethnicity.³⁰⁵ Further, Marco Antonisch suggests that, "...belonging is used, more or less consciously, as a synonym of identity, and in particular national or ethnic identity."³⁰⁶ Thus, unsurprisingly, most studies of belonging within the context of integration are focused on the cultural and identificational dimensions of integration. For example, Bond in his study of belonging in Scotland chooses to focus entirely on national identity and markers of identity as means of national belonging. He concludes that, "National belonging for those who lack one of more of the key markers of national identity can be undermined by the perspectives of the majority who are likely to have a more straightforward sense of this identity."³⁰⁷ Both Dragojlovic and Croucher argue for the continued importance of national and state belonging in the globalized and transnational world, and emphasize the role cultural integration plays in shaping feelings of belonging.³⁰⁸

Citizenship, in research related to attachments and integration, is another facet that is often used as a synonym or in close association with belonging. This is the

³⁰⁵ Buonfino, A., Thomson, L. (2007)., p. 14.

³⁰⁶ Antonisch, M. (2010). Searching for Belonging – An Analytical Framework. *Geography Compass*, 4(6), p. 644.

³⁰⁷ Bond, R. (2006). Belonging and Becoming: National Identity and Exclusion. *Sociology*, 40(4), p. 632.

³⁰⁸ See: Croucher, S.L. (2004). *Globalization and Belonging: The Politics of Identity in a Changing World*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc.; Dragojlovic, A. (2008). Reframing the Nation: Migration, Borders and Belonging. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 9(4), pp. 279-284.

case in research done by Hampshire³⁰⁹ and Mason.³¹⁰ Mason, in discussing communities and community inclusion, focuses on citizenship as the main form of belonging. He suggests that in the process of integration and state involvement, "...a sense of belonging might be fostered by various forms of legal and political recognition and accommodation...."³¹¹ He also emphasizes the role that is to be played by the education system in encouraging a widespread sense of belonging, but also only from a citizenship perspective, by stating that, "...children be taught in such a way that they become aware of themselves and each other as future fellow citizens of a particular liberal-democratic state..."³¹² As Antonisch, in citing Crowley, makes clear, "...belonging is indeed a 'thicker' concept than citizenship, and political entitlement, equal rights, and equal treatment might indeed fail to respond to the needs of each person to feel recognized and accepted...."³¹³ However, several studies from around the world have definitively shown the positive impact formal membership status of citizenship can have on feelings of belonging.³¹⁴

Similar to the intentions of this dissertation to study feelings of belonging in relation to various factors and their sway on feelings of attachment, and to what extent can these factors be influenced by state integration policy; British scholarship has made considerable advances in the field. Belonging is a topic that has been studied vigorously in British scholarship from various facets such as belonging and identity, belonging and immigrant integration, and territorial belonging. Anthony Heath and Jane Roberts in their work look at belonging and its relationship to British identity. In their analysis, they identify factors contributing to a strong sense of belonging to Britain and aspects of civic duty and behavior, trust and support for existing political

³⁰⁹ Hampshire, J. (2005). *Citizenship and Belonging*. London: Palgrave.

³¹⁰ Mason, A. (2000). *Community, Solidarity and Belonging: Levels of Community and their Normative Significance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³¹² *Ibid.*, p. 154.

³¹³ Antonisch, M. (2010), p. 650.

³¹⁴ See: Gilkinson, T., Sauve, G. (2010). *Recent Immigrants, Earlier Immigrants and the Canadian-Born: Associations with Collective Identities*. Toronto, Canada: Citizenship and Immigration Canada.; Krzyzanowski, M., Wodak, R. (2007). *Multiple Identities, Migration and Belonging: Voices of Migrants*. In: Iedema, R., Caldas-Coulthard, C.R. (eds.) *Identity Trouble: Critical Discourse and Contested Identities*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, pp. 95-119.; Yuval-Davis, N., Kaptani, E. (2008). *Identity, Performance and Social Action*. London: Identities and Social Action. ESRC. Viewed 14.10.2013 from <http://www.open.ac.uk/socialsciences/identities/findings/Yuval.pdf>

arrangements, and an 'exclusive' or 'ethnic' sense of British identity.³¹⁵ Factors, which are identified in the course of their study through the use of multiple regression, as having a significant negative impact on a sense of belonging to Britain are age (younger people were less likely to feel a strong sense of belonging to Britain), birth overseas, temporary stay in Britain, and socio-economic marginality of those surveyed.³¹⁶

In analyzing the everyday situation, level of integration, social cohesion, and perceived discrimination of Muslims in the United Kingdom, the OSI report devotes a specific chapter to feelings of belonging. In the chapter a guiding assumption is that, "...identity and belonging are seen to be important elements of integration."³¹⁷ The project, through a number of surveys, establishes the main factors shaping identity and factors that encourage or hinder the sense of belonging development to the area, city, and country of residence. The main findings of the report suggest that perception of the Muslim population by others significantly impacts their sense of belonging and such characteristics such as not speaking the national language and being visibly different (non-white) were the main barriers to being British.³¹⁸ This important study shows the impact categorization by others can have on individual's self perception of belonging.

On a similar note, the OSI project *Muslims in Europe* found that over a half of the Muslims who culturally identified with their country of residence, believe that others do not view them in the same way.³¹⁹ Thus, because of the perceived difference, others underestimate the actual level of attachment felt by the immigrant population. This negative perception by others, in turn, obstructs further identification and feelings of belonging. Discrimination, in the report, was also shown to undermine integration efforts, not only by limiting the access to jobs, housing, and education, but also by negatively affecting national identification.³²⁰

³¹⁵ Heath, A., Roberts, J. (2008). *British Identity: Its Sources and Possible Implications for Civic Attitudes and Behaviour*. ESRC. Research Report for Lord Goldsmith's Citizenship Review. Viewed 17.10.2013 from <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+http://www.justice.gov.uk/docs/british-identity.pdf>, p. 22.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

³¹⁷ Open Society Institute (2010b). *Muslims in Leicester*. At Home in Europe Project. OSI: London, p. 40.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

³¹⁹ Open Society Institute (2010a). *Muslims in Europe*. At Home in Europe Project. OSI: London, p. 22.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

Therefore, discrimination, real or perceived was shown to corrode sense of belonging in the specific population analyzed. Another interesting, and applicable, finding of the study was that employment, particularly full-time employment, and education were key factors in whether or not a person culturally identified with the country of residence, and whether he believes others recognize him as belonging.³²¹ This suggests that socio-economic conditions play a key role in the development of feelings of belonging in the British immigrant case.

There is also a considerable amount of research that has been carried out in regards to transnational involvement and social integration and how the two processes are inter-related. Portes makes the claim that, “The extent and forms of transnational activism vary with contexts of exit and reception.”³²² Further, he states that, “The way immigrants are incorporated in the host society also affects their propensity to engage in transnational initiatives,” and that, “...transnational activities flourish in highly concentrated communities, especially those that have been subject to hostile reception by the host society’s authorities and citizenry.”³²³ Thus, he acknowledges that each case and country is different in terms of its immigrant population and its transnational links, however, the context of the involvement is heavily influenced by the reception the population in question has received from the ‘host’ society and the influence exerted by receiving state in question.

Three other studies worth mentioning, that have explored a country specific case and how transnational activities of the immigrants or minorities have either fostered or impeded the integration process into the ‘host’ societies, are the analysis of the Netherlands carried out by Snel, Engbersen and Leerkes³²⁴, of Great Britain by Jayaweera and Choudhury³²⁵, and of Flemish Belgium by Vancluysen, Van Craen, and Ackaert.³²⁶ In the Netherlands case it was concluded that, “...transnational

³²¹ Open Society Institute (2010a), p. 76.

³²² Portes, A. (2003). Conclusion: Theoretical Convergencies and Empirical Evidence in the Study of Immigrant Transnationalism. *International Migration Review*, 37(3), p. 879.

³²³ *Ibid.*, p. 880.

³²⁴ Snel, E., Engerssen, G., Leerkes, A. (2006). Transnational Involvement and Social Integration. *Global Networks*, 6(3), pp. 265-284.

³²⁵ Jayaweera, H., Choudhury, T. (2008). *Immigration, Faith, and Cohesion: Evidence from Local Areas with Significant Muslim Populations*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Oxford: Centre on Migration, Policy and Society.

³²⁶ Vancluysen, K., Van Craen, M., Ackaert, J. (2009). *Transnational Activities and Social-Cultural Integration of Moroccan and Turkish Descendants in Flemish Belgium*. In: International Population Conference, XXVI IUSSP. Viewed 17.10.2013 from <http://iussp2009.princeton.edu/papers/90999>

activities constitute a substantial part of the lives of migrants in the Netherlands.”³²⁷ However, in their findings Snel et al. showed that it was not necessarily the poorly integrated groups that were the most heavily involved in transnational activities, and that transnational activities did not impede contact development with the Dutch natives, or necessarily lead to less identification with the Netherlands, leading them to the conclusion that transnational activities, “...do not need to constitute an impediment to integration.”³²⁸ They did, however, note that, “Groups that are (perceived to be) culturally different from mainstream society appear to have a harder time combining transnational involvement with cultural integration.”³²⁹

In the British case, Muslim and non-Muslim immigrant communities and their transnational activities were looked at in relation to the level of integration in British society. For the most part the transnational activities of the British immigrants were related to media consumption and family contact maintenance, with 77 per cent keeping in touch, “...through a mixture of the internet, satellite TV and newspapers.”³³⁰ However, this did not seem to have a negative impact on integration into British society, leading Jayaweera and Choudhury to conclude that, “...transnational involvement did not preclude economic, political and social participation in the receiving society.”³³¹ In terms of belonging they add, “It appears clear that, for many of the migrants, there was little conflict about belonging to both societies....feelings of transnational belonging fit in smoothly and comfortably, for the most part, with forward-looking perceptions of a new life in Britain.”³³² Studies such as this suggest that multiple attachments and transnational involvement do not necessarily have a negative correlation with the felt sense of attachment to the ‘host’ country and society.

In the Belgian case, the findings again suggest that socio-cultural and economic transnational activities are commonplace, however, Vancluyseni, Van Craeni, and Ackaertii argue that in relation to social-cultural integration in Belgium, the type of transnational activity engaged in by the immigrant or minority is of

³²⁷ Snel, E., Engersen, G., Leerkes, A. (2006)., p. 303.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

³³⁰ Jayaweera, H., Choudhury, T. (2008)., p. 95.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

³³² *Ibid.*, p. 107.

importance.³³³ Where frequent contact with family and visits had no relationship with the command of language, contact with natives, or belonging to Belgium, the effects of media consumption did. For the Turkish and Moroccan population the study showed that, “The more Turkish and Moroccan descendants watch Turkish/Moroccan-language television channels, the poorer their Dutch language proficiency and the less they feel Belgian.”³³⁴ In this particular case, the type of transnational activity, especially media consumption, seemed to have a negative correlation with factors influencing sense of belonging and the actual expressed attachment felt toward the country of residence.

There are also research projects and studies that have looked at particular aspects of what influences minority or immigrant feelings belonging and well-being, aspects that this dissertation plans on looking at concurrently. For example, in terms of influence and fulfillment of needs impact on feelings of belonging, to be addressed by this dissertation, Bruno Frey has looked at economic factors, democracy, and participation in relation to individual and national happiness, or satisfaction.³³⁵ He has not specifically addressed minority or immigrant happiness in relation to the integration policy, but had noted that foreigners tend to be significantly less happy than nationals.³³⁶ Frey and Stutzer explain this difference as a result of formal participation rights and the utility derived from participation. Further, they notes that the decision of a resident foreigner to become a citizen of the ‘host’ society is largely the result of, “...expected procedural utility – that is, their wish to become a community member with full participation rights.”³³⁷ Thus, in this line of research economic benefits and benefits of participation, are very much seen as influencing life satisfaction, happiness, and feelings of belonging to the community.

Yuval-Davis and Kaptani in their research project exploring the construction and politics of identity and belonging of refugees in East London also identified economic factors as important for belonging. Amongst those involved in the project, those refugees that were involved in professional work and had successfully

³³³ Vancluysen, K., Van Craen, M., Ackaert, J. (2009)., p. 23.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³³⁵ See: Frey, B.S., Stutzer, A. (2002a). *Happiness and Economics: How the Economy and Institutions Affect Human Well-Being*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.; Frey, B.S., Stutzer, A. (2000). Happiness, Economy, and Institutions. *Economic Journal*, 110(446), pp. 918–938.

³³⁶ Frey, B.S., Stutzer, A. (2002b). The Economics of Happiness. *World Economics*, 3(1), p. 28.

³³⁷ Frey, B.S., Stutzer, A. (2002a)., p. 156.

integrated into the economic sector, felt a stronger sense of belonging to Britain.³³⁸ The needs fulfillment through economic integration also contributes to feelings of safety and stake in future development of the place of residence. These have been shown by Jayaweera and Choudhury³³⁹ and Sporton and Valentine³⁴⁰ to be important factors in immigrant and minority sense of belonging development.

The importance of social interaction and relationships for integration and the development of feelings of belonging has also been looked at in previous studies.³⁴¹ Ager and Strang in their study refer to this element as ‘social connections.’³⁴² The ‘social connections’ and personal relationships are seen as enriching the life of the individual immigrant or a minority in a given place and as generating a sense of connectedness and belonging to the ‘host’ society and country. Chow, in his studies, has looked at the impact friendship and the positive experience of making friends has on immigrant feelings of belonging.³⁴³ He specifically notes that social contact in terms of friendship is a, “...major issue of concern among these school-aged immigrants.”³⁴⁴ In addition to positive contact and friendship as a facilitator of belonging, Chow also notes the significant negative impact perceived discrimination has on feelings of attachment and satisfaction in the group analyzed.³⁴⁵

4.2. Latvian Academic Research

After looking at the various applicable studies that have been carried out by scholars around the world, and highlighting some of the factors that will be looked at in detail in the empirical section, the dissertation will now review the relevant literature and research that has already been conducted in Latvia. The goal of this

³³⁸ Yuval-Davis, N., Kaptani, E. (2008).

³³⁹ Jayaweera, H., Choudhury, T. (2008).

³⁴⁰ Valentine, G., Sporton, D. (2007). *Identities on the Move: The Integration Experiences of Somali Refugee and Asylum Seeker Young People*. ESRC: University of Leeds/University of Sheffield.

³⁴¹ See: Bratt, C. (2002). *Contact and Attitudes Between Ethnic Groups: A Survey-based Study of Adolescents in Norway*. *Acta Sociologica*, 45(2), pp. 107-125.; Verkuyten, M., Masson, K. (1995). *New Racism, Self-Esteem, and Ethnic Relations Among Minority Youths in the Netherlands*. *Social Behavior and Personality*, 23(2), pp. 137-154.

³⁴² Ager, A., Strang, A. (2004). *The Experience of Integration*. London: Home Office Report 55/04. Viewed 17.10.2013 from <http://library.npia.police.uk/docs/hordsolr/rdsolr5504.pdf>, p. 14.

³⁴³ See: Chow, H.P.H. (2007). *Sense of Belonging and Life Satisfaction Among Hong Kong Adolescent Immigrants in Canada*. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33(3), pp. 511-520.; Chow, H.P.H. (2005). *Socio-Cultural and Educational Adaptation: A Survey of Vietnamese-Canadian University Students in Regina*. Regina, Canada: University of Regina Press.

³⁴⁴ Chow, H.P.H. (2007)., p. 516.

³⁴⁵ Chow, H.P.H. (2007)., p. 514.

section will be to familiarize the reader with how the topic of belonging and integration has been addressed thus far, what empirical studies on belonging exist and how the research has progressed, and also present relevant inquiries into factors potentially influencing feelings of belonging within the context of integration.

In Latvia, sense of belonging, within the context of integration, has mostly been looked at in various surveys and studies of public opinion. Richard Rose carried out six different surveys from 1993 onward that are known as the *New Baltic Barometer*. These, arguably, were the first survey to divide the respondents into linguistic groups of Latvians and Russian speaking Latvian residents, and ask questions in order to ascertain their feelings of belonging and measure various dimensions of integration. The 1993 survey does not directly ask about feelings of belonging, but gauges how important Latvia is for the two groups of respondents, and what is their expressed level of commonality felt with the Latvian state according to nationality.³⁴⁶ In the following years 1995, 1996, and 2000, the *New Baltic Barometer* identified potential factors that could be considered as duties toward the country in order to belong, and measured respondents feeling toward learning the language, paying taxes, respecting the flag, obeying the laws and so forth.³⁴⁷

The problems with Russian speaker identification with Latvia are evident in the 2001 and 2004 *Baltic Barometer* surveys. The respondents are asked to choose with which of two territorial options they identified. In 2001, the country, or Latvia, is chosen by 63 per cent of Latvians as the first choice, and by a further 23 per cent as second choice. Of the Russian speaking sample, only 3 per cent list Latvia as first choice, and an additional 5 per cent as second choice. However, Russia is first choice for 33 per cent, and a further 36 per cent list Russia as second choice.³⁴⁸ The data is much the same in 2004. In total, 86 per cent of Latvians identify with Latvia as either first or second choice, where as a total of only 13 per cent of Russian speaking Latvians identify with Latvia. Identification with Russia is still predominant amongst

³⁴⁶ Rose, R., Maley, W. (1994). Nationalities in the Baltic States. *Studies in Public Policy*, Nr. 222. Center for the Study of Public Policy. Glasgow: University of Strathclyde, p. 47, p. 55.

³⁴⁷ Rose, R. (1995). *New Baltic Barometer II*. *Studies in Public Policy*, Nr. 251. Center for the Study of Public Policy. Glasgow: University of Strathclyde, pp. 40-41.

³⁴⁸ Rose, R. (2002). *New Baltic Barometer V*. *Studies in Public Policy*, Nr. 368. Center for the Study of Public Policy. Glasgow: University of Strathclyde, p. 35.

Russian speakers in 2004, with 36 per cent listing Russia as first choice, and 25 per cent listing Russia as second choice.³⁴⁹

In two surveys titled *Toward a Civic Society*, conducted in 1997 and 2000, the feelings of belonging to Latvia and Russia were further analyzed in regards to the respondents' citizenship status.³⁵⁰ In the 1997 survey, 81 per cent of citizens, and 80 per cent of non-citizens felt 'very close' or 'close' to Latvia. However, of the surveyed respondents, 20 per cent of the non-citizens felt 'very close' or 'close' to Russia, while only 4 per cent of citizens felt 'very close' or 'close' to Russia.³⁵¹ In 2000, the responses were much the same. Of the surveyed citizens, 88 per cent felt 'very close' or 'close' to Latvia, and only 5 per cent felt the same about Russia. Of the non-citizens, 81 per cent felt 'very close' or 'close' to Latvia, but 24 per cent also felt 'very close' or 'close' to Russia.³⁵²

In the 2005 *Ethnopolitical Tensions in Latvia* study, the question on feelings of belonging was worded in exactly the same way as the 2004 and 2010 studies that will be used for the empirical part of this dissertation. The surveyed respondents, however, in this instance were not youths and the responses were more indicative of the general attitudes toward belonging. As illustrated in the Table 1 below, in 2005, of the surveyed Russian language speakers 74 per cent claim a 'very close' or 'close' sense of belonging to Latvia, where 25 per cent claim a 'very close' or 'close' sense of belonging to Russia. Of the Latvian speakers, only 2 per cent claim a 'very close' or 'close' sense of belonging to Russia, but an overwhelming 82 per cent report a 'very close' or 'close' sense of belonging to Latvia.³⁵³

³⁴⁹ Rose, R. (2005). New Baltic Barometer VI. *Studies in Public Policy*, Nr. 401. Center for the Study of Public Policy. Glasgow: University of Strathclyde, p. 22.

³⁵⁰ Baltic Data House (1998). *Pētījumu un rīcības programma "Ceļā uz pilsonisku sabiedrību". Atskaite. 1. un 2. posma rezultāti (Research and policy program „On the Road to Civic Society”)*. Rīga: Baltic Data House.; Baltijas Sociālo Zinātņu institūts (2001b). *Ceļā uz pilsonisku sabiedrību – 2000 (On The Road to Civic Society – 2000)*. Rīga: Baltijas Sociālo Zinātņu institūts.

³⁵¹ Baltic Data House (1998)., p. 60.

³⁵² Baltijas Sociālo Zinātņu institūts (2001b)., p. 44.

³⁵³ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2005)., p. 60.

Table 1**General Feelings of Belonging**

	To Latvia		To Russia	
	Latvian	Russian speaker	Latvian	Russian speaker
2005	82%	74%	2%	25%
2010	83%	72%	3.6%	33%

Source: Zepa, B., Kļave E. (eds.) (2011). *Latvija. Pārskats par tautas attīstību 2010/2011 (Latvia: Human Development Report 2010/2011)*. Rīga: LU Sociālo un politisko pētījumu institūts, p. 22.; Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2005). *Ethnopolitical Tensions in Latvia: Looking for the Conflict Solution*. Rīga: Baltic Institute of Social Sciences, p. 60.

The latest data on Latvian resident sense of belonging to Latvia and Russia according to ethnicity can be found in the *Latvia: Human Development Report 2010/2011*.³⁵⁴ As illustrated in the above Table 1, according to the 2010 survey findings, almost 83 per cent of Latvians feel ‘very close’ or ‘close’ to Latvia, and only 3.6 per cent feel ‘very close’ or ‘close’ to Russia. In turn, of the Russian speakers almost 72 per cent feel ‘very close’ or ‘close’ to Latvia and 33 per cent feel ‘very close’ or ‘close’ to Russia.

The data overview above, of the general population attitudes toward feelings of belonging to Latvia and Russia in the approximate time period of this dissertation study offer several interesting insights. First of all, the data demonstrates that with the passing of time, various integration initiative implementations, the joining of the European Union, and the changing economic situation, the general feelings of belonging of Latvians to Latvia remains unchanged at around 82 - 83 per cent expressing a ‘very close’ or ‘close’ bond with Latvia. The figures are also relatively stable for Russian language speaker sense of belonging to Latvia in both 2005 and 2010. However, where the Latvian feelings of belonging to Russia remain unchanged from 2005 to 2010, a slight increase in Russian language speaker feelings of belonging to Russia can be noted. Additionally, it is interesting to compare the general population feelings of belonging to Latvia and Russia, with those of Russian speaking youths. As the Table 2 below illustrates, concern with Russian speaking youth sense of belonging is warranted, as survey responses continuously demonstrates a weaker sense of belonging to Latvia, and a stronger sense of attachment to Russia.

³⁵⁴ Zepa, B., Kļave E. (eds.) (2011)., p. 22.

Table 2
Russian Speaking Youth Sense of Belonging

	To Latvia	To Russia
2004	70%	42%
2005	64%	-
2010	30%	48%

Source: Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2010). *Vidusskolēnu pilsoniskās un lingvistiskās attieksmes, apgūstot mazākumtautību izglītības programmas (Civic and Linguistic Understanding of Middle School Pupils in Minority Education Programs)*. Rīga: Baltic Institute of Social Sciences, p. 11.; Stašulāne, I. (ed.) (2005). *Jauniešu identitātes veidošanās un līdzdalība. (Youth Identity Development and Involvement)*. Rīga: Latvijas Universitātes Filozofijas un socioloģijas institūts (FSI), p. 74.

The data for the above Table 2 on Russian Speaking Youth Sense of Belonging stems from the two studies carried out by the Baltic Institute of Social Sciences³⁵⁵, concentrating specifically on minority youth integration, and also from the 2005 study of *Youth Identity Development and Involvement*.³⁵⁶ The 2004 and 2010 studies will be discussed in detail later on in the dissertation, as the survey data will be used for the empirical section of this thesis, however, the other study carried out in Latvia, specifically concentrating on youth sense of belonging also makes an interesting contribution. When the question of belonging is analyzed further in the 2005 study, the findings are even more troubling when considering Russian language speaking youth belonging. In a multivariate question, only 21 per cent of the surveyed Russian language speakers said they felt a sense of belonging to the ‘society of Latvia’, only 27 per cent said they felt a sense of belonging to the ‘Latvian youths’, 22 per cent said they felt a sense of belonging with ‘Latvian citizens’, and only 14 per cent said they felt a sense of belonging with ‘Latvians in Latvia.’³⁵⁷ The youth responses suggest a serious crisis of alienation and segregation of Russian language speakers’ from the whole of Latvian society.

The 2005 project was focused on participation and its impact on youth civic identity and feelings of belonging.³⁵⁸ However, before specifically addressing belonging through participation, the research project in focus group interviews with Latvian and Russian language speaking youths identified other means of belonging

³⁵⁵ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2010).; Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2004a).

³⁵⁶ Stašulāne, I. (ed.) (2005). *Jauniešu identitātes veidošanās un līdzdalība. (Youth Identity Development and Involvement)*. Rīga: Latvijas Universitātes Filozofijas un socioloģijas institūts (FSI).

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

important to the respondents such as; belonging to the class and school, belonging to the family, belonging to a group of friends, belonging to the city and place of residence, belonging to the state, belonging to an ethnic identity, belonging to Europe, and finally noted the role of language for belonging. Friendship and friends were gauged as incredibly important for belonging, and friendships also significantly influence other aspects of belonging such as city and place of residence.³⁵⁹ The respondents had a difficult time defining exactly what it means to belong to the state, and when speaking about belonging and sporting events, Russian speakers claimed to often support the Russian team. This leads the report to conclude that, “This contradiction – wavering between support for Latvian or Russian athletes – notes the complexity of identity formation in Russian youths.”³⁶⁰ Additionally, the ethnic identity category of belonging in focus group discussions was defined as a category of identity in relation to the ‘other’, and that negative experiences with the other ethnic group increased ethnic group belonging.³⁶¹

In terms of participation and belonging, the stated goal of the study, the first problem outlined was the fact that of the respondents, both Latvian and Russian speaking, very few had taken part in any civic activities or organizations.³⁶² The Russian speaking youth respondents were more likely than Latvian respondents to justify their lack of participation by stating that they were ‘not interested,’ that such activities were ‘pointless,’ or ‘not necessary.’³⁶³ Further, the skepticism about civic involvement and its impact on decision making can be noted in a multiple factor ranking exercise conducted by the study. On a scale of zero to ten, zero meaning completely ineffective to ten being very effective, respondents were asked to gauge various civic activities. From the available options, Russian and Latvian language speakers identified only ‘voting in elections’ and ‘media involvement’ with a score of five or above.³⁶⁴ This suggests that trust in the ability to influence decision making, and the motivation to do so, is very low in both linguistic groups.

³⁵⁹ Stašulāne, I. (ed.) (2005)., p. 48.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 51.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

Another project from 2004, specifically looking at youth integration, makes several interesting and applicable findings.³⁶⁵ The first finding concerns democratic processes and decision making, supplementing the already discussed conclusions. The study also showed that a significantly low percentage of youths, only 26 per cent, believe that they can, through democratic means, influence the decision making in Latvia.³⁶⁶ Further, this belief was common amongst both linguistic groups. Another interesting response can be noted in relation to the question regarding European Union membership. Latvian youths were significantly more optimistic in regards to EU membership, with 79 per cent believing that their opportunities will increase, were only 45 per cent of Russian speaking students felt the same.³⁶⁷ At the same time, only 63 per cent of Latvian youths, and 49 per cent of Russian speaking youths, associate their future with Latvia.³⁶⁸

From the above discussed survey, a vast difference can be noted in regards to homeland perception and ethnic identity. Of the Latvian speakers, 71 per cent associated the term 'homeland' with Latvia, of the Russian speaking students 36 per cent associated Latvia with the term 'homeland' and 19 per cent claimed Russia as 'homeland'.³⁶⁹ The uncertainty of belonging and the uncertainty for the future is evident in these survey responses and highlights the need to establish how Russian speaking youth feelings of belonging to Latvia can be positively encouraged.

In terms of studies that have attempted to establish factors correlating with feelings of belonging, the *International Social Survey Program* (ISSP) and the work of Aivars Tabuns has to be mentioned. The ISSP survey has also looked at questions relating to the felt closeness of ethnic Latvians and Russian speakers to Latvia, as well as issues regarding national pride, identification, language knowledge, and citizenship in the *ISSP National Identity* survey in 1995 and in 2003. Tabuns has analyzed the findings of these surveys in several works that have significantly contributed and shaped the research objectives of this dissertation.³⁷⁰ By looking at the 1995 ISSP

³⁶⁵ Šūpule, I. (2004a). *Projekta „Esam dažādi, bet vienoti Latvijā” skolēnu aptauju rezultāti. (Project 'We are Different but United in Latvia' Student Response Results)*. Rīga: Jaunatnes centrs „Ejam”.

³⁶⁶ Šūpule, I. (2004a), p. 12.

³⁶⁷ Šūpule, I. (2004a), p. 11.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁷⁰ Tabuns, A. (2005). National Identity of the Russian Minority 1995-2003. In: Ozoliņa, Ž. (ed). *Expanding Borders: Communities and Identities*. Rīga: Sociālo un politisko pētījumu institūts (SPPI),

data, Tabuns outlines the difference in interpretation between Latvians and Russian speakers in Latvia in regards to what it means to be ‘truly’ Latvian. For Latvians, it is important to speak the language according to 92 per cent of those surveyed, and a further 83 per cent consider citizenship to be important. However, of the Russian speakers, 80 per cent consider speaking language to be important, and only 58 per cent consider citizenship to be important.³⁷¹

The survey data also established the feelings of attachment different groups have to different areas. Where Latvians feel the greatest attachment to their country, with 88 per cent feeling ‘very’ or ‘fairly’ close, Russian speakers feel the greatest attachment to their town or city of residence, with 91 per cent feeling ‘very’ or ‘fairly’ close.³⁷² The analysis of the *ISSP National Identity* survey responses highlights the difference in interpretation and feelings of attachment expressed by Russian speakers and Latvians in Latvia.

In a later work, Tabuns evaluates Russian speaker national identity, specifically looking at the Russian speaker sense of closeness to Latvia in correlation with different variables that are thought to impact feelings of belonging.³⁷³ Within the scope of the topic of this dissertation, particularly interesting is the established correlation between questions regarding national pride and questions regarding citizenship and sense of attachment to Latvia. In this work, Tabuns established that citizenship status did not necessarily correlate with feelings of attachment and vice-versa, he notes, “...29% of the Russians who feel close to the country at the same time prefer citizenship of another country”.³⁷⁴ Based on his empirical findings, which suggest that anti-national sentiment in the Russian speaking community has significantly increased and that the sense of belonging to Latvia does not necessarily facilitate willingness to receive Latvian citizenship, Tabuns reaches the conclusion that the 2001 national program on the *Integration of Society in Latvia* has largely failed to reach its stated goal of facilitating mutual understanding and promoting citizenship.³⁷⁵

pg. 59-76.; Tabuns, A. (1999). ‘*Changing National, State and Regime Identities in Latvia*’. Research Support Scheme. Budapest: Open Society Institute.

³⁷¹ Tabuns, A. (1999)., p. 14.

³⁷² Tabuns, A. (1999)., p. 15.

³⁷³ Tabuns, A. (2005).

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-73.

Another interesting research project conducted in Latvia that is focused on Russian speaker integration, and also makes note of several sense of belonging influencing factors, is the 2006 *Integration Practice and Perspectives*.³⁷⁶ The survey asked about felt links to Latvia and Russia of Latvians and Russian speakers. In the Latvians case, 29 per cent state that they have ‘close links’, and 65 per cent that they have ‘very close links’ with Latvia. Links with Russia are reported by only 7 per cent of Latvians who feel ‘close links’ and 1 per cent who feel ‘very close links’. Of the Russian speakers, 44 per cent report a ‘close link’ with Latvia and an additional 40 percent report a ‘very close link’. In terms of links with Russia, 34 per cent of Russian speakers claim ‘close links’ and a further 10 per cent claim ‘very close links’.³⁷⁷

The sense of belonging to Latvia, in the *Integration Practices and Perspectives* survey was also tested through a question, ‘Do you personally feel that you are a part of Latvia’s society?’ This question, as opposed to ascertaining the felt attachment to the state, established the sense of belonging to the group, or national community. The categorization by linguistic identity again shows the divergence in respondent answers. In the Latvian case, 91 per cent of Latvians felt that they belonged to the Latvian society. However, only 66 per cent of Russian speakers felt that they belonged to the Latvian society.³⁷⁸ Further problems with integration and belonging to the group were demonstrated by questions ascertaining the importance of ethnic identity. Of the surveyed Latvians, 77 per cent said that they feel a sense of belonging among Latvians, and only 43 per cent of Latvians said that they feel a sense of belonging amongst all of Latvia’s resident.³⁷⁹ The Russian speakers, in their answers, stressed their belonging to the Russian nation (49 per cent), 56 per cent said they are a part of Latvia’s Russians, and 42 per cent said that they feel a sense of belonging to all of the people of Latvia.³⁸⁰ These findings highlight two important things; that ethnic identity is very important to Latvians who use the ethnic aspect of their identity to define their belonging, and that Russian speakers are confused about where and how exactly they belong.

³⁷⁶ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2006). *Integrācijas Prakse un Perspektīvas (Integration Practices and Perspectives)*. Rīga: Baltic Institute of Social Sciences.

³⁷⁷ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2006)., p. 58.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

This survey and study also posed several other interesting questions that directly relate to the purpose of this dissertation. The first interesting contribution the report makes is in identifying that a strategy of separation, where individuals concentrate on preserving own culture and avoiding contact with Latvians, is supported by 27 per cent of Russian speakers, further 20 per cent state that, "...they can largely or completely identify themselves with this strategy."³⁸¹ When the results are further divided amongst the age groups, the report demonstrates that it is the young people who, "...choose the strategy of separation more often than the average among all age groups (26%)."³⁸² These findings justify the particular concern with Russian speaker youth integration and sense of belonging to Latvia, while also demonstrating the prevalence of support for a strategy of segregation.

Additionally, the study notes the difference between Latvian and Russian speaker understanding of what role the state language should be afforded in the integration process and how language promotes belonging. The study states, "...both sides stress that Latvian language skills help minority representatives to take part in public life and feel a sense of belonging in Latvia."³⁸³ However, where the Latvians attach additional meaning to the language as a cultural element and the foundation for integration, the minorities, "...recognize Latvian language skills only as a resource whilst, at the same time, stressing the importance of their own cultural and linguistic identity."³⁸⁴ This further confirms the emphasis Latvians place on ethnicity and language as a direct measure of cultural belonging for integration, whilst minorities view language as a tool in the integration process.

Another interesting research project that makes significant mention of sense of belonging is the 2009 *Immigrants in Latvia: Possibilities and Conditions of Inclusion*.³⁸⁵ This is a work that addresses immigrants as such, not specifically Russian language speakers in Latvia. However, the work makes a significant contribution in identifying factors that can encourage and promote a sense of belonging. The report makes mention of the importance of frequent interactions and social contacts for sense of belonging amongst groups, access to the labor market, and

³⁸¹ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2006)., p. 16.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

³⁸⁵ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2009). *Immigrants in Latvia: Possibilities and Conditions for Inclusion*. Rīga: Baltic Institute of Social Sciences.

the importance of being informed about what is happening in the ‘host’ country. Additionally, civic activities, specifically voting rights are mentioned as promoting a sense of belonging, “Voting rights offer a sense of belonging in the host country, because foreigners can take part in decisions related to processes which surround them.”³⁸⁶ However, this study makes no attempt in empirically testing if indeed the above mentioned factors contribute to feelings of belonging.

In terms of social integration and the relative success or failure of the state integration policy, numerous studies, in addition to the ones already mentioned above, have been carried out in Latvia.³⁸⁷ The latest work, which combines an evaluation of all the relevant phases of social integration and reviews state policy is the 2010 audit *How Integrated is Latvian Society?*³⁸⁸ In the audit, the lack of integration progress is shown to be a result of the political elite disinterest, misplaced faith in the self-organizing capacity of the society, lack of motivation for naturalization, political orientation of parties toward ethnolinguistic groups, impact of the economic crisis on the integrative capacity of the labor market, and socio-economic inequality. Additionally, the work makes note of the parallel education systems and bilingual education reform impact on integration and scolds the influence of the segregated media space. In the chapter by Tabuns, the audit makes note of the increase in Latvian language knowledge amongst the Russian speakers, while at the same time points out the persistence of a preference for a strategy of separation, and also

³⁸⁶ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2009), p. 81.

³⁸⁷ See: AC Konsultācijas, SIA. (2008). Kvantitatīvs un kvalitatīvs pētījums par sabiedrības integrācijas un pilsonības aktuālajiem aspektiem (Quantitative and Qualitative Survey about Current Issues Regarding Social Integration and Citizenship). Rīga: SIA "AC Konsultācijas"; SKDS Tirdzniecības un sabiedriskās domas pētījumu centrs (2007). *Sabiedrības integrācijas aktuālākie aspekti (Pertinent Aspects of Social Integration)*. Rīga: SKDS.; SKDS Tirdzniecības un sabiedriskās domas pētījumu centrs (2006). *Sabiedrības integrācijas aktuālākie aspekti (Pertinent Aspects of Social Integration)*. Rīga: SKDS.; Dribins, L. (ed.) (2006) *Pretestība sabiedrības integrācijai: cēloņi un pārvarēšanas iespējas (Opposition to Social Integration: Causes and Potential Solutions)*. Rīga: Latvijas Universitātes Filozofijas un socioloģijas institūts.; Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2004b). *Pašvaldību loma sabiedrības integrācijas procesā (Role of the Local Government in Social Integration)*. Rīga: Baltic Institute of Social Sciences.; Poleshchuk, V. (2003). *National Integration in Estonia and Latvia 2000-2002*. ECMI Report #46. Flensburg: European Centre for Minority Issues, pp. 1-42.; SKDS Tirdzniecības un sabiedriskās domas pētījumu centrs (2002b). *Iedzīvotāju integrācija: sabiedriskās aktivitātes (Population Integration: Civic Activities)*. Rīga: SKDS.; Indāns, I., Kalniņš, V. (2001). *Sabiedrības integrācijas institucionālās politikas analīze (The Analysis of Institutional Policy for the Integration of Society)*. Rīga: Latvijas Ārpolitikas institūts.

³⁸⁸ Muižnieks, N. (ed.) (2010). *How Integrated is Latvian Society?* Rīga: University of Latvia Press.

remarks on the negative effect a ‘sense of ethnic endangerment in both groups’ has on the overall perception of integration.³⁸⁹

The importance of inter-ethnic contact for overcoming society’s divisions, and the lack thereof within the context of Latvian integration policy, has been addressed by Ilona Kunda.³⁹⁰ As the basis of her analysis, she employs contact hypothesis, which claims that inter-group contact, under certain conditions, can lead to changes in attitudes. She also cites John Berry, and his conception of integration in which there is a balance between the maintenance of one’s own cultural identity and readiness to engage in contact with others. In evaluating the work of the Society Integration Foundation (SIF) she looks at the various projects SIF funded from 2002 to 2006 in accordance with the integration program. Her analysis leads her to conclude that only about 20 per cent of the funded projects involved inter-ethnic contact that had the potential to lead to attitude changes, and nearly 50 per cent of the projects had no face-to-face contact whatsoever.³⁹¹ Thus, the mono-ethnic nature of most of the projects funded by SIF has had very little impact in combating the ethnic divide, overcoming mutual threat perception, or promoting inter-ethnic trust. She shows that Latvian integration policy, thus far, has overestimated the capacity of the society to suggest solutions to integration through self-initiated projects funded by SIF, and the failure of SIF to adequately evaluate the proposed projects impact on social cohesion.

In terms of social welfare, discrimination, and economics and their impact on integration and sense of belonging promotion, many studies and research projects in Latvia can be cited as applicable. Pabriks in a study called *Occupational Representation and Ethnic Discrimination in Latvia* states that in Latvia, “...there must be a greater understanding of direct and indirect discrimination and its negative consequences for the individual, society and the country as a whole.”³⁹² In the work, he comes to the conclusion that widespread ethnic discrimination does not exist in the labor market in Latvia and that the socio-economic status of ethnic Latvians and minorities does not diverge. In 2002, Aasland reached the same conclusion in an analysis of citizenship status and social exclusion, noting that in Latvia citizenship

³⁸⁹ Tabuns, A. (2010), p. 262.

³⁹⁰ Kunda, I. (2010). The Society Integration Foundation and Ethnic Integration. In: Muižnieks, N. (ed.) *How Integrated is Latvian Society?* Rīga: University of Latvia Press, pp. 61-89.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

³⁹² Pabriks, A. (2002). *Occupational Representation and Ethnic Discrimination in Latvia*. Rīga: Soros Foundation Latvia/Nordik, p. 51.

status has no significant bearing on the overall level of integration into the labor market, or the distribution of economic resources in society.³⁹³

The influence of economics on integration has also been previously indicated by both academics and social surveys. Already in a 2001 survey of Latvian residents of what could promote integration, the majority responded that solutions to economic and social welfare questions and the improvement in living conditions could go a long way toward promoting integration.³⁹⁴ In a 2002 survey, feeling secure and envisioning a future in Latvia, were also shown to be closely tied to economic and stability factors of the state.³⁹⁵ Again, in a 2004 study the recommendation was made, based on survey respondents opinion that in business, ethnic identity is of little importance, and that economic processes could be one of the main integration promoting factors in Latvia.³⁹⁶

The leading academic to praise the integrative capacity of the labor market and the economic sector in Latvia has been Mihails Hazans.³⁹⁷ He notes that, “Relatively liberal access to jobs for minorities can facilitate not only their labor market integration but also cultural, language and social integration.”³⁹⁸ Nonetheless, as he notes, the integrative capacity was only effective during the period of rapid economic growth of Latvia from 2002-2007, combined with the significant outflow of labor to the EU. Within this period, ethnic disparities in employment and unemployment rates largely disappeared. Once the economic crisis set in, minority workers were at a greater risk of losing their job, and the earnings gap between ethnic Latvian employees and minority employees increased. However, as Hazans notes, in terms of

³⁹³ Aasland, A. (2002). Citizenship Status and Social Exclusion in Estonia and Latvia. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 33(1), pp. 57-77.

³⁹⁴ SKDS Tirgus un sabiedriskās domas pētījumu centrs (2001). Uzskati par sabiedrības integrētību un saliedētību Latvijā (*Perceptions of Social Integration and Social Cohesion in Latvia*). Rīga: SKDS, p. 9.

³⁹⁵ SKDS Tirgus un sabiedriskās domas pētījumu centrs (2002a). Attieksme pret atsevišķiem ar integrāciju saistītiem jautājumiem (*Attitudes toward Certain Elements of Integration*). Rīga: SKDS, p. 8.

³⁹⁶ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2004c). *Sabiedrības integrācijas un uzņēmējdarbība: etniskais aspekts (Social Integration and Entrepreneurship: Ethnic Aspect)*. Rīga: Baltic Institute of Social Sciences/Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas Ekonomikas Institūts, pp. 9-10.

³⁹⁷ Hazans, M. (2011a). Labor Market Integration of Ethnic Minorities in Latvia. In: Kahanec, M., Zimmermann, K.F. (eds.) *Ethnic Diversity in European Labor Markets*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, pp. 163- 197.; Hazans, M. (2010). The Society Integration Foundation and Ethnic Integration. In: Muižnieks, N. (ed.) *How Integrated is Latvian Society?* Rīga: University of Latvia Press, pp.125-153.

³⁹⁸ Hazans, M. (2010)., p. 153.

employment and earning perspectives it is not so much ethnicity that matters, but the level of Latvian language skills.³⁹⁹

The impact of external influence on the process of social integration in Latvia is also a topic that has been addressed by the Latvian academics in various studies that are applicable to this dissertation. In 2007 a study, by the Centre for East European Policy Studies, looked at the overall impact of foreign powers on the society ethnic integration processes, and concludes that where Western foreign powers have had a mostly positive or neutral influence on the integration process, Russia has had a negative impact and, to a large extent, has hindered the integration process.⁴⁰⁰ Kristine Kruma has highlighted the role Russian influence has on Latvian integration efforts, specifically the Russian Federation's policy of support for ethnic Russians residents abroad.⁴⁰¹ She states that, „These policies fuel tensions because Russia, in promoting the consolidation of compatriots and manipulating their statues, destroys the policies of integration and causes the sense of belonging to be divided between Russia as lobbyist and Latvia as host of a particular community.”⁴⁰²

The various facets of the relationship between Latvia and Russia have been analyzed and found to impact, among other things, social integration in Latvia by various authors in the 2006 publication *Latvian-Russian Relations: Domestic and International Dimensions*.⁴⁰³ The root of the problem lies in the fact that, “...many non-Latvians still identify themselves with Russia...” and this identification and, “Differences in the geopolitical values of the two groups, do not help in facilitating political integration in Latvia.”⁴⁰⁴ Aiding the continued identification of Russian speakers with Russia, is Russia's increased use of soft power in the region, influence through events and festivals, sports, culture and the arts, and most importantly through the media.⁴⁰⁵

³⁹⁹ Hazans, M. (2011a)., p. 164.

⁴⁰⁰ Lerhis, A. (ed.) (2007). *Ārvalstu ietekme uz sabiedrības etniskās integrācijas procesu Latvijā* (Foreign Countries' Influence on the Process of Society Ethnic Integration in Latvia). Rīga: Austrumeiropas Politisko Pētījumu centrs, p. 68.

⁴⁰¹ Kruma, K. (2010). *Latvian Integration Policy: Lost in Translation*. In: van Oers, R., Ersbøll, E., Kostakopoulous, D. (eds.) *A Re-definition of Belonging? Language and Integration Tests in Europe*. Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, pp. 241-270.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 248.

⁴⁰³ See: Muiznieks, N. (ed.) (2006). *Latvian-Russian Relations: Domestic and International Dimensions*. Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgāds.

⁴⁰⁴ Tabuns, A. (2010)., p. 269.

⁴⁰⁵ See: Grigas, A. (2012). *Legacies, Coercion and Soft Power: Russian Influence in the Baltic States*. *Russia and Eurasia Program BP 2012/04*. London: Chatham House, pp. 9-10.; Kudors, A. (2012).

Several studies have established the division that exists between Latvian and Russian language mass media consumption in Latvia. The 2005 *Ethnopolitical Tensions in Latvia* report clearly shows how Russian speakers mostly read, watch, and listen to Russian media, and Latvian speakers, on the other hand, live in a predominantly Latvian media environment. The report also states, "...the situation is most intense when it comes to television, because most Russian speakers in Latvia watch and listen to the mass media from Russia..."⁴⁰⁶ Further, the report concludes, "...the attitudes of many Russian speakers in Latvia are closer to the attitudes that are expressed in the Russian media, as opposed to the official views of the country in which these people live."⁴⁰⁷ Same results on media consumption were also shown by the already mentioned 2006 *Integration Practices and Perspectives* study, which noted that focus group respondents reported a difference in the interpretation of reality as a result of the differing media spaces.⁴⁰⁸

The investigative journalism project undertaken by *Re:Baltica*, suggested that Russian government money, directly and indirectly is supporting a wide variety of soft-power means of influence and links can be established with Russian media holdings in the Baltic States.⁴⁰⁹ Grigas, in her analysis, specifically notes the prevalence and influence of Russian TV channels, Russian and locally produced Russian-language newspapers, internet news portals and radio stations, and states that by, "Using its influence via the media, Russia has been particularly successful in creating a virtual community involving not only the Russian diaspora but also a segment of the Baltic population that remains linked culturally, linguistically and ideologically to Moscow."⁴¹⁰

Many of these works that look at the expressed sense of belonging of Russian speakers, and the various facets of inclusion, can and will be used to supplement the research undertaken in this dissertation on sense of belonging within the context of

Latvia Between the Centers of Gravitation of Soft Power – the USA and Russia. In: Indāns, I. (ed.) *Latvia and the United States: A New Chapter in Partnership*. Rīga: Centre for East European Policy Studies, pp. 93-115.; Muižnieks, N. (2011). *Latvian-Russian Relations: Dynamics Since Latvia's Accession to the EU and NATO*. Rīga: University of Latvia Press.; Muižnieks, N. (2008). *Manufacturing Enemy Images? Russian Media Portrayal of Latvia*. Rīga: Academic Press of the University of Latvia.

⁴⁰⁶ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2005)., p. 34.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁴⁰⁸ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2006)., p. 87.

⁴⁰⁹ Re:Baltica (2012). *Money from Russia*. The Baltic Center for Investigative Journalism. Viewed 17.10.2013 from http://www.rebaltica.lv/en/investigations/money_from_russia?page=0

⁴¹⁰ Grigas, A. (2012)., p. 10.

integration in Latvia. The findings of many of these earlier research projects in Latvia have also shaped the methodological and theoretical approach of this dissertation. However, thus far in Latvia there has been no attempt to account for the variety of factors that can simultaneously influence feelings of belonging, as has been done in the international academic scholarship, and empirically test their validity in the context of Russian speaker integration.

4.3. Estonian Academic Research

Estonia has faced a similar challenge to Latvia in integrating the Soviet era Russian speakers lacking a sense of belonging to Estonia, who account for a significant percentage of the population.⁴¹¹ In bringing together the international academic scholarship on integration and sense of belonging promoting factor, with the specifics of the Russian speakers' case, Estonians have made significant advances in analyzing the role of belonging and factors influencing feelings of belonging within the scope of integration research.

The first applicable study by Nimmerfeldt et al., provides an overview of the various dimensions of integration and through correlation analysis establishes the relationship between the dimensions.⁴¹² The target group for this empirical study were second generation Russians in Estonia. In operationalizing structural integration, the highest completed level of education, labor market position, and legal status were looked at. For the cultural integration dimension language knowledge was used as a measure. For social integration the number of Estonian friends and the level of friendship were looked at. Finally, for identificational integration sense of belonging to Estonia, membership in society, closeness to majority group, and feelings of belonging to Russia were evaluated.⁴¹³

The results of the analysis lead the authors to conclude that the linear assimilation model is not wholly applicable to Estonia as, structural and cultural integration were positively related; however there was no correlation between high levels of social and identificational integration and higher levels of structural and

⁴¹¹ Muižnieks, N., Rozenvalds, J., Birka, I. (2013). Ethnicity and Social Cohesion in the Post-Soviet Baltic States. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 47(3), pp. 288-308.

⁴¹² Nimmerfeldt, G., Schulze, J., Taru, M. (2011). The Relationship between Integration Dimensions among Second Generation Russians in Estonia. *Studies of Transition States and Societies*, 3(1).

Tallinn: Tallinn University Institute of Political Science and Governance, pp. 76-91.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-84.

cultural integration. This suggests that structural integration does require Estonian language knowledge however, this does not necessarily, "...lead to a higher degree of social integration, as measured by friendship with the ethnic majority members, or to a greater sense of belonging to Estonian society among the more integrated groups of respondents."⁴¹⁴ As such, the article suggests that there are various factors at play influencing feelings of belonging and they do not, necessarily follow the linear assimilation model. Another applicable and interesting finding of the study was in relation to external homeland influence, as those with better Estonian language proficiency express less of a sense of belonging to Russia.⁴¹⁵

In a previous study, Nimmerfeldt had established that identificational integration, in second generation Russians in Estonia, cannot be measured simply through self-identification with a pre-determined titular national identity label such as 'Estonian', as it will be understood as a reference to ethnic identity.⁴¹⁶ In her chapter for the Estonian analysis of TIES (The Integration of the European Second Generation) data, she attempts to, "...present an additional way to approach the identificational integration and to present an operationalization that, instead of looking at self-identification with different identity categories, emphasizes emotional attachment to the host country and society, indicated by the feelings of being at home and part of the society."⁴¹⁷ She identifies several factors, from literature and previous studies, which are expected to be relevant for the formation of feelings of belonging. Those factors being; citizenship status, discrimination experience and perception, perceived threat to cultural identity, inter-ethnic relations, transnational ties and feeling connected to the country of origin, ethnic identity, parental background, and socio-demographic characteristics such as language proficiency, education, and employment status.

Further, Nimmerfeldt looks at the correlation these factors have with a sense of belonging to Estonia. She found that only two of the factors had a significant bearing on the feelings of belonging to Estonia amongst the Russian speakers. Those

⁴¹⁴ Nimmerfeldt, G., Schulze, J., Taru, M. (2011)., p. 87.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁴¹⁶ Nimmerfeldt, G. (2009). Identificational Integration of Second-generation Russians in Estonia. *Studies of Transition States and Societies*, 1(1). Tallinn: Tallinn University Institute of Political Science and Governance, pp. 25-35.

⁴¹⁷ Nimmerfeldt, G. (2011). Sense of Belonging to Estonia. In: Vetik, R., Helemae, J. (eds.) *The Russian Second Generation in Tallinn and Kohtla-Järve: The TIES Study in Estonia*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp. 203-228.

second generation respondents who did not perceive a threat to their cultural identity were much more likely to feel a sense of belonging to Estonia. Negative impact was shown to be exerted on feelings of belonging to Estonia by external homeland belonging to Russia. Those respondents, who considered Russia as homeland, or intended to live in Russia, were much less likely to feel a sense of belonging to Estonia. It is also interesting to note that in Nimmerfeldt's findings citizenship status had no significant role on feelings of belonging to Estonia, nor did the perception or experience of discrimination. The data results also suggest that having Estonians among close friends did not impact feelings of belonging to Estonia. Further, it was established that feelings of belonging to Estonia and feelings of belonging to the ethnic group are not mutually exclusive. Finally, it is interesting to note that age played a role in second generation feelings of belonging to Estonia, and just like in Latvia, those in the younger age group (18-25) were less likely to express a sense of belonging to Estonia.⁴¹⁸

5. Concluding Remarks to the Theoretical Section

The theoretical section of the dissertation had three main objectives. First, to explain the concept of social integration, then to overview the concept of a sense of belonging, and finally in tying both together through the sense of community theory, to review the applicable academic research.

The integration section provided an in-depth overview of the concept of social integration. It outlined the difference between minorities, as communities of ethnic migrants or people with a migration background, that are expected to adapt to the structures and society of the new 'home' or 'host' country, and national minorities. National minorities aspire to some degree of cultural and political autonomy and instead of social integration are integrating into the system and power structures. In moving forward, this dissertation proposes to look at the Latvian Russian speaking minority with a migratory background, and not the small percentage of pre-Soviet Union Russian speakers that could be considered a national minority.

The section also discussed the very important theoretical basis for the conception of the nation as either ethnic or civic, or as termed by Gellner 'cultural' or 'voluntaristic'. This discussion was important in order to distinguish into what the

⁴¹⁸ Nimmerfeldt, G. (2011)., pp. 216-220.

minorities are expected to integrate, and how this conception influences the emphasis placed on ‘societal culture’, centered on a shared language, for integration. From this discussion, the transition was made into pointing out the difference between assimilation and integration and the extent to which the maintenance of cultural difference in the private sphere is tolerated.

Then the integration section of the dissertation outlined the four dimensions within which integration is alleged to occur, and the sequential nature of the interplay between the phases. Cultural, structural, social or interactive, and identificational integration facets were summarized and commonly used measures for each were presented. The dissertation, within this section points out that erroneously, thus far, most integration discourse has studied the sense of belonging within the identificational integration phase, even using feelings of belonging to define identificational integration. The difficulties of simply measuring sense of belonging through self-categorization or identification in the Baltic’s is pointed out, and the work of Gerli Nimmerfelt is cited in identifying other factors that influence sense of belonging and that can be used to predict feelings of attachment.

The relationship between the government and social integration was also discussed. It was concluded that integration policy can serve as an effective tool in analyzing the stance of the government and society toward the reception of minorities and immigrants. Thus, the various policy options were discussed, as were policies of multiculturalism and their shortcomings in relation to fostering a sense of belonging. However, it has to be kept in mind that integration policy is inconsistent because of the volatile nature of the topic and is constantly changing in relation to the political climate. The section concluded by briefly touching upon the role of the European Union in streamlining member state integration policy.

The integration section of the dissertation concluded by making note of the particularities of integrating within the globalized world, and discussing some of the alternative means of belonging, topics which will be further evaluated in the empirical section of the dissertation. Thus, taking into account the discussion above and the alternatives to traditional means of integration, in the empirical section, feelings of belonging to the European Union and feelings of belonging to Russia will be contrasted with feelings of belonging to Latvia, in order to establish their bearing on Russian speaking youth sense of belonging to Latvia.

Next, the theoretical part of the dissertation considered the various academic theories and approaches involved in the study and categorization of feelings of belonging and offered a novel approach to the study of what contributes to feelings of belonging, within the social integration process, in the form of the sense of community framework. The dissertation argues that cultural norms, expectations and circumstances govern the emotional attachment felt by individuals, thus, in each particular instance the context has to be studied in order to understand to what extent certain elements shape feelings of belonging. Territorial attachments were discussed within the context of belonging and a strong argument made that a territorial entity as such is not enough to account for feelings of belonging, as the nature and quality of the relationships within the territory is of vast importance.

Group membership is a fundamental human need, and groups come to hold meaning for individuals and constitute their identity and self-understanding. The Druckman scale for the analysis of identification with the group was presented, and step four in the scale, signifying a positive orientation toward the group, was identified as the ‘tipping point’ at which the new group is seen to meet the individual’s needs and complement his self-esteem to the same, or a greater, extent than his current membership group.

In addition, language, in terms of belonging to a group can be the main signifier of adherence to group norms and can serve as a distinctive group marker used to create lines of division between social groups. However, language is also the medium of belonging in civic nations as it facilitates everyday communication and participation, and aids as a resource in the fulfillment of needs within the socio-economic context. Further, in terms of the relationship between a sense of belonging and needs fulfillment and influence, various aspects governing rational considerations for belonging were discussed. The importance of influence and well-being were outlined in relation to voluntary migration theories and Hirschman’s exit and voice conception, to illustrate the importance of favorable conditions for the encouragement and sustainment of feelings of belonging.

The role of the state in relation to feelings of belonging was discussed in a section dealing with the politics of belonging. The section addressed national politics of belonging, and how state power structures control the ‘rules of access’ to citizenship, effectively controlling the process of formally recognizing individual belonging to the state. Two main approaches to citizenship and integration were

presented; citizenship as a ‘tool’ in the integration process and citizenship as a ‘reward’ for completing the integration process. These two approaches also encompass the emotional and practical aspects of citizenship, and an argument was made that in the context of the sense of community theory, citizenship could be understood to fulfill both the rational needs and the group membership needs.

However, when an individual or a group is excluded by the national politics of belonging, feels unable or unwilling to comply with the ‘in-group’ norms, or is unable to maintain a positive self-evaluation within the provided national framework, a diaspora identity and an external homeland can play a role in the construction of feelings of belonging through external politics of belonging. In external politics of belonging, a claim of belonging is made for a population that is effectively situated outside the external homeland. Within this transnational triadic relationship, the way in which a minority or a migrant incorporates themselves in the country and community of residence is altered, as there is no longer just one state with its policies and influence involved. In these instances, the situation is sensitive to the contextual changes and the extent of confrontation between internal and external politics of belonging.

In light of the above analysis, the best overarching definition of the concept of sense of belonging is offered by John Shotter:

Sense of belonging is a feeling of “being at home” in a reality which one’s actions help to reproduce. For that to be possible, one must live within an “imagined community” (Anderson, 1983), or a “community of memory” (Bellah et al. 1985), which one senses as being “ours”, as “yours”, and “mine” rather than “theirs”, where one is more than just a reproducer of it, but one plays a real part in its construction.one will not feel that one has to struggle to have one’s voice heard. In other words, to the extent that we all participate equally, “we” are the authors, not only of our own “reality”, but also of our “selves”.⁴¹⁹

The statement encompasses the understanding that for feelings of belonging to develop there has to be a combination of rational considerations, such as the belief that one’s voice is important, and the ‘reality’ has to be grounded within a community

⁴¹⁹ Shotter, J. (1993). Psychology and Citizenship: Identity and Belonging. In: Turner, B.S. (ed.) *Citizenship and Social Theory*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 125-126.

that provides meaning and is envisioned as a common venture, thus encouraging a sense of emotional belonging. The theoretical section of the dissertation showed that these various elements, outlined in the above definition of sense of belonging, are encompassed by the sense of community theory framework.

Further, the sense of belonging section of the dissertation, in outlining the various factors influencing belonging such as territory, groups, memberships, internal and external politics of belonging and rational considerations, demonstrated that the phases of integration converge with the dimensions of the sense of community theory. In effect, sense of community theory provides the appropriate framework within which to study feelings of belonging by identifying the various dimensions influencing emotional attachments.

Finally, the theoretical section of the dissertation concluded with an overview of the pertinent academic research. From the meticulous international and Baltic scholarship review it became evident that the topic of a sense of belonging, within the context of integration, is not new. However, there has been a tendency to simply equate belonging with national identity, citizenship, or the level of identificational integration. In the Estonian analysis of Russian speaker sense of belonging and investigation of factors influencing their sense of attachment, Nimmerfeldt is also focused on feelings of belonging as an indicator of identificational integration. The aim of this dissertation is to use the approach identified by Nimmerfeldt in selecting factors and testing their correlation with a sense of belonging, but to also build upon her work by linking integration dimensions and the sense of belonging discourse through the sense of community theory, thus establishing a theoretical frameworks for the future study of feelings of belonging from which factors can be identified and operationalized.

In moving forward and using the sense of community framework, the Russian speaking youth survey data from 2004 and 2010 will be analyzed. From the survey data factors representing the dimensions of membership, shared emotional connection, influence, and needs fulfillment will be operationalized, and their correlation with the Russian speaker sense of belonging to Latvia established. The empirical analysis of the survey data will endeavor to answer the research question posed by the dissertation, as to how effective is the sense of community theory and its indicators in forecasting the sense of belonging to Latvia of minority youths. The various hypotheses and sub-hypotheses will be tested. Then the dissertation will test

the influence of transnational ties and multiple belongings on the felt attachments to Latvia.

Finally, the findings of the empirical analysis and the theoretical framework of the sense of community theory will be applied to the review of Latvian government integration policy guidelines *National Identity, Civil Society and Integration 2012-2018*. The analysis will try to ascertain within what dimensions of the sense of community theory is belonging emphasized by the Latvian social integration policy guidelines, what factors does the policy suggest as contributing to sense of belonging facilitation and encouragement, and do the empirical findings of this dissertation substantiate or refute the aims of the policy guidelines.

CASE STUDY LATVIA

6. Background

Before turning to the empirical evaluation of factors affecting Russian speaking youth's sense of belonging to Latvia, and the review of the current integration policy guidelines in light of the empirical findings, it is necessary to provide a brief historical background of how the Russian speaking population came to reside in Latvia, the policies of the Soviet Union that have complicated the integration process, and the Latvian government initiatives that have preceded the guidelines on *National Identity, Civil Society and Integration Policy 2012-2018*.

Russian speakers have always resided in what is now the territory of Latvia. According to the data of the Latvian census from 1935, there were 338,920 Russian speakers residing in Latvia, comprising roughly 18 per cent of the population.⁴²⁰ However, as a result of the Soviet Union, the ethnic composition of Latvia underwent a massive transformation in which the ethnic or 'titular' group significantly decreased due to war, emigration to the West, deportations to the East, and massive post-war immigration. Because most of the Russian speakers currently residing in Latvia arrived during the Soviet period, or are decedents of individuals who arrived during the Soviet period, they are classified as individuals with a migration background and not as national minorities. The Table 3 below illustrates the ethnic population composition changes.

Table 3

Ethnic Composition of Latvia

	1935	1989	2012
Titular (Latvians)	1,467,035	1,387,757	1,235,228
Russians	168,266	905,515	543,807
Belarusians	26,803	119,702	71,926
Poles	48,637	60,416	45,892
Jews	93,370	22,897	6,373
Ukrainians	1,844	92,101	48,366

Source: LR Centralālās statistikas pārvalde (2013).

⁴²⁰ LR Centralālās statistikas pārvalde (2013). Iedzīvotāji un sociālie procesi: Pastāvīgo iedzīvotāju etniskais sastāvs (Residents and Social Processes: Permanent Resident Ethnic Composition). Viewed 11.10.2013 from <http://data.csb.gov.lv/>

The massive influx of Russian speakers during the Soviet period was accompanied by the predominant role given to the Russian language. The policies of promoting Russian as the lingua franca of the Soviet Union lead to asymmetrical societal bilingualism – where Russian was the dominant language in official spheres, with Latvian as the titular language.⁴²¹ Soviet authorities, “...worked unremittingly to cultivate a Russian cultural presence in all the Union republics”⁴²² allowing Russians to feel at home in any of the Soviet Republics and enjoy daily life and interaction in their own language. Thus, Russians within the Soviet Union were able to live in separate enclaves and forgo any attempts of learning the local titular language. This resulted in significant disparity between titular’s claiming Russian language knowledge, and Russian speakers claiming knowledge of the titular language. The Table 4 below illustrates language competence of titular’s and Russians in Latvia in 1989.

Table 4

Language Competence of Latvians and Russians in Latvia, 1989

Titular Population	% Claiming Knowledge of Russian	Russian Population	% Claiming Knowledge of Latvian
1,387,647	65.7	905,515	21.2

Source: Gostkomstat (1991).⁴²³

Additionally, as Brubaker explains, the Soviet regime institutionalized nationality by assigning legitimate ownership of states to the titular population, and these states were conceived of and for the titular group.⁴²⁴ On the other hand, the Russians in the USSR were encouraged to hold more cosmopolitan views and were not tied to a specific territory; rather they were encouraged to view the whole of the Soviet Union as their homeland, and as such did not feel a need to integrate, or develop a bond, with the titular group.⁴²⁵ Thus, as Laitin claims, “...the Baltic

⁴²¹ Adrey, J.B. (2008). Minority Language Rights Before and After the 2004 EU Enlargement: Copenhagen Criteria in the Baltic States. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 26(5), p. 457.

⁴²² Laitin, D. (1998)., p. 69.

⁴²³ Gostkomstat (1991). SSSR Natsionalnyi sostav naseleniia (National Composition of the Population of the USSR). Moscow: Finansy i statistika.

⁴²⁴ Brubaker, R. (1996)., p. 54.

⁴²⁵ Laitin, D. (1998)., p. 69.

republics developed parallel set of institutions for indigenous and Russian speakers with little communication across the language divide.”⁴²⁶

With the onset of the era of Mikhail Gorbachev and the reforms of *perestroika*, nationalists in Latvia saw an opportunity to begin demanding more autonomy and, thus, the period from 1987-1991 became known as the third Latvian awakening.⁴²⁷ Language played a significant part in the awakening process, and already in 1988 the Supreme Council of Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic declared Latvian as the official state language in Latvia.⁴²⁸ The declaration of independence on May 4, 1990 came shortly after the victory of the Popular Front in the Latvian Supreme Council spring elections of 1990. In the following year after the *Declaration of 4 May 1990 Concerning the Renewal of Independence of the Republic of Latvia*⁴²⁹ there was quite a bit of uncertainty about the status and future of Latvian independence. However, the support for Latvian independence amongst the Latvian speakers, during this time period, was growing significantly, and the ethnic Russian support was also slowly, but gradually, increasing. This is demonstrated by Table 5.

Table 5
Support for Independence According to Ethnicity

	1989	1991
Latvians	55%	94%
Russians	9%	38%

Source: Zepa, B. (1992), *Public Opinion in the Transition Period of Latvia*.⁴³⁰

The Russian speakers, who had begun to identify with the territory of Latvia and tied their future socio-economic well-being with Latvian independence, sided with the titular population in the transition struggle against the USSR. This is attested by the large percentage of minorities who voted for Latvian independence in the

⁴²⁶ Laitin, D. (1998), p. 67.

⁴²⁷ Smith, J.D., Pabriks, A., Purs, A., Lane, T. (2002). *The Baltic States*. London: Routledge, p. 45.

⁴²⁸ Latvijas PSR Augstākā Padome (1988). Lēmums par latviešu valodas statusu (Decision on status of the Latvian language, Supreme Council of Latvian Soviet Socialist Republics). Viewed 17.10.2013 from <http://www.vvk.lv/index.php?sadala=135&id=167>

⁴²⁹ Latvijas PSR Augstākā Padome (1990). Par Latvijas Republikas neatkarības atjaunošanu (Renewal of Independence of the Republic of Latvia Declaration). Viewed 17.10.2013 from <http://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=75539>

⁴³⁰ Zepa, B. (1992). *Sabiedriskā doma pārejas periodā Latvijā: Latviešu un cittautiešu uzskatu dinamika 1989-1992 (Public Opinion in the Transition Period of Latvia: Latvian and Other Opinions 1989-1992)*. *Latvijas Zinatnu Akademijas Vestis*, No. 2.

March 3, 1991 Latvian independence referendum.⁴³¹ However, the Russian speakers who voted for Latvian independence had the expectation that socio-economic well-being would override the importance of ethnic origin.⁴³² This belief was rooted in the program advocated by the Popular Front of Latvia (PFL) that, "...promotes and consolidates the efforts of all of Latvia's inhabitants, regardless of their social status, language, party, religious or national affiliation, to democratize society and further its moral renewal."⁴³³

Nonetheless, the post-independence years in Latvia were characterized by what Brubaker has termed 'nationalizing' policies, "...promoting the language, culture, demographic position, economic flourishing, or political hegemony of the nominally state-bearing nation."⁴³⁴ In terms of citizenship, the boundaries between 'us' and 'them' were drawn shortly after the independence vote, and further complicated the identity of Russian speakers in Latvia. In the autumn of 1991, in contradiction to the earlier PFL program, the Parliament decided to restore citizenship to inhabitants of Latvia who had resided in Latvia prior to June 17, 1940 and their descendants. Hence, declaring the historic significance of 1940 in the future construction of the Latvian master narrative and excluding, the Russian language speakers who had migrated to Latvia during the Soviet period, from the civic Latvian identity and belonging associated with citizenship. This left many of the non-Latvians who had supported Latvian independence feeling as if they had been deceived.⁴³⁵ The decision, not only damaged the trust of the Russian speakers, but also left some 740,000 inhabitants of Latvia in a category of uncertainty, labeled as 'non-citizens'.⁴³⁶

The non-citizens were faced with the choice of acquiring citizenship of another country (in the Latvian case this was usually Russia), remaining in the non-citizens status, or completing the naturalization procedure of Latvia. However, this

⁴³¹ Rozenvalds, J. (2010). The Soviet Heritage and Integration Policy Development Since the Restoration of Independence. In: Muižnieks, N. (ed.) *How Integrated is Latvian Society?* Rīga: University of Latvia Press, p. 40.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁴³³ Latvijas Tautas Fronte (1989). *Programma/Statūti (Popular Front of Latvia Programme/Statutes)*. Viewed 17.10.2013 from <http://www.arhivi.lv/sitedata/VAS/Latvija%2090/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20LTF%20programma%20un%20statuuti.pdf>, p. 2.

⁴³⁴ Brubaker, R. (1996)., p. 63.

⁴³⁵ Rozenvalds, J. (2010)., p. 41.

⁴³⁶ Muižnieks, N. (ed.) (1995). *Latvia: Human Development Report 1995*. Rīga: United Nations Development Programme.

choice was further complicated by the fact that Latvia had not adopted a procedure for naturalization, and did so only in 1994 by passing of the Citizenship Law.⁴³⁷ The 1994 version of the law, envisaged strict language requirements and naturalization was to take place in accordance with, "...a system of 'age brackets' whereby a timetable (from 1996 through 2003) was created in which different categories of 'non-citizens' were allowed to submit applications depending on where and when they were born and arrived in Latvia."⁴³⁸ Because of the restrictive nature of the law and the imposed quotas, naturalization was sluggish. According to Dorodnova, only 7 per cent of those who had a right to submit an application for naturalization in the time frame from 1995-1997, did so.⁴³⁹ One of the reasons Russian speakers were hesitant of naturalizing, was because of the central role afforded to the Latvian language in the naturalization exam. As already mentioned, Russian speakers, during the USSR, had limited incentives to learn the titular language and very few claimed proficiency.

However, the period after the reclaiming of the independence, was characterized by Latvian attempts to re-build the formerly repressed Latvian national identity by specifically concentrating on strengthening the position of the Latvian language and increasing the requirements for language knowledge.⁴⁴⁰ As already mentioned, Latvian was established as the official language of Latvia already in 1988, however, in 1992 the language law was significantly amended.⁴⁴¹ The amendments regulated the knowledge of language required for certain posts in the public and private sector, in education, science, and culture, and identified institutions responsible for overseeing language use and testing language proficiency.

Language policy also came to affect education policy. Not only was Latvian to be the language of publically financed higher education, but in 1998 the Education

⁴³⁷ LR Pilsonības likums (1994). *Saeima stājās spēkā 25.08.1994 (Citizenship Law in effect 25.08.1994)*. *Latvijas Vēstnesis*, Nr. 93/224. Viewed 17.10.2013 from <http://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=57512>

⁴³⁸ Muižnieks, N., Rozenvalds, J., Birka, I. (2013), p. 292.

⁴³⁹ Dorodnova, J. (2003). *Challenging Ethnic Democracy: Implementation of the Recommendations of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities to Latvia, 1993-2001*. Working Paper #10. Hamburg: Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg, p. 43.

⁴⁴⁰ Wilson, D. (2002). *Minority Rights in Education: Lessons for the European Union from Estonia, Latvia, Romania and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia*. Right to Education Project. Viewed 17.10.2013 from [http://www.right-to-education.org/sites/r2e.gn.apc.org/files/Duncan\(1\).pdf](http://www.right-to-education.org/sites/r2e.gn.apc.org/files/Duncan(1).pdf), p. 40.

⁴⁴¹ LR Augstākā Padome (1992). *Par grozījumiem un papildinājumiem Latvijas Padomju Sociālistiskas Republikas Valodu likumā (Amendments and Additions to the Latvian USSR Language Law)*. Augstākā Padome stājās spēkā 05.05.1992. *Ziņotājs*, 15. Viewed 17.10.2013 from <http://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=65484&from=off>

Law envisioned that all state and self-governing secondary education institutions, implementing minority education programs, would have to teach 60 percent of the curriculum in the national language starting on September 1, 2004.⁴⁴² The emphasis placed on the Latvian language had both a symbolic and a practical dimension. The symbolic dimension aimed to restore the sociopolitical prestige and sovereignty of the Latvian language, while practically, the strengthening of one main language was supposed to aid in the social and ethnic integration and reconciliation.⁴⁴³ Indeed, in its current version, Section 1 in stating the purpose of the Language Law lists, "...the integration of members of ethnic minorities into the society of Latvia..." as one of the five, proposed goals. Further stating that the purpose of the law is:

- the maintenance, protection and development of the Latvian language;
- the maintenance of the cultural and historic heritage of the Latvian nation;
- the right to freely use the Latvian language in any sphere of life within the whole territory of Latvia;
- the increased influence of the Latvian language in the cultural environment of Latvia, to promote a more rapid integration of society.⁴⁴⁴

The uncertain citizenship status of the Russian speakers, and the emphasis placed on language through nationalizing policies, has complicated Latvia's relations with Russia and signaled the beginning of what Brubaker has termed the 'triadic nexus' of relations between the newly nationalizing state, minorities, "...and the external national 'homeland' to which they belong, or can be construed as belonging, by ethnocultural affinity though not by legal citizenship."⁴⁴⁵ As claimed by Schulze, since the early 1990's Russia has assumed the role of protecting the Russian diaspora, and has employed various military, economic, and political pressure tools in negotiating for the rights of the compatriots in the former Soviet Republics.⁴⁴⁶ As Russia reestablished its role in the world and branded itself as the rightful heir to Soviet achievements, the ability of Russia to influence the Russian speakers in Latvia has also notably increased, especially through the media. As a result, a research

⁴⁴² LR Izglītības likums (1998).

⁴⁴³ Adrey, J.B. (2008), p. 454.

⁴⁴⁴ LR Valodas likums (1999). Saeima stājās spēkā 01.09.2000 (Language Law in effect 01.09.2000). Latvijas Vēstnesis, Nr. 428/433. Viewed 17.10.2013 from <http://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=14740>

⁴⁴⁵ Brubaker, R. (1996), p. 4.

⁴⁴⁶ Schulze, J. (2010). *Playing the Compatriot Card in Estonia and Latvia: School Reform and the Bronze Soldier Crisis*. American Political Science Association 2010 Annual Meeting Paper. Viewed 17.10.2013 from <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1643469>

report showed that the, "...attitudes of many Russian speakers in Latvia are closer to the attitudes that are expressed in the Russian media, as opposed to the official views of the country in which these people live."⁴⁴⁷

This highlighted the shortcomings of the Latvian government to address integration. Up to this point, integration was a topic addressed in various laws, such as language and citizenship law, in a haphazard manner and the Latvian government had relied on the assumption, as noted earlier by Heckmann and Schnapper, that integration would take place naturally, as a result of individual choice. When it had become obvious that integration in such a way was not taking place, the government was faced with two possibilities – to ignore the issue, or take action to remedy the situation. The turning point, for coordinating the integration efforts, was the opinion of the European Commission which stipulated that membership in the European Union would be contingent on Russian speaker integration. The report stated that, "Latvia needs to take measures to accelerate naturalization procedures to enable Russian-speaking non-citizens to become better integrated into Latvian society."⁴⁴⁸ Coupled with pressure from other international organizations, and increasing Russian influence, saw Latvia in 1998 make important amendments to the naturalization procedure, and turn its attention to developing a policy framework for the integration of the large Russian speaking minority population.

6.1. Integration Policy 2001

A brief review of the previous Latvian integration policy attempt is also necessary in order to understand the approach to integration taken by the government, the focus areas highlighted, to what extent was the sense of belonging of Russian speakers to Latvia a concern in 2001, and what are the target groups identified by the policy document.

The national program on the *Integration of Society* was adopted by the government in February 2001. In stating its justification for the need for an integration strategy the program notes that, "From the Soviet era, Latvia has inherited more than half a million immigrants and their descendants, many of whom have not

⁴⁴⁷ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2005)., p. 34.

⁴⁴⁸ European Commission (1997). *Agenda 2000 - Commission Opinion on Latvia's Application for Membership of the European Union*. Viewed 17.10.2013 from http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/dwn/opinions/latvia/la-op_en.pdf, p. 19.

yet become integrated into the Latvian cultural and linguistic environment, and thus do not feel connected to the Latvian state.”⁴⁴⁹ Right away, it can be noted that the document defines the parameters of the entity into which the minority is expected to integrate in ethnic terms; as the Latvian cultural and linguistic environment. From the quotation it can also be understood that sense of belonging facilitation, in terms of promoting a felt connection to Latvia, is already a concern. The Soviet era immigrants and their descendants are identified as the specific target group.

The document goes further in stating that not only does integration concern non-citizens, but that many Latvian citizens also lack a connection to Latvia.⁴⁵⁰ However, at the time of the drafting of the document, a survey commissioned by the Latvian government was carried out in order to determine, among other things, the level of belonging to Latvia. In the survey, 81 per cent of citizens claimed a sense of belonging to Latvia, as did an overwhelming 80 per cent of non-citizens.⁴⁵¹ Thus, it is not surprising that the rest of the document does not expand on the definition of belonging, or place particular emphasis on sense of belonging facilitation or encouragement.

Instead, the 2001 document places considerable focus on the education system stating that, “Latvian education system is the most important driving force and means of implementing the integration process...”⁴⁵² and further identifying children and the youth as the most important target group of the integration policy. Unsurprisingly, the emphasis on the education system goes hand in hand with emphasis placed on Latvian language knowledge and use in the document. Further, the emphasis on language and the education system reform is argued to be for the benefit of the minority youth, in order to promote their competitiveness in the labor market.⁴⁵³ Minority groups, at the time, heavily criticized the document and its assimilative nature in terms of the education and language policy, and they viewed the program as justification for the already passed controversial education policy.⁴⁵⁴

Another aspect very evident in the 2001 program is the focus on indivisible loyalty as the basis of integration. Loyalty to Latvia is mentioned as the end goal of

⁴⁴⁹ LR Valsts programma (2001)., p. 7.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴⁵¹ Baltic Data House (1998)., p. 61.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁴⁵³ Muižnieks, N., Rozenvalds, J., Birka, I. (2013)., p. 296.

⁴⁵⁴ Dorodnova, J. (2003)., p. 130.

social integration⁴⁵⁵ and that the task of the integration process is to, "...help those residents of who are loyal to the Latvian state in realizing their perspectives in Latvia...."⁴⁵⁶ Interpretation of this passage would suggest that those residents with transnational ties are not welcome to realize themselves within Latvia and are encouraged to sever such attachments. This would suggest that the document has a serious concern with the Russian external homeland influence, the transnational ties, and diaspora belonging associated with split loyalties and its influence on integration. Exception to the indivisible loyalties rule in the document seems to be the European Union and European values, which, within the document, are understood to supplement the integration process.

Although, the document also has sections dealing with political participation and civic organization involvement, and notes the two-way nature of social integration and the need for mutual accommodation, the processes are heavily rooted in promoting Latvian language knowledge. For example, the section dealing with political participation as a means of integration, lists the first two projects to be realized as focused on language teaching.⁴⁵⁷ Thus, the program fails to address the various dimensions of integration and elements noted as important by the sense of community theory for sense of belonging development, focusing mostly on cultural integration, while any structural or interactive integration projects are, first and foremost, justified in linguistic and cultural terms. In his analysis of the program, Rozenvalds notes that the emphasis of the program was on the need for the minorities to adapt, to accept Latvian culture, understand history, and be loyal in order to belong.⁴⁵⁸

In summary, it can be concluded that the original 2001 Latvian framework for social integration placed a disproportionate amount of emphasis on cultural integration, specifically linguistic integration, and this emphasis is carried through in sections dealing with structural and interactive integration. The disproportionate emphasis placed on cultural and linguistic aspects of integration suggests that the national identity of Latvia is understood in ethnic or cultural terms, with the content of national identity defined by culture, language, ways of life and social customs

⁴⁵⁵ LR Valsts programma (2001)., p. 7.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

⁴⁵⁸ Rozenvalds, J. (2010)., p. 55.

characteristic of the particular community. The two-way nature of social integration is mentioned, however, the content of the document fails to consider mutual accommodation. Especially evident in the document is the concern with indivisible loyalty, suggesting that transnational ties, cultural, economic or political, are construed as undesirable, thus suggesting that the maintenance of an identity other than Latvian may be frowned upon. The task of adapting, in this version of the document, falls on the minority with very little leeway afforded for actually amending the existing structures of the nation-state.

The 2001 integration policy document identified children and youths as the most important target groups of the integration policy, and expressed concern with Soviet era immigrant and their descendent felt attachment toward Latvia. Additionally, it has already been mentioned and illustrated in Table 2 (p. 100) of this dissertation that Russian speaking youths in Latvia express the weakest sense of belonging to Latvia. Thus, in testing the theoretical assumptions of belonging in order to identify what factors and dimensions of the sense of community theory show a consistent correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia, it is wholly applicable that the survey data used should be that of Russian speaking youths in Latvia in the time frame between the two integration policy approaches.

7. Quantitative Analysis of Belonging

The quantitative data used for defining the sources and feelings of belonging, and measuring the applicability of sense of community indicators and academic theory, stems from secondary data analysis of two different surveys conducted in Latvia in April of 2004 and May of 2010 by the Baltic Institute of Social Sciences.⁴⁵⁹ The aim of the surveys was to look at the level of civic and linguistic integration of minority youths within the context of the minority education reform, in schools where the traditional language of instruction has been Russian.⁴⁶⁰ The schools were randomly and proportionally selected. In the first survey, conducted in 2004, 1,189 students in grades from 9th to 12th were interviewed in fifty, proportionally selected,

⁴⁵⁹ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2010). *Vidusskolēnu pilsoniskās un lingvistiskās attieksmes, apgūstot mazākumtautību izglītības programmas (Civic and Linguistic Understanding of Middle School Pupils in Minority Education Programs)*. Rīga: Baltic Institute of Social Sciences.; Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2004a). *Integration of Minority Youth in the Society of Latvia in the Context of the Education Reform*. Rīga: Baltic Institute of Social Sciences.

⁴⁶⁰ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2004a), p. 59.

minority schools in Latvia. In the second survey, conducted in 2010, 514 students in grades from 10th to 12th in proportionally selected minority schools in Latvia were interviewed. The age group in the two surveys conducted differed slightly, with 9th graders being surveyed in the 2004 survey, but not in the 2010 survey. Also, the sample sizes in the two years differed, with the 2010 survey target group being smaller. However, the results are comparable as the 2010 survey was specifically constructed in a way to allow for data compatibility and comparison with the 2004 survey as a follow-up procedure.⁴⁶¹

The sample group in both 2004 and 2010 was predominately Russian speaking. In 2004, 82 per cent identified Russian as their mother tongue.⁴⁶² In 2010, 94 per cent of the respondents identified Russian as their mother tongue.⁴⁶³ The impact of citizenship status on feelings of belonging can also be established as in 2004, 66 per cent of the surveyed students were citizens.⁴⁶⁴ In 2010, 88 per cent had Latvian citizenship.⁴⁶⁵

The quantitative data collected by the two surveys was tested using multiple regression analysis, within the IBM SPSS Statistics program, to determine if the variables identified as significant to sense of belonging by the sense of community theory have a consistent correlation with the expressed level of belonging to Latvia in the survey responses. The question, regarding the expressed level of belonging is an ordinal scale measure, and was phrased as ‘How would you describe your attachment to Latvia, Europe, Russia?’. There are five potential answers to choose from, including ‘very close’, ‘close’, ‘not very close’, ‘not close at all’, ‘N/A’.

The time frame, 2004 and 2010, is between the two Latvian government integration policy approaches. Thus, the answers can effectively help point out if the 2001 integration policy focus has been a success, and if the real situation has been taken into account when drafting the 2011 policy document. The time frame has also been selected with the Latvian socio-political and socio-economic context, and its potential applicability to the sense of community indicators, in mind. In the year 2004, Latvia joined the European Union. The joining of the European Union was an issue which polarized society, with 44 per cent of Russian speaking Latvian citizens

⁴⁶¹ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2010)., p. 3.

⁴⁶² Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2004a)., p. 59.

⁴⁶³ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2010)., p. 9.

⁴⁶⁴ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2004a)., p. 59.

⁴⁶⁵ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2010)., p. 9.

voting against the joining of the EU, in comparison to the 18 per cent of Latvian speaking Latvian citizens voted against EU membership.⁴⁶⁶ The joining of the EU was considered a conscious move away from the Soviet past and neighboring Russia, but also a move that in many inspired economic hope.

In 2004 significant amendments to the law on education went into force. The minority education reform mandated that 60 per cent of subjects in minority schools in Latvia had to be taught in Latvian. The minority education reform brought about significant political action from the minority interest groups in early 2004, and political and protest participation amongst the minority reached an unprecedented level. However, the protest action was to no avail, and the controversial provisions were implemented on September 1, 2004. By looking at the survey responses from 2004 the impact of the national political context on expressed sense of belonging can be evaluated, and in comparing the 2004 and 2010 answers the impact of language knowledge and use and political participation on expressed sense of belonging can be assessed.

The year 2010 was also selected with the socio-political and socio-economic context in mind. The effects of the global recession and the Latvian bail-out were still very much felt in 2010. Reductions in the budget reflected in welfare spending, and unemployment at nearly 22 per cent was the highest in the European Union.⁴⁶⁷ Youth employment, an already sensitive issue in Latvia, was further impacted.⁴⁶⁸ The young adults, target group of this study, were most severely affected by the unemployment and economic climate and, according to the data from the Central Statistics Bureau of Latvia of the unemployed in 2010 searching for employment, 31 per cent were of the 20-24 age group.⁴⁶⁹ Additionally, the DnB Nord *Latvian Barometer* consistently showed the dissatisfaction of Latvian residents with their economic situation, the grim predictions for future economic development, and an overall dissatisfaction with the direction the development of Latvia had taken.⁴⁷⁰

The theoretical discussion of the dissertation ascertained that the three intersecting categories shaping the concept of belonging such as place, group or community, and the system are best illustrated by the sense of community theory.

⁴⁶⁶ Šūpule, I. (2004b).

⁴⁶⁷ Kolyako, N. (2010).

⁴⁶⁸ Koroļeva, I. (2007)., p. 15.

⁴⁶⁹ LR Centrālās statistikas pārvalde (2010).

⁴⁷⁰ DNB Latvijas barometrs (2010).

Place refers to the physical territory and the perception of home, belonging to the group is shaped by shared values and mutual recognition, and system refers to all aspects overseeing security and participation. The sense of community theory, in further expanding these broad concepts delineates four, inter-connected dimensions which shape human bonds within a given territory. These dimensions are membership, influence, fulfillment of needs, and emotional connection.

Each dimension was further substantiated by various academic theories, giving credibility to the sense of community model. Further, the dimensions of the sense of community theory were shown to converge with the dimensions of integration. Thus, a framework for studying feelings of belonging within the process of social integration was presented. From this framework, various hypotheses to test the ability of the sense of community theory to forecast aspects influencing feelings of belonging amongst the Russian speaking youth in Latvia were developed. The following sections, grouped according to the dimension, operationalize and test the applicability of the theory and strive to identify what factors have a consistent correlation with Russian speaking youths' sense of belonging to Latvia.

7.1. Operationalizing Sense of Belonging to Latvia

7.1.1. Membership

The first hypothesis, H1.1 gauging the effectiveness of the sense of community indicators in forecasting a sense of belonging to Latvia was concerned with the membership dimension. The membership aspect of the sense of community theory emphasizes identification with the group, mutual understanding, safety and a sense of confidence in belonging, and a willingness to engage in contact. As already discussed, membership and contact, in relation to belonging has long been suggested by academics to be a fundamental human need.⁴⁷¹ Further, Allport delineates the importance of positive and frequent inter-group contact for acceptance and inclusion.⁴⁷² According to academic theory, the willingness of an individual to identify with the group and engage in contact, impacts the extent to which the individual feels a sense of belonging to the group. The Druckman scale, discussed in the theoretical section, identified step four, at which the individual is seen as, “Taking

⁴⁷¹ Maslow, A. (1943).

⁴⁷² Allport, G. (1954/1958).

a positive orientation toward the group”⁴⁷³ as the ‘tipping point’ at which the new group is seen to meet the individual’s needs and complement his self-esteem to the same, or greater, extent than his existing membership group. Thus, the perception and the orientation toward the group also has to be positive.

From the sense of community theory and the academic theory above, sub-hypothesis H1.1.1 suggested that identification with the group (Latvians) will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia. Sub-hypothesis H1.1.2 suggested that inter-group contact, willingness to engage in contact, will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia. Thus, first in operationalizing the membership aspect of sense of community theory, the level of identification with the host society group was looked at, as well as the general feelings about the group, and the willingness to engage with the group. Several different questions and wordings of the question were used in order to test the consistency of individual answers and ensure reliability of the correlation measures.

Table 6

Membership

Correlation coefficient: Spearman's rank correlation coefficient ρ

	2004			2010		
	Instances	Value	Statistical significance	Instances	Value	Statistical significance
Latvians and Russians (Russian speakers) are two conflicting camps	1167	-.124	.000	512	-.087	.050
No problem in making contacts with Latvians; Latvians same as everyone else	1176	.222	.000	513	.306	.000
Avoid contacts with Latvians because don't like; Latvians completely different	1175	-.221	.000	512	-.261	.000

Source: Calculation based on Baltic Institute of Social Sciences surveys 2004 and 2010.

The research data, illustrated above, does indeed show that in both years, 2004 and 2010, identification with the host society, favorable orientation toward the group,

⁴⁷³ Druckman, D. (1994), p. 61.

thinking in terms of commonality and not ethnicity, and willingness to engage in contact, does have a consistent positive correlation with the expressed sense of belonging to Latvia. For the first statement, ‘Latvians and Russians (Russians speakers) are two conflicting camps,’ the correlation, both in 2004 and 2010, with the sense of belonging to Latvia was negative and statistically significant. Those respondents who disagreed with the statement were significantly more likely to express a stronger sense of attachment to Latvia. For the second statement, ‘I have no problem in making contacts with Latvians...’ the correlation with belonging, in both years 2004 and 2010, was positive and statistically significant. Those respondents, who agreed, were also more likely to feel a belonging to Latvia. Finally, the statement on avoidance, ‘I avoid contacts with Latvians, because I don’t like them; Latvians are completely different than my people’, had a statistically significant negative correlation with belonging in both years. Those respondents, who disagreed, were more likely to feel a belonging to Latvia.

Within the context of contact and interaction, the next set of questions that were operationalized within the membership dimension of the sense of community theory looked at the support or opposition to a strategy of linguistic separation and its relationship with a sense of belonging to Latvia. In order to test the consistency of answers, the respondents were asked about the general environment and then more specifically about a hypothetical work environment. As the data below illustrates, in both 2004 and 2010, individuals who felt a stronger sense of belonging to Latvia did not support a strategy of separation or, ‘a situation in which Latvians and Russians (Russian speakers) live separately from one another’. Those who felt a stronger attachment to Latvia were also less likely to agree to the statement that they, ‘feel best when only Russians or Russian speakers are around me’ or express a preference for a work environment with only Russian speaking colleagues.

Table 7**Membership – Linguistic Environment**Correlation coefficient: Spearman's rank correlation coefficient ρ

	2004			2010		
	Instances	Value	Statistical significance	Instances	Value	Statistical significance
Prefer situation where LV and Russian speakers live separately	1165	-.170	.000	511	-.198	.000
Prefer work environment with Russian speakers	1174	-.187	.000	513	-.234	.000
Feel best when Russian speakers around	1167	-.112	.000	512	-.144	.001

Source: Calculation based on Baltic Institute of Social Sciences surveys 2004 and 2010.

The empirical analysis of the survey data from 2004 and 2010 of Russian speaking youths within the membership dimension of the sense of community theory confirms hypotheses H1.1.1 and H1.1.2. In various wordings, questions or statements used to evaluate the level of identification with the host society, general feelings about the group, and willingness to engage with the group, confirmed hypothesis H1.1.1 and H1.1.2. Sense of belonging to Latvia is more likely in instances when Russian speaking youths think in terms of commonality with the Latvians, are opposed to linguistic segregation, and engage in contact.

Next, the membership dimension evaluated the role of language through hypothesis H1.1.3 which suggested that language knowledge and use will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia. As discussed in the theoretical section, language knowledge and use can be considered as an indicator of the minorities' personal investment, adherence to the national groups' values and norms, and signal the willingness to be evaluated by the set membership criteria of the group. Additionally, the Latvian integration policy of 2001 was established to have afforded a central role to language in the integration process. Thus, the Latvian language, in the integration process, has been designated as the principle means of signaling membership, and language knowledge and use is viewed as adherence to the values and norms of the community. Inclusion of a newcomer into the membership group depends on the individuals' willingness to identify with the community, or the group, and its distinctive markers, and to subject himself to be judged according to the

defining criteria of the group: in this case, the Latvian language. Thus, in operationalizing the membership aspect of the sense of community theory and the receptiveness to adapting and using the defining criteria of the group, a central role in the analysis was given to the Latvian language.

Table 8

Membership - Language

Correlation coefficient: Spearman's rank correlation coefficient ρ

	2004			2010		
	Instances	Value	Statistical significance	Instances	Value	Statistical significance
Latvians are snooty and speak to only Latvian speakers	1169	-.216	.000	511	-.210	.000
Rate Latvian language skills	1147	.113	.000	502	-.109	.014
Speak Latvian outside of school	1151	.119	.000	501	-.204	.000

Source: Calculation based on Baltic Institute of Social Sciences surveys 2004 and 2010.

The first question looked at in the language context, was the Russian speaker perception of the Latvian speakers in correlation to their sense of belonging to Latvia. As illustrated above, in both 2004 and 2010, the stronger one's sense of attachment to Latvia, the less likely the respondent was to consider that, 'Latvians are snooty and speak only to those people who speak the Latvian language'. However, that is where the similarities between the data sets from the two different years in relation to language end.

Language, as a criterion of membership, posed some interesting problems in calculating correlation with belonging to Latvia. Language knowledge and usage had already, from the original survey data, been established to be a weak tool in facilitating, or encouraging, a sense of belonging. The original report on the survey data showed that the percentage of those Russian-speaking students who evaluate their Latvian language skills as 'very good' had nearly doubled in the time span from 2004 to 2010, as a result of the education reform.⁴⁷⁴ However when asked, 'Why, in your opinion, is it necessary to know Latvian?' in both instances, in 2004 and 2010,

⁴⁷⁴ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2010), p. 18.

‘so as to feel a part of Latvia/belong’ was only supported by 8 per cent of the students.⁴⁷⁵

Other questions on language, which according to the sense of community theory would indicate a sense of belonging, in the 2004 data did correlate positively with the strength of attachment to Latvia. For instance, in 2004, the higher the self evaluation of the respondents’ language proficiency, the stronger the respondents’ sense of belonging to Latvia. Same holds true for frequency of language use, the more frequently the respondent claimed to use Latvian language outside of the school environment, the higher the respondents’ sense of belonging to Latvia in 2004.

In 2010, the correlation between the Latvian language and expressed sense of belonging is dramatically different. Even though self evaluation of language proficiency had nearly doubled in 2010, the level of Latvian language proficiency had a negative correlation with the expressed strength of attachment to Latvia. Thus, those respondents who expressed a stronger sense of belonging to Latvia were less assured of their language skills. Additionally, those who felt a stronger attachment to Latvia were less likely to speak Latvian outside of the school.

Thus, language knowledge and use are inconsistent as indicators of the sense of community theory in forecasting a sense of belonging to Latvia in the 2004 and 2010 Russian speaking minority youth data sets, where the correlation in 2004 was positive, in 2010 it was negative. Hypothesis H1.1.3 cannot be confirmed, as the data is inconsistent. The empirical findings suggest that language knowledge and frequency of use do not have a consistent positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia in the data set analyzed.

7.1.2 Shared Emotional Connection

The next set of hypothesis H1.2 looked at the emotional connection component of the sense of community theory. The shared emotional connection element of the sense of community theory encompasses the interactive and identificational phases of integration and emphasizes shared interests, development of social networks and primary relationships, frequent and positive contact, mutual understanding, and identification with the national identity resulting in a ‘we-feeling’ toward the group or the collective. In explaining the various components of the

⁴⁷⁵ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2010), p. 19.

shared emotional connection, McMillan and Chavis draw on the contact hypothesis and state that, “The more people interact, the more likely they are to become close.”⁴⁷⁶ However, as already previously mentioned in the work of Allport,⁴⁷⁷ for lasting bonds the interaction must be positive, “The more positive the experience and the relationships, the greater the bond.”⁴⁷⁸ As a result, for individuals of different backgrounds to come together within the limits of the community and feel a sense of belonging, there must be positive contact between the members under appropriate conditions.

In operationalizing the concept, questions relating to the quality and reasons for relationships between Russian speakers and Latvians were looked at. Hypothesis H1.2.1 suggested that shared interests will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia. In order to establish the influence of friendships, or positive interaction, on the level of belonging to Latvia, respondents were asked for their support or disagreement with the statement, ‘I don’t care whether my friends are Latvians or Russians, as long as we have the same interests’. This statement was understood to encompass the feeling that interests and not ethnicity mattered, and that a shared connection was based on more than nationality. This was to test the assumption that more frequent and positive contact, in terms of friendship, would lead to a deeper emotional connection and a stronger sense of belonging to Latvia. As illustrated below, in both, 2004 and 2010, the correlation between this statement and belonging was positive and statistically significant. Hypothesis H1.2.1 was validated and shared interests were found to have a consistent correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia. If the respondent supported the statement and did not demarcate friends according to ethnicity but was more focused on common interests, he was also more likely to feel a stronger sense of belonging to Latvia.

In testing the influence of recent events on relationship feelings, support or disagreement with the statement, ‘Recently I have begun to dislike Latvians’ was looked at. The statement was understood to go deeper than some of the questions looked at in the membership section in order to establish preference for segregation, as this statement emphasizes the emotions of like or dislike associated with the other linguistic group. Hypothesis H1.2.2 suggested that favorable perception of the group

⁴⁷⁶ McMillan, D., Chavis, D. (1986), p. 13.

⁴⁷⁷ Allport, G. (1954/1958).

⁴⁷⁸ McMillan, D., Chavis, D. (1986), p. 13.

will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia. In both instances, as illustrated below, the correlation was negative and statistically significant. H1.2.2 was validated as in instances when a respondent disagreed with the statement, and had a favorable orientation toward Latvians, he was also more likely to express a stronger sense of belonging to Latvia.

Table 9
Shared Emotional Connection

Correlation coefficient: Spearman's rank correlation coefficient ρ

	2004			2010		
	Instances	Value	Statistical significance	Instances	Value	Statistical significance
I wouldn't like to move to another country, since Latvia is my homeland	1175	.272	.000	513	.323	.000
Recently I have begun to dislike Latvians	1171	-.157	.000	510	-.252	.000
I don't care whether my friends are Latvian or Russian, as long as we have the same interests	1175	.158	.000	512	.278	.000

Source: Calculation based on Baltic Institute of Social Sciences surveys 2004 and 2010.

The final element facilitating the shared emotional connection of members, within the sense of community theory, is the spiritual bond. As McMillan and Chavis state, "It is very difficult to describe this important element."⁴⁷⁹ The spiritual bond is in part shaped by shared participation in history, or identification with the history, and the *volksgeist* or folk spirit.⁴⁸⁰ This resonates in the identification of a community and its territory as homeland or fatherland, even if the ethnic roots of an individual might be somewhere else. Hypothesis H1.2.3 thus suggested that considering Latvia as homeland will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia. In order to test the influence of the spiritual bond and its correlation with the sense of belonging to Latvia the statement, 'I wouldn't like to move to another country, since Latvia is my homeland' was looked at. In both instances, in 2004 and 2010, there was

⁴⁷⁹ McMillan, D., Chavis, D. (1986), p. 14.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

positive and statistically significant correlation between expressed agreement with the above statement and a sense of belonging to Latvia. Hypothesis H1.2.3 was validated, and homeland perception of Latvia was shown to have a constant positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia.

The shared emotional connection dimension, with its focus on shared interests, social networks, positive contact and identification, has been shown to be consistent in forecasting a sense of belonging in the Russian speaking youths in Latvia in the data set analyzed. If Russian speaking youths' had positive feelings toward Latvians, they were also more likely to feel a stronger sense of belonging to Latvia. Just as important for belonging was the focus on shared interests, not nationality, for friendship. Additionally, the perception of homeland, or thinking of Latvia as homeland, was shown to consistently have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging regardless of ethnic identity.

7.1.3. Influence

In the theoretical section of the dissertation, the importance of influence in the context of civic participation was emphasized in line with Parekh's discussion of 'common belonging'⁴⁸¹ in which participation, inter-dependence of the group, and the ability to shape own future well-being were emphasized. Also, the sense of community theory maintained that individuals are more attached to communities in which they had an active role and felt themselves to have influence. According to Hirschman⁴⁸², if 'voice' does not exist or is not perceived as a viable tool, then 'exit', either physical or mental, is likely which happens mostly when one does not see a way to adequately improve his position, feels unjustly excluded from the opportunity to change the situation, thus starting to compare the opportunities afforded within the country of residence with opportunities elsewhere.

Thus, in operationalizing the influence aspect of the sense of community theory, and establishing the correlation with sense of belonging to Latvia, questions dealing with civic involvement and the general perception of the political environment by the Russian speaking students were looked at. The questions selected for establishing the correlation with the sense of belonging to Latvia dealt with the individuals perception of their own voice in the decision making process, the level of

⁴⁸¹ Parekh, B. (2008)., p. 87.

⁴⁸² Hirschman, A. (1970).

involvement in the political community, perception of restrictions to voice or discrimination, and the students own evaluation of the importance of active civic involvement. The goal was to establish if civic participation indeed has a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia, and to what extent is the perception of voice in the decision making process important for a sense of belonging to Latvia.

Thus, three hypotheses were proposed to test the influence dimension of the sense of community theory. Hypothesis H1.3.1 stated that the perception of freedom to express views freely will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia, and hypothesis H1.3.2 stated that the perception of power in influencing decision making will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia. Finally, hypothesis H1.3.3 stated that civic participation will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia.

The influence aspect of the sense of community theory, and its relationship with sense of belonging had the least predictable pattern of correlation. The only statement, which had a positive, statistically significant, correlation with sense of belonging to Latvia in both 2004 and 2010 was that, 'In Latvia, I have the opportunity to express my views freely on any issue at all', as illustrated below. Thus hypothesis H1.3.1 was validated and the conviction that one can freely express an opinion on any subject matter at all indeed has a consistent positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia.

Table 10

Influence

Correlation coefficient: Spearman's rank correlation coefficient ρ

	2004			2010		
	Instances	Value	Statistical significance	Instances	Value	Statistical significance
In LV have opportunity to express views freely	1169	.161	.000	513	.217	.000
In LV equal opportunity to influence decision making	1168	.031	.290	513	.134	.002
Important to become involved to defend one's interests/viewpoints	1769	-.038	.194	513	-.095	.032
Taken part in protest actions in past 6 months	1170	.033	.266	511	.003	.943
Involved in organizations/associations in past 6 months	1170	.038	.190	513	-.030	.503

Source: Calculation based on Baltic Institute of Social Sciences surveys 2004 and 2010.

When looking at individual involvement, the answers to the question, ‘How important is to become involved in political and social activities to defend one’s own interests and viewpoints?’ and correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia were looked at. The data from 2004 is very interesting when bearing in mind the social context. During 2004 there were an unprecedented amount of demonstrations and protests against the proposed education and language reform which was to affect minority schools. Of the surveyed students, 42 per cent agreed that it was ‘very important’ ‘to become involved in political and social activities so as to defend one’s own interests and viewpoints’ and another 45 per cent thought it was ‘rather important’.⁴⁸³ But in terms of correlation with a sense of belonging, the 2004 correlation with the expressed level of belonging to Latvia was weak and statistically insignificant.

Further, the analysis took a look at the correlation between civic participation and a sense of belonging. In order to operationalize civic participation, questions dealing with Russian speaking youth involvement in organizations and associations, and participation in protest actions were looked at. When looking at the original survey report from 2004, it can be noted that a very high proportion of those surveyed had taken part in protest actions in the past six months – 53 per cent.⁴⁸⁴ However, only 17 per cent had been involved in organizations or associations that deal with public or political issues.⁴⁸⁵ In terms of correlation with a sense of belonging, in both instances in 2004 the correlation was positive, but statistically insignificant.

The specifics of the time frame could be to blame for the unpredictable pattern of correlation in 2004. As mentioned, Russian speaking NGO’s and protest actions had worked hard to try to oppose the language reform in minority school curriculum, but had been unsuccessful. The actions had largely been seen as being in opposition to the state and the ruling elite. Thus, the lack of correlation in 2004 of a sense of belonging to Latvia with the statement, ‘In Latvia, everyone has an equal opportunity to influence decision making’ could be explained by real experience, as a result of the unsuccessful attempt of a portion of the Russian speaking minority to influence decision making in Latvia.

⁴⁸³ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2004a), p. 73.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

The data from 2010 is also a paradox and is inconsistent with the findings from 2004. As already mentioned, the belief that, 'In Latvia, I have the opportunity to express my views freely on any issue at all did have significant, positive correlation with the expressed level of belonging to Latvia. The stronger one's support for the statement, the more likely the respondent was to feel a stronger sense of belonging to Latvia. According to the analysis in 2010 there was also statistically significant, positive correlation between the strength of attachment to Latvia and the statement, 'In Latvia, everyone has an equal opportunity to influence decision making'. However, as the data from 2004 was shown to lack a positive correlation with the statement above, hypothesis H1.3.2 could not be validated.

However, in complete contradiction to theory, the 2010 data shows that the stronger an individual's sense of belonging to Latvia, the less likely that individual was to consider it as, 'Important to become involved in political and social activities to defend one's own interests and viewpoints'. According to the original survey analysis, the respondents in 2010 were participating less in civic activities than in 2004. Only 10 per cent said that in the past six months they had been involved in an organization or association that deals with public or political issues, and only 12 per cent had taken part in protest actions.⁴⁸⁶ Just as in 2004, in 2010 there was no statistically significant correlation between one's involvement in organizations and associations, or participation in protest actions, and a sense of belonging with Latvia. Hypothesis H1.3.3 could not be validated as civic participation did not seem to have a consistent positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia in the data set analyzed.

The results of 2010 could potentially be influenced by the unsuccessful Russian speaking community attempts in 2004 to influence the decision making process in Latvia and defend their own interests and viewpoints in relation to the language of instruction in minority schools. The lack of success in 2004 could be discouraging any further action in the respondents from 2010, and because the protest actions were seen as being against the state intentions and policy, involvement now in political or social actions could be construed as a negative move against the state, preventing those who feel a sense of belonging to Latvia from getting involved. This could account for the significant negative statistical correlation between the level of

⁴⁸⁶ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2010), p. 16.

belonging to Latvia and belief that one has to be involved to defend one's own interests and viewpoints.

Thus, it seems that the influence dimension of the sense of community theory is only partially able to consistently forecast a sense of belonging, at least in the Latvian case in the data set analyzed. In Latvia, belonging correlates with the belief that one has the opportunity to express his views freely, and to a lesser extent the ability to influence decision making, even though one's own involvement in the political process plays an insignificant role in terms of facilitating feelings of belonging. For individual involvement, the specific Latvian experience and the time frame in question makes it difficult to determine if the theory is inapplicable, or if simply too much depends on the specific context.

7.1.4. Needs Fulfillment

According to academic theory and the sense of community dimension, the needs fulfillment aspect places emphasis on the individual's future well-being. Thus, the first hypothesis to be tested was H1.4.1 suggesting that envisioning future opportunities in Latvia will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging. In operationalizing the needs fulfillment dimension of the sense of community theory, in the survey responses it was necessary to establish what impact did the respondents perception of their future well-being within the Latvian community has on their expressed sense of belonging to Latvia. Further, the needs fulfillment aspect, as well as the structural dimension of integration, places a strong emphasis on fair distribution of economic capital and equal opportunity to access the economic structures of the society. The second hypothesis H1.4.2 would test if indeed lack of perceived discrimination within the economic sector will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia. In operationalizing this aspect, questions of perceived discrimination and fair access were also looked at.

For establishing the link between a sense of belonging and future well-being, the statement, 'I relate my future to Latvia – studies, work' in response to the question, 'What links you to Latvia?' was looked at in correlation with the level of belonging. As illustrated in the Table 11 below, in 2004 there is statistically significant, positive correlation between stating that the future well-being, in terms of studies and work, provides a link to Latvia and the expressed level of belonging to Latvia. If a respondent stated that they relate their future hopes, in terms of studies

and employment, with Latvia, they were also more likely to express a stronger sense of belonging to Latvia. However, in 2010 the situation is completely reversed. If a respondent expressed a strong bond with Latvia, he was less likely to state that future work or studies was responsible for linking them to Latvia. Thus, in 2010, the stronger one's bond with Latvia, the less likely that individual was to consider it as a result of envisioning their future well-being in Latvia. Hypothesis H1.4.1 cannot be validated, as the data for 2004 and 2010 is inconsistent.

Table 11

Needs Fulfillment

Correlation coefficient: Spearman's rank correlation coefficient ρ

	2004			2010		
	Instances	Value	Statistical significance	Instances	Value	Statistical significance
I relate my future to Latvia – studies, work	1177	.111	.000	513	-.137	.002
Getting a job in Latvia, professional qualifications are not important, while citizenship issues are - citizens are given the advantage	1168	-.067	.023	510	-.011	.797
Nationality, not professional skills or knowledge, is important when getting a job in Latvia	1173	-.070	.017	511	-.131	.003

Source: Calculation based on Baltic Institute of Social Sciences surveys 2004 and 2010.

Next, the two questions establishing the perception of discrimination, in terms of economic well-being, were looked at. The first was a statement, ‘Getting a job in Latvia, professional qualifications are not important, while citizenship issues are – citizens are given the advantage’ was meant to establish if there exists a perception of discrimination in terms of citizenship status and economic benefits. In 2004, the correlation was weak, and negative. Those expressing a deeper sense of attachment to Latvia were less likely to think that citizenship played a role in economic benefit distribution. In 2010, the question did not show any statistically significant correlation. However, the second statement, ‘Nationality, not professional skills or knowledge, is important when getting a job in Latvia’ in both instances had a

statistically significant, negative correlation, with sense of belonging to Latvia. Hypothesis H1.4.2 can therefore be validated, as those expressing a strong attachment to Latvia did not perceive discrimination, in terms of nationality, as a regular occurrence in the Latvian labor market. However, those respondents with a weaker sense of belonging to Latvia were more likely to agree that nationality plays a role in economic benefit distribution.

From the above analysis, and taking the economic context of the time frame in question in mind, it seems that the sense of community needs fulfillment indicators are only partially applicable in forecasting a sense of belonging. In 2004, when the economic climate was positive, due to the recent joining of the EU, sense of belonging to Latvia did have a positive correlation with the economic considerations as links to Latvia. However, in 2010, when the economic climate was pessimistic, sense of belonging to Latvia was envisioned as being influenced by things other than future economic prospects. Thus, once again, in relation to this question it is difficult to determine if the sense of community theory is not applicable wholly for forecasting belonging, or does the economic climate bear significantly on the indicators in the data set analyzed.

However, from the analysis it can be concluded that fair and equal access to economic resources does have a consistent correlation with the Russian speakers' sense of belonging to Latvia. Where the citizenship issue, in terms of employment, may not be constant in correlation with a sense of belonging, the ethnic or national dimension was. It can be concluded that discrimination, or the perception of discrimination, has a real strong impact in shaping feelings of belonging.

7.1.5. Citizenship

The work of Tabuns had previously shown that citizenship, in the Latvian Russian speakers' case, has an inconsistent correlation with feelings of closeness to Latvia and that, "...Latvian residents have multiple, fragmented and often contradictory identities."⁴⁸⁷ However, in academic theory, as discussed in the theoretical section of the dissertation, citizenship when conceived in its broadest conception was understood to fulfill the emotional needs of belonging through the community of citizens it creates, and through the various rights and privileges' associated with citizenship to contribute to the fulfillment of needs anchoring

⁴⁸⁷ Tabuns, A. (2005), p. 73.

belonging. According to theory, not only does citizenship meet the needs and guarantee the rights of individuals, but it also has an integrating effect promoting, "...a direct sense of community membership based on loyalty to a civilization which is a common possession."⁴⁸⁸

Formal membership in a community has also long been believed to be an effective tool in overcoming societal divisions based on culture, and as a means of promoting social cohesion.⁴⁸⁹ Thus, the role of citizenship status and the wish to acquire citizenship in correlation with the expressed level of belonging to Latvia was looked at. Hypothesis H1.5 suggested that formal membership, or citizenship, will have a positive correlation with Russian speaker sense of belonging to Latvia.

As illustrated below, the first correlation established was simply between citizenship status of the respondent and their sense of belonging to Latvia. Because citizenship is a signifier of formal membership in the community, the hypothesis suggests that citizenship status will have a positive correlation with sense of belonging. However, the data only partially confirms this assumption. In 2004, there is weak, statistically significant correlation between respondents with Latvian citizenship and their strength of attachment to Latvia. Those with Latvian citizenship were slightly more likely to express a sense of belonging to Latvia. In 2010, there is no statistically significant correlation. The inconsistent data could not confirm hypothesis H1.5 and seemed to support the previous findings of Tabuns suggesting that in the Latvian case, citizenship status is an unpredictable tool for measuring the strength of attachment to Latvia, and does not seem to contribute significantly to the strength of Russian speaker sense of belonging.

The next question looked at was the desire of Russian speaking youths that did not have citizenship to acquire citizenship, and their expressed level of attachment to Latvia. In 2004 the correlation is weak, and does not support the assumption that those wishing to acquire citizenship of Latvia would have a stronger sense of belonging to Latvia. In 2010, there is no statistically significant correlation whatsoever.

⁴⁸⁸ Marshall, T.H. (1950)., p. 40.

⁴⁸⁹ Kivisto, P.(2004)., p. 291.

Table 12**Citizenship**Correlation coefficient: Spearman's rank correlation coefficient ρ

	2004			2010		
	Instances	Value	Statistical significance	Instances	Value	Statistical significance
Citizenship status	1175	.069	.019	513	.012	.784
Desire to acquire citizenship	391	.057	.263	65	-.099	.431
What reasons could lead you to leave Latvia – citizenship problems	1177	-.083	.004	513	.056	.205
Citizenship should be awarded to any resident of the state who wants it	1172	.003	.929	508	.008	.857

Source: Calculation based on Baltic Institute of Social Sciences surveys 2004 and 2010.

In addition, the analysis looked at two supplemental questions dealing with citizenship in order to establish their correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia. In 2004 there was a weak, negative correlation between support for the statement that citizenship problems could lead the respondent to leave Latvia, suggesting that those who felt a stronger attachment to Latvia were less likely to leave because of citizenship problems. In 2010, no such correlation existed. Further, the analysis established the correlation between the statement that, ‘Citizenship should be awarded to any resident of the state who wants it’ and sense of belonging to Latvia. According to the analysis there is no statistically significant correlation between the two factors in 2004 or in 2010.

The above suggests that citizenship status, in the Latvian case, does not play a significant role in Russian speakers’ expressed level of attachment to Latvia. Problems with citizenship also do not necessarily support emigration, or wanting to leave the national community. It can be concluded that citizenship alone does not account for sense of belonging development or maintenance in the Latvian case.

7.1.6. Conclusion – Sense of Belonging to Latvia

In referencing the quote from the theoretical section of the dissertation from John Shotter, the best overarching definition of the concept of sense of belonging is offered when he states that:

Sense of belonging is a feeling of “being at home” in a reality which one’s actions help to reproduce. For that to be possible, one must live within an “imagined community” (Anderson, 1983), or a “community of memory” (Bellah et al. 1985), which one senses as being “ours”, as “yours”, and “mine” rather than “theirs”, where one is more than just a reproducer of it, but one plays a real part in its construction.one will not feel that one has to struggle to have one’s voice heard. In other words, to the extent that we all participate equally, “we” are the authors, not only of our own “reality”, but also of our “selves”.⁴⁹⁰

Therefore, in order for sense of belonging to develop, there has to be a combination of rational considerations, such as the belief that one’s voice is important, and the ‘reality’ has to be grounded within a community that provides meaning and is envisioned as a common endeavor, thus encouraging a sense of emotional belonging. These various elements and phases of integration, outlined in the above definition of sense of belonging, are encompassed by the requirements of the sense of community theory.

By employing the sense of community theory, the empirical analysis section of the dissertation showed that feelings of belonging to Latvia are contingent on more than just the emotional dimension of cultural and identification integration. The section of the dissertation showed what factors have consistent correlation with a sense of belonging in Latvia, and thus, should be taken into consideration by policy, and what factors are susceptible to political and global processes.

As the Latvian background discussion made clear, a significant focus of the post-independence Latvian policies has been on language and culture. The emphasis on language and culture can be felt in policies dealing with education policy, citizenship, and the social integration of society in the 2001 national program on the *Integration of Society in Latvia*. Thus, in order to test if the emphasis placed on language, in hopes of achieving a sense of belonging in the Russian speaking population in Latvia is justified; questions regarding language use and knowledge were operationalized in the empirical analysis of the membership dimension of the sense of community theory. The empirical analysis of the 2004 and 2010 Russian speaking youth data showed that language knowledge and use were inconsistent in

⁴⁹⁰ Shotter, J. (1993), pp. 125-126.

forecasting a sense of belonging to Latvia in the data set analyzed. Where the correlation in 2004 was positive, and those with a better self-perception of language knowledge and frequency of use were more likely to feel a belonging to Latvia, in 2010 the opposite was true. Thus, much depends on other factors and the political circumstances.

In operationalizing other aspects of the sense of community theory, the empirical analysis suggests that sense of belonging has a positive correlation with the ability to identify with the host society, a favorable perception of the group, ability to think in terms of common interests not ethnicity, and willingness to engage in contact. Both in 2004 and 2010, those individuals who did not favor a strategy of separation, or living in parallel communities of only Russian speakers, felt a stronger sense of belonging to Latvia. Just as important for Russian speaker sense of belonging to Latvia was the favorable orientation toward Latvians and the focus on shared interests, not nationality, for friendship. Steadfast, for a sense of belonging to Latvia, was also the belief that one has the opportunity to express his views freely, and to a lesser extent the ability to influence decision making, even though one's own involvement in the political process, in the Latvian case, seems to have an insignificant role in terms of feelings of belonging.

Drastic changes from 2004 to 2010 can be observed when looking at the needs fulfillment component of the sense of community theory and the envisioned future well-being in Latvia. According to the data, in 2004, sense of belonging to a Latvia had a strong positive correlation with envisioning one's future well-being in Latvia, in 2010, sense of belonging to Latvia had little to do with envisioning one's future economic well-being. However, unwavering was the correlation between sense of belonging and the lack of perceived discrimination based on nationality. This suggests that sense of belonging is very much influenced by rational economic considerations such as employment or education opportunities, and that global economic processes play a significant role in feelings of belonging.

The spiritual bond, ensuing in identification of a community and its territory as homeland, had a steadfast positive correlation with sense of belonging in both 2004 and 2010. In Latvia, the internalization of cultural norms and language knowledge has also been regarded as a prerequisite for access to citizenship. However, citizenship, or formal membership in the political community, alone does not account

for sense of belonging development or maintenance in the Latvian case, as shown by the empirical analysis within the citizenship section above.

In conclusion, the above section of the dissertation has shown that, in the Latvian case, data analysis of Russian speaking youths suggests that a sense of belonging to Latvia has a constant positive correlation with favorable group identification and perception, willingness to engage in contact, contact based on shared interests, the cognitive perception of Latvia as homeland, lack of perceived discrimination in the economic sector and belief in the individual freedom of expression. The correlations between a sense of belonging to Latvia and language knowledge and use, decision making process influence, civic participation, future opportunities, and citizenship status are inconsistent.

7.2. Transnational Ties and Multiple Belongings

The theoretical section of this dissertation discussed the particularities of integration in the modern age by making note of two applicable alternatives to the classical interpretation of integration into a national society; supranational belonging and transnational or diaspora belonging, resulting in the phenomenon of multiple attachments. The goal of this empirical section will be to use the survey data from 2004 and 2010 to ascertain the influence of multiple belongings on the sense of belonging to Latvia in order to test hypothesis H1.6, which states that multiple belongings do not necessarily have a negative correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia. Further, the investigation will test the sub-hypotheses of H1.6, in order to establish what affect European belonging and Russian belonging has on the perception of sense of community indicators and how transnational attachments influence Latvian integration efforts.

7.2.1. Operationalizing Sense of Belonging to Europe

In operationalizing the survey data, the first relationship looked at was the correlation between feelings of belonging to Latvia and feelings of belonging to Europe, in order to test hypothesis H1.6 to see if indeed multiple feelings of belonging, in this case to Europe, do not have a negative correlation with the expressed sense of attachment to Latvia. The findings were inconsistent; however, in neither year was a negative correlation to be found.

The research data, illustrated below, suggests that in 2004 no statistically significant correlation, positive or negative, between feelings of belonging to Europe and feelings of belonging to Latvia could be found in the Russian speaking youth data. However, in 2010 there was significant positive correlation, and the closer a respondent felt to Europe, the stronger his sense of belonging to Latvia. Hypothesis H1.6 can be validated, as a negative correlation between feelings of belonging to Europe and feelings of belonging to Latvia could not be established in 2004 or 2010.

Table 13

Feelings of Belonging to Europe

Correlation coefficient: Spearman's rank correlation coefficient ρ

	2004			2010		
	Instances	Value	Statistical significance	Instances	Value	Statistical significance
Feelings of belonging to Latvia	1155	.054	.066	511	.088	.048

Source: Calculation based on Baltic Institute of Social Sciences surveys 2004 and 2010.

In order to evaluate the argument that supranational belonging, especially in the context of European belonging within the common construct that is the European Union, can be thought of as more than just an imagined space, and according to Braidotti can provide an alternative against the pressures to assimilate⁴⁹¹, the empirical analysis looked to establish if feelings of belonging to Europe did indeed have a positive impact on the perception of the sense of community indicators. In order to test the hypothesis H1.6.1 and establish if there is positive correlation between a sense of belonging to Europe and the perception of the sense of community indicators, the same questions operationalized for membership, influence, fulfillment of needs and emotional connection above, were looked at in correlation with feelings of belonging to Europe.

As illustrated in the appendix Sense of Belonging to Europe Findings, in the empirical analysis there was a consistent lack of significant statistical correlation between any of the factors operationalized to measure sense of community indicators and the data from 2010 and feelings of belonging to Europe. If the data from 2004 seemed to support the hypothesis H1.6.1, and suggest that a stronger sense of belonging to Europe does have a positive influence on the perception of the sense of

⁴⁹¹ Braidotti, R. (2007), p. 26.

community indicators, then the data from 2010 was unable to corroborate these findings.

Table 14

Feelings of Belonging to Europe - Influence

Correlation coefficient: Spearman's rank correlation coefficient ρ

	2004			2010		
	Instances	Value	Statistical significance	Instances	Value	Statistical significance
In LV have opportunity to express views freely	1152	.086	.003	511	.074	.095
In LV equal opportunity to influence taking of decisions	1152	.054	.065	511	.164	.000

Source: Calculation based on Baltic Institute of Social Sciences surveys 2004 and 2010.

In fact, the only positive statistical correlation between a stronger sense of belonging to Europe, and any of the sense of community indicators for 2010 was to be found when looking at the influence component, as illustrated above. But, again, the findings differed in the two years analyzed. If in 2004 there was significant, positive correlation between an expressed sense of belonging to Europe and the statement, ‘In Latvia, I have the opportunity to express my views freely on any issue at all’, no correlation could be found in 2010. However, in 2010, there is positive, statistically significant correlation between a sense of belonging to Europe and the statement, ‘In Latvia, everyone has an equal opportunity to influence decision making’. Unfortunately, no such correlation could be found in 2004.

When looking at the influence feelings of belonging to Europe has on Russian speaker feelings of belonging to Latvia, and perception of the sense of community indicators, the empirical section of the dissertation is unable to validate H1.6.1, as the data is inconsistent.

7.2.2. Operationalizing Sense of Belonging to Russia

The theoretical discussion in the dissertation presented the phenomenon of transnationalism, or the process of maintaining links with a ‘sending’ country or an ‘external homeland’. The understanding of transnationalism emphasizes the enduring relationship between the ‘home’ and ‘sending’ state, and the individuals choice in identify with two (or more) systems of cultural reference and language. The strength of the transnational relationship also determines if the minority, or migrant

population, envisions itself as part of the ‘external homeland’ and what kind of feelings of belonging they harbor toward this ‘external homeland’. Research from other parts of the world, discussed in the theoretical section of the dissertation, has suggested that transnational ties and multiple belongings do not necessarily impede the integration process and can even be positively related.

Expanding from the discussion of the theoretical section, and in studying the diaspora linkage of Latvian Russian speakers to Russia as the external homeland, what has to be kept in mind is the particular context of how these Russian speaking communities came to be a diaspora and how their linkage to Russia is defined. A relevant terminology for this particular case is offered by Brubaker who terms Russians scattered across Soviet successor states as ‘accidental diasporas’.⁴⁹² Brubaker lists five factors which differentiate traditional migrant diasporas from accidental diasporas. First of all, accidental diasporas are the result of borders moving across people, not people moving across borders. Second, accidental diasporas tend to, “...crystallize suddenly following a dramatic – and often traumatic – reconfiguration of political space.”⁴⁹³ Often times, the accidental diasporas are configured as a result of external politics of belonging, without their participation or expressed will, and accidental diasporas also tend to have deep roots in the host society and sometimes even hold citizenship of the countries in which they live.⁴⁹⁴

This applies to the Russian speaking minority that is the subject group of this dissertation. The majority of Russian speakers, as discussed in the background to Latvia section of this dissertation, had arrived during the Soviet period. As such, “...those who had themselves migrated from Soviet core to periphery had not crossed state borders; rather, they had moved within the territory of the Soviet state.”⁴⁹⁵ Many had deep roots in Latvia, and after the dramatic collapse of the Soviet Union, even sought citizenship of Latvia. However, the configuration of the Russian speakers as the accidental diaspora by Russia, as the successor state of the Soviet Union, began shortly after the collapse of the USSR. In defining who the diaspora were, the term ‘compatriots’, ethnics, and *russkoyazychnye* (Russian speakers) were used to refer to

⁴⁹² Brubaker, R. (2000). Accidental Diasporas and External “Homelands” in Central and Eastern Europe: Past and Present. *Reihe Politikwissenschaft Political Science Series*, 71. Vienna: Institute for Advanced Studies, pp. 1-19.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

the 25 million Russians left outside the Russian Federation.⁴⁹⁶ As Jakniunaite explains, “The compatriot discourse is based on the attitude that Russia must compensate their loss of the homeland and that one does not have to live in Russian territory to be its citizen mentally.”⁴⁹⁷ As such, the Russian Federation, “...engaged in projects to remake identity and loyalty within the settler populations through a range of policies,”⁴⁹⁸ effectively constructing a Russian-speaking diaspora identity without the particular consent of the Russian speaking community.

The extent of Russian influence on this Russian-speaking accidental diaspora in Latvia is a topic of debate. Immediately after the collapse of the Soviet Union, authors such as Mark Smith expressed grave concern that the diaspora linkage of Russians with Russia in the Baltic states is ‘potentially ominous’ and could result in Russia having, “...a permanent excuse to express concern about the status of these communities, and demand that Russian forces protect them.”⁴⁹⁹ However, the actual instances of Russian involvement have been limited. Commercio asserts that the Russian influence in Latvia, as an external homeland in the Brubaker triadic nexus configuration, is overstated as Russia, “...has made noise on a sporadic basis about the treatment of its compatriots in the ‘near abroad’ but has done very little to alleviate grievances.”⁵⁰⁰

As claimed by Bugajski, what Russia has been successful at, in its involvement in ‘compatriot’ affairs, is the manipulation of ethnic tensions, “...as a bargaining chip in dealing with questions such as military deployment, economic and trade relations, diplomatic recognition, and qualifications for membership of international organizations.”⁵⁰¹ This meddling has lead Estonian’s to claim that Russia has a direct negative impact on the country’s integration efforts by aggravating inter-

⁴⁹⁶ Simonsen, S.G. (2001). Compatriot Games: Explaining the Diaspora Linkage in Russia’s Military Withdrawal from the Baltic States. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 53(5), p. 774.

⁴⁹⁷ Jakniunaite, D. (2009). Neighborhood Politics of Baltic States: Between the EU and Russia. In: Berg, E., Ehin, P. (eds.) *Identity and Foreign Policy: Baltic-Russian Relations and European Integration*. Farnham: Ashgate, p. 122.

⁴⁹⁸ Melvin, N. J. (1998). The Russians: Diaspora and the End of Empire. In: King C., Melvin, N.J. (eds.) *Nations Abroad. Diaspora Politics and International Relations in the Former Soviet Union*. Boulder: Westview Press, p. 50.

⁴⁹⁹ Smith, M. (1993). *Pax Russica: Russia’s Monroe Doctrine (Whitehall Paper)*. London: Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, p. 31.

⁵⁰⁰ Commercio, M. (2010). *Russian Minority Politics in Post-Soviet Latvia and Kyrgyzstan*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, p. 19.

⁵⁰¹ Bugajski, J. (2004). *Cold Peace: Russia’s New Imperialism*. Westport, CT: Praeger, p. 41.

ethnic tensions through making claims at international institutions and in spreading disinformation campaigns about the discrimination of Russian speakers.⁵⁰²

Other analysts and scholars have pointed to the soft means of influence Russia has exerted on the Latvian Russian speaker cultural and political values through events and festivals, sports, culture and the arts, and most importantly through the media.⁵⁰³ From a foreign policy perspective, Kudors notes the increase in Russian use of soft power initiatives since 2006 and suggests that the comments of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Sergey Lavrov, can be interpreted as indicating that the cooptation of Russian speakers abroad, through the use of soft power, as one of Russia's foreign policy objective.⁵⁰⁴

An investigative journalism report suggested that Russian government money, directly and indirectly is supporting a wide variety of soft power means of influence and links can be established with Russian media holdings in the Baltic States.⁵⁰⁵ Grigas, in her analysis, specifically notes the prevalence and influence of Russian TV channels, Russian and locally produced Russian language newspapers, internet news portals and radio stations and states that by, "Using its influence via the media, Russia has been particularly successful in creating a virtual community involving not only the Russian diaspora but also a segment of the Baltic population that remains linked culturally, linguistically and ideologically to Moscow."⁵⁰⁶

The extent and means of influence exerted by Russia on the Russian speakers residing in Latvia, thus, remains a topic of discussion. However, unmistakable is the fact, demonstrated by the Latvian academic research review that a large percentage of the Russian speaking population continues to express a sense of belonging to Russia. The percentage of Russian speaking youths expressing a sense of belonging to Russia has been especially high. Further, as demonstrated by Table 1 (p. 99) and Table 2 (p. 100), these feelings of belonging to Russia, according to survey data, are not decreasing but instead increasing with the passing of time. Thus, it is the goal of this section to look at what impact do feelings of belonging to Russia have on the Russian

⁵⁰² Schulze, J. (2011). Contact and Crisis in Interethnic Relations. In: Vetik, R., Helemae, J. (eds.) *The Russian Second Generation in Tallinn and Kohtla-Järve: The TIES Study in Estonia*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, p. 167.

⁵⁰³ See: Grigas, A. (2012).; Kudors, A. (2012).; Muižnieks, N. (2008).

⁵⁰⁴ Kudors, A. (2012)., pp. 94-104.

⁵⁰⁵ Re:Baltica (2012).

⁵⁰⁶ Grigas, A. (2012)., p. 10.

speaking youth population surveyed in 2004 and 2010, and establish how strong feelings of belonging to Russia impact feelings of belonging to Latvia and the perception of Latvian integration efforts.

In testing hypothesis H1.6, by looking at what kind of correlation multiple belongings, in this case to Russia, has on the expressed sense of belonging to Latvia, the first relationship looked at was simply between the expressed sense of belonging to Russia and the expressed sense of belonging to Latvia. The results are illustrated in the Table 15 below.

Table 15
Feelings of Belonging to Russia

Correlation coefficient: Spearman's rank correlation coefficient ρ

	2004			2010		
	Instances	Value	Statistical significance	Instances	Value	Statistical significance
Feelings of belonging to Latvia	1156	-.026	.378	510	.034	.449

Source: Calculation based on Baltic Institute of Social Sciences surveys 2004 and 2010.

In the 2004 data there is a weak, statistically insignificant, negative correlation between a sense of belonging to Russia and a sense of belonging to Latvia. In 2010 results no correlation is to be found. Thus, expressing feelings of belonging to Russia will not necessarily mean that one does not also express feelings of belonging to Latvia. Feeling a belonging to Latvia, or feeling a belonging to Russia, are not mutually exclusive. As in the section above, in regard to feelings of belonging to Europe and feelings of belonging to Latvia, Hypothesis H1.6, in using 2004 and 2010 data, is validated as feelings of belonging to Russia or feelings of belonging to Latvia are not mutually exclusive. Thus, multiple belongings, in this case to Russia, do not necessarily have a negative correlation with the Russian speakers expressed sense of belonging to Latvia.

Nonetheless, the situation is much different when looking at the impact a sense of belonging to Russia, as the ‘external homeland’, has on the perception of the sense of community indicators used to denote Latvian integration efforts. Hypothesis H1.6.2 stated that ‘external homeland’ belonging to Russia will have a negative influence on the perception of sense of community indicators. In order to test the validity of this hypothesis, the same questions for membership, influence, fulfillment

of needs and emotional connection, used to operationalize the sense of community theory, were looked at in correlation with feelings of belonging to Russia.

The first set of correlations looked at were in regards to membership, or the willingness to identify with the group, mutual understanding, willingness to engage in contact. Where the findings for the first two questions were inconclusive, as illustrated in the Table 16 below, there was significant positive correlation for both years between the statement, ‘I avoid contact with Latvians, because I don’t like them; Latvians are completely different than my people’ and the expressed sense of attachment to Russia. The greater an individual expressed level of belonging to Russia, the more likely he was to agree with the above mentioned statement and think of Latvians as different and avoid contact.

Within the context of this dissertation, and the findings from the earlier section establishing what factors have a strong correlation with the expressed level of belonging to Latvia, such findings are troubling. As it was established by hypothesis H1.1.1 and H1.1.2, a Russian speaker was more likely to feel a sense of belonging to Latvia if he thought in terms of commonality with the Latvians and was willing to engage in contact. The theoretical section of the dissertation had also shown the importance of positive and frequent inter-group contact for acceptance and inclusion. Further, the negative perception also impacts the Druckman scale outlining the steps toward individual identification with a group. As the ‘tipping point’, where a new group is seen to meet the individual’s needs and complement his self-esteem to the same, or a greater, extent than his current membership group, specifically calls for the “Taking of a positive orientation towards the group”.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁷ Druckman, D. (1994), p. 61.

Table 16**Feelings of Belonging to Russia - Membership**Correlation coefficient: Spearman's rank correlation coefficient ρ

	2004			2010		
	Instances	Value	Statistical significance	Instances	Value	Statistical significance
Latvians and Russians (Russian speakers) are two conflicting camps	1151	.047	.108	509	.164	.000
No problem in making contacts with Latvians; Latvians same as everyone else	1160	-.049	.095	510	-.089	.046
Avoid contacts with Latvians because don't like; Latvians completely different	1159	.093	.002	509	.089	.046

Source: Calculation based on Baltic Institute of Social Sciences surveys 2004 and 2010.

Next, the empirical analysis operationalized the set of questions, within the context of membership, that look at the support or opposition to a strategy of linguistic separation and the respondents expressed sense of belonging to Russia. The results from 2004 and 2010, illustrated below, showed that there is no correlation between a sense of belonging to Russia and a preference for a situation where Latvian speakers and Russian speakers live separately. However, there is a strong positive correlation between feeling a sense of belonging to Russia and support for the statements, 'I would prefer a job where all my colleagues are Russian speakers' and, 'I feel best when only Russians or Russian speakers are around me'. The results demonstrate that even though a stronger sense of belonging to Russia does not necessarily encourage one to seek a life separate from Latvians, there is a strong correlation between feelings of belonging to Russia and a preference of segregation in the work environment and personal space. Again, this is problematic for the earlier findings of the dissertation, as it was established by hypothesis H1.1.2 those Russian speakers surveyed who disagreed with the statements, 'I would prefer a job where all my colleagues are Russian speakers' and, 'I feel best when only Russians or Russian speakers are around me', were more likely to express a stronger sense of attachment to Latvia.

Table 17**Feelings of Belonging to Russia - Membership Linguistic Environment**Correlation coefficient: Spearman's rank correlation coefficient ρ

	2004			2010		
	Instances	Value	Statistical significance	Instances	Value	Statistical significance
Prefer situation where LV and Russian speakers live separately	1149	.049	.099	508	.074	.096
Prefer work environment with Russian speakers	1158	.114	.000	510	.170	.000
Feel best when Russian speakers around	1151	.094	.001	509	.139	.002

Source: Calculation based on Baltic Institute of Social Sciences surveys 2004 and 2010.

When looking at the correlation between feelings of belonging to Russia and the Latvian language, which in the Latvian integration context has been shown to hold a central role, there was only one consistent positive correlation in 2004 and 2010 survey data. Those respondents who expressed a closer sense of belonging to Russia were also more likely to agree with the statement that, 'Latvians are snooty and speak only to those people who speak the Latvian language' both in 2004 and 2010. Thus, a sense of belonging to Russia does not have a direct impact on the respondent's level of Latvian language knowledge, or willingness to speak the language, but a sense of belonging to Russia does seem to have a positive correlation with a negative perception of Latvians and their characteristics. Again, this is problematic for identification with the group and willingness to engage in contact established to be necessary for sense of belonging development.

Table 18**Feelings of Belonging to Russia – Latvian Language**Correlation coefficient: Spearman's rank correlation coefficient ρ

	2004			2010		
	Instances	Value	Statistical significance	Instances	Value	Statistical significance
Latvians are snooty and speak only to Latvian speakers	1153	.095	.001	508	.129	.004
Rate Latvian language skills	1133	.039	.193	499	.047	.292
Speak Latvian outside of school	1136	-.036	.221	498	-.013	.774

Source: Calculation based on Baltic Institute of Social Sciences surveys 2004 and 2010.

The next aspect of the sense of community theory to be looked at, in relation to the sense of belonging to Russia, was the shared emotional connection. There was only one constant correlation in 2004 and 2010. The one consistent correlation, once again, involved the negative perception of Latvians. Those Russian speakers who expressed a closer sense of belonging to Russia, were also more likely to agree with the statement that, ‘Recently I have begun to dislike Latvians’. Such a response is troubling, as in the earlier section by hypothesis H1.2.2 it was established that having a favorable orientation toward Latvians had a significant positive correlation with the likelihood of expressing stronger feelings of belonging to Latvia and impacts the willingness to engage in contact and identify with the group.

Table 19**Feelings of Belonging to Russia - Shared Emotional Connection**Correlation coefficient: Spearman's rank correlation coefficient ρ

	2004			2010		
	Instances	Value	Statistical significance	Instances	Value	Statistical significance
I wouldn't like to move to another country, since Latvia is my homeland	1159	-.088	.003	510	-.063	.156
Recently I have begun to dislike Latvians	1155	.101	.001	507	.133	.003
I don't care whether my friends are Latvian or Russian, as long as we have the same interests	1159	-.075	.011	509	-.037	.406

Source: Calculation based on Baltic Institute of Social Sciences surveys 2004 and 2010.

Next, the influence component, or the belief in the ability of one's self to shape own future well-being and have influence in the community, questions were looked at in correlation with the expressed sense of belonging to Russia. As established earlier, for stronger feelings of belonging to Latvia it was important for Russian speakers to believe that they have the right to express freely their views on any subject matter at all, as validated by hypothesis H1.3.1. However, when looking at the same statement, 'In Latvia, I have an opportunity to express my views freely on any issue at all' in correlation with a sense of belonging to Russia, those individuals who felt a stronger sense of belonging to Russia were more likely to disagree with the above mentioned assertion.

As illustrated in the Table 20 below, not only does a sense of belonging to Russia have a negative, statistically significant correlation in 2004 and 2010 with the freedom of expression statement, it also has negative statistically significant correlation with the statement, 'In Latvia, everyone has an equal opportunity to influence the taking of decisions'. According to academic theory, such a presumption of the lack of ability to express concerns and impact future developments in the country of residence, serves to alienate the newcomers and discourages their sense of belonging development.

Table 20**Feelings of Belonging to Russia - Influence**Correlation coefficient: Spearman's rank correlation coefficient ρ

	2004			2010		
	Instances	Value	Statistical significance	Instances	Value	Statistical significance
In LV have opportunity to express views freely	1154	-.096	.001	510	-.179	.000
In LV equal opportunity to influence taking of decisions.	1154	-.103	.000	510	-.106	.016
Important to become involved to defend one's interests/viewpoints	1153	.115	.000	510	-.088	.046
Taken part in protest actions in past 6 months	1154	.118	.000	508	-.085	.055
Involved in organizations/associations in past 6 months	1155	.068	.020	510	-.118	.008

Source: Calculation based on Baltic Institute of Social Sciences surveys 2004 and 2010.

Bearing in mind the social context of the protest actions of 2004 against the proposed education and language reform, the correlations with individual involvement and a sense of belonging to Russia provide an interesting view point. In 2004, those Russian speaking individuals who expressed a closer sense of belonging to Russia were also more likely to agree that it is, 'Important to become involved in political and social activities so as to defend one's own interests and viewpoints' and were also more likely to have taken part in protest actions and be involved in organizations or associations dealing with public or political issues in the past six months. However, by 2010, those who felt a closer bond with Russia were more likely to disagree with the statement that it is, 'Important to become involved in political and social activities so as to defend one's own interests and viewpoints' and were also less likely to be involved in organizations or associations dealing with public or political issues. It would seem that those who felt an 'external homeland' belonging to Russia in 2004 were also less inclined to support the education and language reforms of the Latvian government and were motivated to mobilize against these changes. However, after the unsuccessful attempts at influencing policy in 2004, the 2010 respondents who felt a belonging to Russia were more skeptically minded about the benefits of political or civic participation and about their impact on the decision making process in Latvia.

Interesting consistent correlations can also be noted when looking at the needs fulfillment dimension of the sense of community theory and expressed feelings of belonging to Russian in 2004 and 2010. The needs fulfillment dimension emphasizes the individual's perception of own well-being and future well-being. As already discussed, the needs fulfillment dimension stresses the importance equal opportunity and fair distribution of economic capital and discrimination, or the perception of discrimination, has in shaping feelings of belonging. When looking at survey question responses which gauge fair access and perceived discrimination in relation to the respondents' sense of belonging to Russia, it is notable that those respondents who felt a stronger sense of belonging to Russia were also more likely to agree that, 'Getting a job in Latvia, professional qualifications are not important, while citizenship issues are – citizens are given the advantage' and that, 'Nationality, not professional knowledge, is important when getting a job in Latvia'. Thus, there exists a positive, statistical correlation between a sense of belonging to Russia and the perception of discrimination in terms of citizenship status and nationality in the Latvian labor market in 2004 and 2010.

This consistent correlation is problematic, because as it was concluded earlier, the perception of fair and equal access to economic resources does have a consistent correlation with the Russian speaker sense of belonging to Latvia. As hypothesis H1.4.2 showed, those Russian speakers who did not perceive discrimination in the economic sector of Latvia, had a stronger sense of belonging to Latvia. Those expressing a deeper sense of attachment to Latvia were less likely to think that citizenship played a role in economic benefit distribution and did not perceive discrimination, in terms of nationality, as a regular occurrence in the Latvian labor market. Once again, feelings of belonging to Russia seem to correlate with a negative perception of Latvians and the Latvian economic capital distribution system.

Table 21**Sense of belonging to Russia - Needs Fulfillment**Correlation coefficient: Spearman's rank correlation coefficient ρ

	2004			2010		
	Instances	Value	Statistical significance	Instances	Value	Statistical significance
I relate my future to Latvia – studies, work	1161	-.022	.447	510	.072	.105
Getting a job in Latvia, professional qualifications are not important, while citizenship issues are - citizens are given the advantage	1153	.090	.002	507	.124	.005
Nationality, not professional skills or knowledge, is Important when getting a job in Latvia	1158	.069	.019	508	.174	.000

Source: Calculation based on Baltic Institute of Social Sciences surveys 2004 and 2010.

As it was established earlier by hypothesis H1.5, in the Latvian case, citizenship status does not play a significant role in people's attachments. The same hold true when looking at citizenship status and expressed feelings of belonging to Russia. As illustrated below, where in 2004 a respondent with Latvian citizenship was less likely to feel a close bond with Russia, by 2010 the respondents citizenship status no longer matters in determining feelings of belonging to Russia. Russia's influence can be felt when looking at the automatic citizenship questions in correlation with the sense of belonging to Russia. If in 2004 there was no correlation between a sense of belonging to Russia and the support for the statement, 'Citizenship should be awarded to any resident of the state who wants it', by 2010 there is significant positive correlation. This is problematic as automatic citizenship expectations are likely to discourage the completion of the citizenship application process.

Table 22**Feelings of Belonging to Russia - Citizenship**Correlation coefficient: Spearman's rank correlation coefficient ρ

	2004			2010		
	Instances	Value	Statistical significance	Instances	Value	Statistical significance
Citizenship status	1159	-.108	.000	510	.141	.001
Citizenship should be awarded to any resident of the state who wants it	1156	.048	.105	505	.100	.242

Source: Calculation based on Baltic Institute of Social Sciences surveys 2004 and 2010.

7.2.3. Conclusion – Transnational Ties and Multiple Belongings

The theoretical section of the dissertation discussed the particularities of integration in the globalized world, specifically addressing supranational attachments and transnational belonging to an external homeland. The goal of the above empirical analysis was to evaluate the influence these multiple attachments have on the perception of the sense of community indicators, and the resulting impact on the Russian language speakers' sense of belonging to Latvia. Hypothesis H1.6 suggested that multiple belongings, as such, do not necessarily have a negative correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia. The empirical analysis ventured to test this hypothesis in relation to Russian language speaker's feelings of belonging to Europe and Russia.

The findings concluded that in correlation analysis of sense of belonging to Europe and sense of belonging to Latvia, hypothesis H1.6 was valid, as a negative correlation between feelings of belonging to Europe and feelings of belonging to Latvia could not be established in neither 2004 nor 2010 amongst the Russian language speaking youths. The same was true when looking at sense of belonging to Russia and sense of belonging to Latvia. Feelings of belonging to Latvia, or feelings of belonging to Russia, were found not to be mutually exclusive. Thus, the expression of feelings of belonging to Russia does not necessarily hinder one's sense of belonging to Latvia.

Further, in evaluating the influence of multiple attachments, the empirical section looked at the correlation feelings of belonging to Europe, and feelings of belonging to Russia, have with the sense of community indicators. Hypothesis H1.6.1

proposed that a sense of belonging to Europe will have a positive influence on the perception of sense of community indicators that strengthen a sense of belonging to Latvia, as the discussion of supranational belonging had suggested that belonging to a European post-national identity, as supplemental to the members state national identity, allowed for a wider and deeper identification. However, as the empirical analysis showed, there was a lack of significant consistent statistical correlation between any of the factors operationalized to measure the sense of community indicators and a sense of belonging to Europe. Thus, hypothesis H1.6.1 could not be confirmed.

The situation was much different when testing hypothesis H1.6.2, which suggested that external homeland belonging to Russia will have a negative influence on the perception of sense of community indicators that strengthen a sense of belonging to Latvia. In order to test this hypothesis, the same questions and statements established to have a significant and constant correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia from the previous empirical segment, were looked at in correlation with feelings of belonging to Russia. Where previously the dissertation had established that those Russian speakers who think in terms of commonality with the Latvians and are willing to engage in contact have a greater sense of belonging to Latvia, the analysis of respondents with feelings of belonging to Russia showed that the greater the individual's expressed level of belonging to Russia, the more likely the respondent was to think of Latvians as different and avoid contact. Additionally, those Russian speakers with a stronger sense of belonging to Russia were more likely to express a preference for a segregated work environment and personal space. The avoidance of contact and lack of identification negatively impact the theoretical requirements of the Druckman scale, which outlines the necessary steps in the process of individual self-identification with a national group.

In terms of Latvian language knowledge and use, a sense of belonging to Russia did not directly impact the respondent's level of Latvian language or the willingness to speak the language, but a sense of belonging to Russia did demonstrate a positive correlation with a negative perception of Latvians and their characteristics amongst the Russian language speakers surveyed in 2004 and 2010. Again, such findings impact the willingness to engage in contact and identify with the national group. The findings of the influence and needs fulfillment dimensions of the sense of community theory were also affected by Russian speakers' expressed belonging to

Russia, as those expressing a greater attachment to Russia were less likely to believe in the freedom of expression in Latvia, and perceive a greater degree of discrimination based on ethnicity and citizenship status within the labor market.

What the empirical analysis of transnational ties shows is that multiple belongings, as such, do not necessarily have a negative correlation with the expressed sense of belonging to Latvia. However, in evaluating the influence multiple attachments have on the perception of the sense of community indicators, previously shown to strengthen a sense of belonging to Latvia, the findings differed. Where supranational attachments to Europe had no detectable impact on the sense of community indicators, external homeland belonging to Russia exerted a significant negative influence. Those survey respondents who expressed a stronger sense of attachment to Russia were also more likely to negatively perceive Latvians and their characteristics, avoid contact and prefer segregated work environments and personal space, believe to have limited rights and influence in Latvia, and have a heightened perception of discrimination, all factors which were previously shown to impact sense of belonging to Latvia. Hypothesis H1.6.2, stating that external homeland belonging to Russia will have a negative influence on the perception of sense of community indicators that strengthen a sense of belonging to Latvia was, thus, confirmed.

8. *National Identity, Civil Society and Integration 2012-2018*

This section presents an assessment of the recently adopted Latvian government policy guidelines on *National Identity, Civil Society and Integration Policy 2012-2018*.⁵⁰⁸ The review will look to the document in order to establish how the policy text defines and details the shortcomings of integration efforts in Latvia. Then the analysis will strive to understand the special role afforded to the concept of a sense of belonging within the integration context in Latvia and the document itself. As the theoretical section of the dissertation established, sense of community theory is an effective tool in bridging the relationship between integration and sense of belonging, thus, the policy review will be conducted within the parameters established by the sense of community theory. The analysis will try to ascertain within what dimensions of the sense of community theory is belonging emphasized in the Latvian

⁵⁰⁸ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011).

policy guidelines, and what factors does the policy suggest as contributing to sense of belonging facilitation and encouragement.

The focus areas identified in the document will then be compared with the empirical findings of the previous section on factors showing a correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia. This investigation will ascertain if the policy document is evidence based, if Latvian minority youths' feelings have been taken into account when drafting the new policy document, and how likely is the policy, with its specific focus, to succeed in achieving the stated goal in encouraging a sense of belonging to Latvia. The survey data findings included within the analysis will also highlight some policy spheres that have been less emphasized, such as contact promotion or evaluation of external homeland influence, to determine what kind of relationship these areas can have with the expressed sense of belonging to Latvia amongst Russian speakers.

8.1 Introduction to the Document

The Latvian government adopted the latest policy guidelines, drafted by the Ministry of Culture, in October of 2011. The key goal of the integration guidelines is to be found in section 1.4 stating that, "...the goal of Latvia's national identity, civil society and integration policy is a strong, cohesive people of Latvia; a national and democratic community which ensures the maintenance and enrichment of its unifying foundation – the Latvian language, culture, and national identity, European democratic values, its unique cultural space."⁵⁰⁹ Thus, the document calls for a combined approach to integration, focusing on both the national or cultural content of a national identity and the democratic principles as the foundation of integration.

As discussed in the theoretical section of the dissertation, this is the common approach to integration employed by most Western nations, favoring integration within one national community, delineated by a national identity. Thus, the Latvian integration policy does not envision the pursuit of cultural pluralism, or multiculturalism, and does not endorse the maintenance of various cultural identities and communities within one civic state framework. The integration document clearly states that the Latvian national identity is to be the foundation of integration in stating that, "The common basis for integration is the Latvian language, the feeling of

⁵⁰⁹ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011)., p. 10.

belonging to the Latvian state, and its democratic values, respect for Latvia's unique cultural space, and the development of a shared social memory.”⁵¹⁰

However, the emphasis on European democratic values, also suggests the civic aspect of the nation and the integration process. By referencing European democratic values and the unique cultural space of Europe as the foundation of integration, the Latvian policy document undoubtedly alludes to the European Union and the previously discussed European Council agreement on *Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the EU*,⁵¹¹ thus signaling its compliance and membership. Nevertheless, as discussed, the EU agreement is rather vague, and leaves room for interpretation, requiring only that the process of integration itself be interpreted as a two-way process of accommodation, with participation expected from the immigrants and their descendants, and the adherence to policies of non-discrimination and the promotion of equality from the member states. However, the fact that Latvia within the context of Europe is mentioned so early on in the document, does signal the significance of the expanded concept of a European membership that can be accessed through a Latvian identity.

The situation of Latvia, and the need for an integration policy, is described in sections 1.2 and 1.3. The document notes that integration has to combat the development of parallel worlds or the formation of a two-community society, characterized as division between two communities, where there is no common state language and integration does not take place on the basis of common values, cultural space, and shared social memory. “With the formation of a large Russian speaking community of immigrants during the occupation, signs of a two-community society can be observed; separate information spaces, and observable rift in political sphere based on national characteristics, differing social memories, language segregation at the workplace, in schools and kindergartens.”⁵¹²

This situation in Latvia, according to the document, is the result of the occupation, during which the Latvian state was unable to restrict immigration in any way. The majority of the immigrants are said to have arrived between the 1950's and the 1980's, “As a result of the deliberate Russification policy implemented by the Soviet Union which had the goal of securing Latvia as an inseparable part of the

⁵¹⁰ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011)., p. 5.

⁵¹¹ European Union Justice and Home Affairs Council (2004).

⁵¹² LR Kultūras ministrija (2011)., p. 7.

USSR....»⁵¹³ A significant portion of the immigrants, according to the document, have successfully integrated and gained Latvian citizenship. However, the portion that continue to be isolated, negatively influences the functioning of democracy and create social tension.⁵¹⁴

In defining what constitute immigrants, the document makes it a point to label the Russian speakers who arrived during the Soviet period and their descendants, who have not naturalized, as immigrants. This is done in section 1.1, in which concepts and terms used in the policy document are clarified.⁵¹⁵ The maintenance of this distinction between immigrants and national minorities, as discussed in the theoretical discussion of integration, is important because of the different integration requirements the groups may command and the special treatment that could be afforded to national minorities by way of international law and agreements. The Latvian government decision to emphasize this distinction in the integration policy guidelines in order to avoid any legal concessions, has been argued to be unfair, and even immoral. This is because, the document is mostly focusing on second generation representatives, with youths and children who have been born in Latvia and have grown up in Latvia, and Latvia is the only country they have ever known. The labeling of this group as immigrants is considered highly insensitive and counter-productive to integration efforts.⁵¹⁶

Very prominent in the document is the special role afforded to a sense of belonging. As alluded to in the dissertation introduction, the concept of belonging is mentioned roughly forty-five times in the policy document, in a wide variety of contexts ranging from; belonging in general, belonging to the Latvian state, nation, or cultural sphere, emphasizing belonging to Europe through European traditions, values, and principles and the Western way of thinking. Where the 2001 document had noted the lack of belonging, or connectedness to Latvia, as a result of integration shortcomings, it did not expand on how integration and a sense of belonging were interlinked. However, the 2012-2018 policy guidelines perceive a sense of belonging to have a very central role in the integration process, even using the concept in defining social integration by stating that, "...the basis of integration is the Latvian

⁵¹³ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011)., p. 10.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵¹⁶ Upleja, S. (2011). *Latvietis pareizais (The Correct Latvian)*. Politika.lv Viewed 17.10.2013 from <http://politika.lv/article/latvietis-pareizais>

language, sense of belonging to Latvia, and the democratic values, respect for the unique cultural sphere of Latvia, and formulation of cohesive social memory.”⁵¹⁷ The document emphasizes, that it is the state responsibility through social integration to, “...strengthen national identity, and the sense of belonging to Latvia....”⁵¹⁸

In Section 5 of the document, the policy results and outcome indicators for their achievement are set out. Here, once again, the prominent role afforded to feelings of belonging to Latvia in the integration policy is emphasized. The first integration policy goal suggested is, “Stronger feeling of belonging to Latvia among schoolchildren.”⁵¹⁹ As an indicator of outcome, an increase in expressed belonging to Latvia and Europe amongst schoolchildren in minority language programs of study is suggested. The proposed goal is to facilitate an environment in which 50 per cent of schoolchildren in minority programs express a ‘close’ or ‘very close’ attachment to Latvia by 2014, and 75 per cent to express ‘close’ or ‘very close’ attachment to Latvia by 2018.⁵²⁰ The policy document outlines various other hoped for policy results, and in order to establish how the state, within the context of integration policy, plans to strengthen the sense of belonging to Latvia, the dissertation section below uses the parameters established by the sense of community theory to analyze the policy document further in the proposed categories. As the main focus of the policy document is in strengthening the sense of belonging to Latvia amongst the minority schoolchildren, empirical findings of factors impacting Russian speaking youth’s feelings of belonging are compared with the proposed policy focus areas.

8.2. Policy Analysis – Membership / Shared Emotional Connection

In order to understand how the policy document addresses the various dimensions and where the emphasis is placed, the membership and shared emotional connection dimension will be looked at jointly. This is because in many instances it is very difficult to separate the elements which could be construed as specific to one or the other dimension, and some of the policy goals address both simultaneously, or are mutually reinforcing.

⁵¹⁷ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011)., p. 7.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

The membership dimension of sense of community theory has a focus on positive group identification, mutual understanding, conviction of belonging, and willingness to engage in contact. Additionally, language, as the main signifier of membership, can be looked at in relation to how it is operationalized within the integration document in order to facilitate belonging. The shared emotional connection dimension can be interpreted to stem from the membership dimension, building upon membership to facilitate a deeper inter-group connection. The emphasis for the shared emotional connection is on shared interests, social networks and primary relationships, positive and frequent contact, and identification with the overall national identity.

As discussed previously, the membership aspect of the sense of community theory draws parallels with the cultural integration dimension, and the shared emotional connection element draws parallels with interactive and identificational integration. Thus, in reading the document, a note was made of any mention or emphasis placed on group identification, values, norms, and national identity, encouragement of mutual understanding and positive feelings, shared experiences, sense of confidence in belonging, frequent and positive contact, and efforts to combat segregation. Because the document, in the very introduction affords a central role to language and culture as a means of signaling membership,⁵²¹ specific attention was paid to mention of these aspects within the policy guidelines.

In looking at how the document defines the membership boundaries, in the section defining concepts, the first concept that has to be noted is that of a constituent nation. According to the document a constituent nation is, “A nation which has created its own state and largely determines its national cultural identity. Latvians are the constituent nation in Latvia.”⁵²² Therefore, from the document introduction, it can be understood that Latvians are to determine the national cultural identity of Latvia. The document goes on to identify who is considered a Latvian, or construed as belonging within the membership boundaries, “Latvian is a person who by at least one national cultural criterion (especially language, culture, origin) and a feeling of subjective belonging, identifies himself as belonging to the Latvian nation.”⁵²³ The document also makes a special mention of the fact that the concept of a Latvian

⁵²¹ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011)., p. 7.

⁵²² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

should be understood within a wider context than that of Latvian citizen, because someone construed as belonging to the Latvian nation may not necessarily be a citizen.

Another, supposedly, inclusive concept is introduced when the document defines the people of Latvia. This is another membership category definition which, "...consists of all the citizens regardless of nationality and those belonging to the Latvian nation regardless of whether they are citizens or not."⁵²⁴ The conclusion that can be drawn from the offered definitions is that in order to belong to the membership community of Latvia it is important that a person has a subjective feeling of belonging, and adheres to, "...at least one national cultural criterion (especially language, culture, origin)."⁵²⁵

The emphasis on language and culture is reinforced, once again, when the document lists the factors conceived as uniting all the people of Latvia, or giving foundation to the Latvian identity, that being, "...the Latvian language, culture and a shared social memory...It is the common foundation, which connects all the people of Latvia..."⁵²⁶ As common values, the document once again places an emphasis on language and culture by defining common values as, "Latvian language and the Latvian cultural space, allegiance to Western democratic values: individual freedom and responsibility, rule of law, human dignity, human rights, tolerance of diversity, civic participation, and belief in ideas passed down from the Age of Enlightenment about progress and the ability of people to make a better world."⁵²⁷ The document, in Section 3.2, boldly states that a sense of belonging to Latvia can be strengthened by focusing on language and culture, by saying that, "The Latvian language and cultural space create the foundation for national identity; it strengthens a feeling of belonging to the nation and the Latvian state."⁵²⁸

Further, the document takes a significant amount of time, in comparison with the other policy focus areas, in outlining the integrative nature of the Latvian language. Section 3.2.1 is focused on Latvian knowledge and use, stating that, "A reduction in the use of the Latvian language would be a threat to the successful

⁵²⁴ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011)., p.5.

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.4.

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.6.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.6.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.14.

integration of society.”⁵²⁹ The document goes on, in Sections 3.2.2 and Section 3.2.3 to link language knowledge with economic factors, involvement in the labor market, opportunities for higher education, and democratic participation. The suggestion is made that in order to reach the policy goal of integration, “...policy of action must be supported by a corresponding legal regulation of language, its effective introduction and monitoring, further language training, and the motivation of minorities to use the Latvian language in the public sphere must be strengthened.”⁵³⁰ This would suggest that the policy writers are of the opinion that a higher level of language knowledge, and use, is likely to contribute to integration and facilitate a stronger sense of attachment to Latvia.

Surprisingly, in terms of membership and integration promoting factors, very little mention is made of the importance of inter-cultural/inter-ethnic contact. In one of the first sections of the document the promotion of inter-cultural dialogue, within the scope of the integration policy is tied to Latvian language knowledge and promotion.⁵³¹ In another section of the document, the encouragement of inter-cultural dialogue is tied to the promotion of professional arts and cultural institutions.⁵³² In Section 5, where the policy goals and outcome indicators are detailed, there is only one suggested area with a direct focus on inter-cultural contact promotion. That policy goal suggests the, “Development of inter-cultural dialogue with involvement of all target groups of integration policies,” and as the desired outcome lists the, “Increase in share of population who have a favorable attitude to representatives of other ethnic groups.”⁵³³ The policy goal of, “Increasing the share of the population that trust people of other ethnic backgrounds living in Latvia,”⁵³⁴ could also be construed as being concerned with inter-ethnic contact, though not directly.

The disproportionate amount of emphasis placed on language and culture for integration and sense of belonging encouragement by the policy guidelines is most evident in Section 5, where the policy goals and outcome indicators are listed. In total, there are six policy goals mentioned that could be interpreted as having a direct link with language. These vary from increasing the knowledge level of the Latvian

⁵²⁹ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011)., p.14.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.15.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, p.8.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, p.19.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, p.30.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.26.

language, increasing the number of people learning the national language in learning programs, better Latvian language skills in different age groups and education systems, support for retaining Latvian identity and language, and increasing use of Latvian in the public domain.⁵³⁵ Section 9, where the future suggested policy objectives and programs are listed, goes on to name countless other initiatives with the objective of strengthening the Latvian language position.

When looking at initiatives within the policy guidelines that could be understood in line with facilitating the shared emotional connection dimension of the sense of community theory, there are five policy goals suggested by Section 5 of the document. In promoting the shared emotional connection within the integration context, there is a specific focus on the shared social memory. As a policy area of focus, the document lists the following as priority, “Majority of the public has a shared understanding of the occupation of Latvia”, “An increasing number of ethnic minority representatives identify themselves with the democratic Republic of Latvia instated in 1918”, and “Higher participation of ethnic minorities in celebrating national days related to Latvian history”.⁵³⁶

Supplementing the focus on social memory and identification with Latvian history, seen as vital for integration and a shared emotional connection, the policy document makes mention of the relationship between Latvian culture and minority belonging. Section 5 lists the following policy goal, “Stronger affiliation to Latvia among ethnic minorities and their participation in culture”.⁵³⁷ The suggested outcome indicator is an increase in the, “Number of amateur art groups from the minorities participating in the Song and Dance Festival”.⁵³⁸ At the same time, the document also lists as a policy goal, “Provision of ethnic minorities with possibility for maintaining their ethnic identity.”⁵³⁹

8.2.1. Empirical Section Findings – Membership / Shared Emotional Connection

The empirical analysis of Russian language speaking youths’ survey data from 2004 and 2010, was able to validate several hypothesis stemming from the

⁵³⁵ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011)., p. 26-31.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 32.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

operationalization of the sense of community theory membership and shared emotional connection dimensions. Within the membership dimension, the empirical analysis validated hypotheses H1.1.1 and H1.1.2, which suggested that identification with the host society, favorable orientation toward the group, thinking in terms of commonality and not ethnicity, and willingness to engage in contact, will have a consistent positive correlation with the expressed sense of belonging to Latvia. The shared emotional connection dimension hypotheses H1.2.1, H1.2.2, and H1.2.3 were also validated and sense of belonging was shown to have a consistent positive correlation with friendship based on common interests and not ethnicity, favorable emotional group perception, and the identification of Latvia as homeland.

The empirical analysis, however, was unable to substantiate hypothesis H1.1.3, which suggested that language knowledge and use will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia. The data was inconsistent, demonstrating a positive correlation in 2004 based on self-evaluation of language knowledge and frequency of use, but a negative correlation in the 2010 data set. In light of the applicable research review the findings are unsurprising, as previously it has been pointed out that minorities, “...recognize Latvian language skills only as a resource...”⁵⁴⁰

However, the policy analysis above demonstrates that the document attaches additional meanings to language and culture, not simply as tools for integration, but as foundation elements for the promotion and facilitation of feelings of belonging to Latvia. The empirical data refutes this and suggests that the *National Identity, Civil Society and Integration 2012-2018* policy document is incorrect in assuming that higher levels of language knowledge and use are likely to contribute to integration and facilitate a stronger sense of attachment to Latvia amongst the Russian language speakers. If the Latvian integration policy goal is to foster a sense of belonging to Latvia, then the empirical analysis of the Russian speaking minority youths suggests that the emphasis placed on language and culture in the policy guidelines is unlikely to achieve the stated goal, as language knowledge and use do not show a consistent positive correlation with the expressed sense of belonging to Latvia. There seems to be a serious misfit between policy with its emphasis on language, and the stated goal of integration to achieve a sense of belonging to Latvia, as the current approach lacks

⁵⁴⁰ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2006)., p. 22.

justification for assuming that a sense of belonging to Latvia, in this manner, will be achieved.

The 2011 policy document should concentrate less on emphasizing language and culture, within the scope of promoting a shared emotional connection, and instead focus on promoting more positive and frequent inter-ethnic contact and aid in building primary relationships based on shared interests. The promotion of positive inter-cultural dialogue is likely to yield positive outcomes, as the 2004 and 2010 Russian speaking youth data set confirmed that those respondents who positively identified with the group and engage in contact expressed a stronger sense of belonging to Latvia. However, as discussed in the applicable research review, Kunda's has already pointed out the lack of inter-ethnic contact promotion in Latvian integration policy approach thus far, and has cautioned against too much reliance on self-initiated projects for inter-ethnic contact development.⁵⁴¹

According to the policy analysis above, the guidelines do highlight one applicable policy goal which suggests the, "Development of inter-cultural dialogue with involvement of all target groups of integration policies," and as the desired outcome lists the, "Increase in share of population who have a favorable attitude to representatives of other ethnic groups."⁵⁴² However, in comparison with the sheer amount of mention made of language and culture, it is clear that the policy guidelines continue to underestimate and undervalue the importance of inter-ethnic, inter-cultural dialogue promotion and encouragement for the facilitation of feelings of belonging to Latvia.

Additionally, in the empirical analysis of the survey data the perception of Latvia as homeland was shown to consistently have a positive correlation with the Russian language speaking youths' expressed sense of belonging to Latvia. However, as the applicable research review indicated, Russian language speaking youths have a very confused and uncertain understanding of what constitutes their 'homeland'. In another survey, only 55 per cent could identify a specific location that represents their 'homeland', with 36 per cent choosing Latvia, and 19 per cent choosing Russia.⁵⁴³ Thus, the integration policy document should devote attention to the cognitive processes shaping the recognition of a territory as homeland, and encourage Russian

⁵⁴¹ Kunda, I. (2010).

⁵⁴² LR Kultūras ministrija (2011)., p.30.

⁵⁴³ Šūpule, I. (2004a)., p. 10.

language speaking youths to think of Latvia as homeland and to identify with Latvia as their motherland

8.3. Policy Analysis – Influence / Needs Fulfillment

The influence element of the sense of community theory requires advances in the structural dimension of integration, specifically concentrating on individual voice, involvement in the decision making process, equal opportunities, and involvement in civic activities. As discussed, the sense of community theory maintains that for sense of belonging development, influence and participation play a key role as, “Members are more attracted to a community in which they feel that they are influential.”⁵⁴⁴ The 2011 document, in one of the first sections, seems to support the assumption of the sense of community theory that participation will influence overall feelings of attachment by stating that, “An active and participative society strengthens community cohesion and a feeling of belonging to the Latvian democratic state.”⁵⁴⁵ Thus, the document sets for itself as a task to, “...reduce the barriers for the development of Latvia’s civil society, promoting residents’ civic participation skills and opportunities to become involved in the solution of society’s common issues.”⁵⁴⁶

The Introduction section defines the concepts and civil society as follows:

...the central element of a democratic state, which is characterized by individual responsibility for the common problems of society and the state, as well as by the ability to work together on reaching a common goal and participation in the making of decisions through democratic institutions. An active civil society promotes the development of the state and national cohesion, and participation in civil society increases each person’s social capital.⁵⁴⁷

Thus, the dimensions of individual voice and responsibility and participation in the decision making process are highlighted. Further, civic participation is said to be achieved, “...by involvement in various organizations, political parties and by

⁵⁴⁴ McMillan, D., Chavis, D. (1986)., p. 12.

⁵⁴⁵ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011)., p. 7.

⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9-10.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

participating in elections, meetings, marches and pickets, by doing voluntary work and making donations etc.”⁵⁴⁸

Section 3.1.1 states that, “Civic participation helps to create a lasting connection between the individual and the state...”⁵⁴⁹, once again, emphasizing the assumption that civic participation will contribute to stronger feelings of belonging to Latvia. The section goes on to very honestly discuss why political participation in the recent years has been so low, attributing this to the, “...lack of belief of residents in their ability to influence social and political processes.”⁵⁵⁰ In order to combat this, and increase civic participation, the 2011 document suggests civic education through the formal education process, combating alienation and discrimination, promoting learning through the experience of participation in civic society organizations and associations.

In the section dealing with Civic Education (3.1.2), the document, once again, very honestly describes the shortcomings in the Latvian situation. According to the document, the achievements of Latvian students in the area of civic education are lower than other EU state indicators. Latvia’s young people are even said to stand out amongst the Baltic States in terms of their poor knowledge about civil society systems, principles, civic participation, and in their expressed negative attitudes toward the state. Specifically, the Russian speaking pupils are singled out, and their survey results are taken to suggest, “...a greater estrangement from the state in minority schools.”⁵⁵¹ Thus, the document calls for specific government policy to address the young people’s insufficient civic education and the resulting shortcomings in participatory skills.⁵⁵²

In regards to combating discrimination, the document states that, “In the context of civic participation, the state’s obligation is to guarantee that no individual or group in the community is discriminated against due to their different identity and that they can participate equally in civil society.”⁵⁵³ Of importance, according to the document, is the principle that anyone has the right to express their views and opinions freely, and participate in the decision making process. The policy guidelines

⁵⁴⁸ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011), p. 5.

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

go on to suggest several projects that are already being implemented, or that should be implemented, in order to raise awareness about discrimination, educate through workshops and trainings, and education measures.

The document places significant emphasis on non-governmental organizations (NGO's) as coordinators of individual voice and as social partners in the process of representing public interest in the decision making process. Thus, the document suggests that integration policy has to, "...promote the institutional capacity of associations and the qualitative participation of NGO's in the decision-making process."⁵⁵⁴ Further, the document suggests that the integration policy, along with support for non-governmental organizations, has to encourage, "...the development of new forms of participation characteristic of civic activities in Latvia – community funds, resident forums, informal associations and the use of social media."⁵⁵⁵ This suggests that the government and policy writers believe that the target audience of these initiatives is involved in civic initiatives, in non-governmental organizations and associations, and further, that such involvement contributes directly to their sense of belonging to Latvia.

In Section 5, outlining policy results and outcome indicators for their achievement, in total four policy goals can be classified as focused on increasing participation, promoting civic involvement, and representation. The first policy goal is, "Broader involvement of people in forms of civic participation."⁵⁵⁶ The applicable indicators are an increase in the, "Share of people who believe they can influence the decision making process in Latvia" and increasing the number of NGO's per person in Latvia. The document also suggests multiplying the, "Number of active immigrant NGOs and NGOs representing their interests."⁵⁵⁷ Under other results of implemented policies and output indicators the document lists, "Better awareness of democracy and participatory skills among young people" and, "Promotion of broader involvement in civic participation of different forms."⁵⁵⁸

The needs fulfillment dimension of the sense of community theory underscores the importance of individual access to goods and economic resources within society. The access has to be viewed as equal and economic capital has to be

⁵⁵⁴ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011), p.11.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

believed to be fairly distributed. Of importance for the development of feelings of belonging, in addition to the perception of equality, is the ability of the individual to imagine one's future well-being. Thus, an individual has to feel that his chosen country of residence, and the national community, affords him the opportunity to fulfill his needs, and as such associates his own future well-being with the well-being of the national community.

Particularly applicable to the sense of community categorization, within the 2011 policy document is the concern with the level of perceived discrimination, improving measures to report discrimination, and awareness raising. The document identifies discrimination as one of the problems hindering integration, stating that, "There is no comprehensive system of monitoring and preventing discrimination. There is a lack of regular research and awareness campaigns on social exclusion and discrimination in Latvian society."⁵⁵⁹ The document not only voices concern with the level of perceived discrimination, but also suggests measures to guarantee equal access to public institutions. However, the policy is not only concerned with Russian speaker discrimination, it also states that, "Unjustified requirements for Russian language skills and use of the language in the workplace setting are gaining a foothold. This is discriminatory for Latvians in the labor market."⁵⁶⁰ Thus, the document hints at some noted tension in the employment sector in regard to employer language preferences, and once again, voices the need for Latvian language protection.

Section 5, where the policy goals and outcome indicators are listed, makes note of five policy results that can be classified as concerned with improving needs fulfillment in line with the understanding of the sense of community theory. There are two policy goals mentioned which aim to raise awareness of discrimination.⁵⁶¹ The goal is to lessen the likelihood that a minority would encounter a situation where he would feel his citizenship status or ethnic background has influenced his access to economic resources or public institutions. Two policy goals are centered on increasing the participation of minority representative in the public sector, while at the same time encouraging the acceptance of minorities in public sector positions.⁵⁶² The

⁵⁵⁹ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011), p. 25.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 26, p. 30.

document envisions making available a greater selection of available posts and employment opportunities intended to help fulfill needs and encourage self-realization within the existing environment. Finally, the document also suggests a policy goal in terms of lessening the difference in unemployment data and proposes to decrease the, “Share of ethnic groups among the long term unemployed”.⁵⁶³ The above stated policy goals intend to facilitate an environment in which the minority can imagine his future well-being, and thus, hopefully encourage his sense of belonging to Latvia.

The below section of the dissertation will present the findings of the empirical analysis of influence and needs fulfillment dimensions, and try establish how justified the policy is in placing emphasis on civic participation in hopes of fostering a sense of belonging to Latvia. The survey data analysis also shows how the economic climate influences the sense of belonging to Latvia in terms of perceived future opportunities. Additionally, the survey data will show if discrimination, or the perception of discrimination, has a real strong presence in shaping feelings of belonging, and thus, if the policy document should devote as much attention to the stated goals of lessening prejudice.

8.3.1. Empirical Section Findings – Influence / Needs

Fulfillment

The operationalized analysis of the influence and needs fulfillment dimensions of the sense of community theory were able to validate only two, of the five, suggested hypotheses. In the Russian speaking youths’ data sets analyzed, the belief in the ability to express views freely in Latvia had a consistent positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia, and the lack of perceived discrimination within the economic sector had a positive consistent correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia. The other hypothesis, stemming from the sense of community theory and academic literature, on the impact of influence in the decision making process, civic participation, and the ability to envision future opportunities, had an inconsistent correlation with sense of belonging to Latvia amongst the Russian language speaking youths.

The empirical findings cast serious doubt on the assertion of the 2011 policy document that, “An active and participative society strengthens community cohesion

⁵⁶³ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011), p.27.

and a feeling of belonging to the Latvian democratic state.”⁵⁶⁴ Further, the document asserts that civic participation is said to be achieved, “...by involvement in various organizations, political parties and by participating in elections, meetings, marches and pickets, by doing voluntary work and making donations etc.”⁵⁶⁵ The analysis of the empirical data, especially from 2004 when the minority involvement in organizations, meetings, and marches and pickets reached an unprecedented level and was driven by the opposition to state policy, shows that participation in itself is unlikely to facilitate feelings of belonging to the Latvian democratic state. Of importance are the causes, and the achieved results of previous attempts of participation and the resulting influence exerted on decision making processes. If anything, the comparison of 2004 data with 2010 data shows that the negative experience of participation, or the lack of influence as a result of participation, has reduced the will of Russian language speakers to be involved and participate. Also, because the actions of 2004 can be construed as having been against the state proposed policy, those Russian speakers who express a stronger sense of belonging to Latvia in 2010 are less likely to consider it as necessary to be involved to defend one’s own interests and viewpoints.

The policy document very honestly acknowledges that participation in recent years has been low due to the, “...lack of belief of residents in their ability to influence social and political processes.”⁵⁶⁶ This statement is corroborated by the findings of other Latvian researchers, discussed in the research review section, showing that very few Latvians and Russian speakers take part in civic activities or organizations because they see the activities as ‘pointless’, or ‘not necessary’.⁵⁶⁷ The confirmed hypothesis H1.3.1 showed that a belief in freedom of expression had a consistent and positive correlation with the sense of belonging to Latvia. Thus, the document is correct in asserting that it is of importance to invest in and facilitate civic education, increase the conviction that everyone can participate equally in civil society and express views and opinions freely, and specifically, work to reduce the estrangement of Russian speaking pupils from the Latvian state.

⁵⁶⁴ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011), p. 7.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.10.

⁵⁶⁷ Stašulāne, I. (ed.) (2005), p. 65.

However, one of the suggested means of achieving the above stated goal is by increasing the number of NGO's per person in Latvia and increasing the minority participation in the non-governmental organizations. The survey data analysis, which showed that involvement in organizations or associations had an inconsistent correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia, would suggest that the policy guidelines are incorrect in assuming that civic involvement in organizations or associations, on which the document places such an emphasis, will lead to a greater sense of belonging to Latvia. Even at the height of involvement, only 17 per cent of the Russian speaking students were participating, and there was no significant positive correlation between participation in civic activities and a sense of belonging to Latvia.

Hypothesis H1.4.2 confirmed that the lack of perceived discrimination within the economic sector had a positive correlation with the expressed sense of belonging to Latvia. Thus, the 2011 policy document is correct in specifying that discrimination, or the perception of discrimination, has a real influence on the integration process and feelings of belonging.⁵⁶⁸ The suggested policy goals intended on raising awareness about discrimination and implementing effective measures to combat discrimination, if successful, are likely to have a positive impact on Russian speaker sense of belonging to Latvia. Also, the document has to be praised for setting forth as a goal to lessen the likelihood of a situation occurring where a minority would feel that his citizenship status or ethnic background has influenced his access to economic resources or public institutions. The empirical analysis of Russian language speaking youth data showed that the statement, 'Nationality, not professional skills or knowledge, is important when getting a job in Latvia' had a statistically significant, negative correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia in both 2004 and 2010.

The lack of consistent correlation for hypothesis H1.4.1, testing the impact envisioned future opportunities in Latvia have with a sense of belonging, was argued to be heavily influenced by the socio-economic environment of 2010 when Latvia was still experiencing the after effects of the economic crisis. This suggests that a sense of belonging is very much influenced by rational economic considerations such as employment and education opportunities, and that global economic processes play a significant role in cementing felt attachments. The policy document is correct in outlining goals to make available to minorities a wider variety of public sector posts

⁵⁶⁸ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011), p. 25.

and encouraging their acceptance within these posts, thus, encouraging self-realization within the existing environment. It is also commendable that the document intends to decrease the share of minorities experiencing long term unemployment, as the research review of the dissertation pointed out that Hazans has long argued that inclusion in the labor market can facilitate cultural, linguistic, and social integration.⁵⁶⁹

The policy document does correctly identify various areas of concern that have, through the empirical analysis, been shown to exert a considerable influence on feelings of belonging to Latvia. Policy goals looking to combat discrimination, unemployment, increase the belief in one's freedom of expression, have to be praised. However, the focus on civic participation, specifically increasing involvement in organizations and associations, is ill conceived. From the Russian speaking minority youth survey data it is clear that civic participation, specifically involvement in organizations or associations, is on the decline. Increasing the scope and number of non-governmental organizations and trusting those organizations to bring together and represent public interest in the decision making process is unlikely to promote a greater sense of belonging to Latvia. Additionally, in future policy planning the economically driven concerns of not only minorities, but all residents of Latvia, need to be taken into consideration when looking to solidify feelings of belonging within the globalized world. As in comparison with other dimensions of the sense of community theory, economic and needs fulfillment concerns are significantly underrepresented, even though surveys have continuously pointed out that economic processes and economic welfare could be one of the main integration promoting factors in Latvia.⁵⁷⁰

8.4. Policy Analysis – Citizenship and Belonging

The discussion of citizenship, within the 2011 policy guidelines is actually very limited. Citizenship and non-citizen issues are listed as one of the problems hindering integration, and requiring specific government policy attention, when the document states that, “Non-citizens are becoming less motivated to acquire Latvian citizenship, naturalization is slowing down, and the possibilities for political

⁵⁶⁹ Hazans, M. (2010), p. 153.

⁵⁷⁰ Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2004c), pp. 9-10.

participation resulting from Latvian citizenship do not lead to sufficient motivation for naturalization.”⁵⁷¹

There is a short section in the document, Section 3.1.3, dedicated to citizenship issues and the document does state that, “A reduction in the number of non-citizens will be an important challenge for integration policy...”⁵⁷² Further, the document’s understanding of the role of citizenship emphasizes both the formal membership connection and the emotional component by stating that, “Latvian citizenship is the basis for creating a lasting legal connection with the Latvian state.”⁵⁷³ Thus, the formal legal aspect of belonging through citizenship is emphasized. In the context of the globalization and mobility of people in the 21st century, the document goes on to state that, “...to maintain and consolidate people’s feeling of belonging to the state, Latvia’s citizenship policy has to simultaneously be both principled as well as flexible.”⁵⁷⁴ This emphasizes the emotional component of citizenship, and that citizenship status is seen by the policy document as anchoring, or maintaining, one’s feelings of belonging to Latvia.

Within Section 5, outlining policy results and outcome indicators for their achievement, citizenship as a policy result is only mentioned once. The stated goal is, “Lower number of non-citizens and higher awareness level on citizenship issues across the population.”⁵⁷⁵ The proposed outcome indicators are a, “Lower share of non-citizens among residents of Latvia” and, “A higher number of persons per year who have acquired citizenship through naturalization.”⁵⁷⁶ Later the document proposes support for activities, “...aimed at promoting growth of the proportion of citizens in Latvia and motivation of non-citizens to acquire Latvian citizenship.”⁵⁷⁷ However, it only suggests one initiative within the scope of civic participation. Thus, it can be concluded, that the document does foresee that there is a positive relationship between the status of citizenship and feelings of belonging to Latvia, however, there is no obvious emphasis placed on naturalization as a means of integration and of fostering a sense of belonging to Latvia.

⁵⁷¹ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011)., p. 25.

⁵⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

8.4.1. Empirical Section Findings – Citizenship and Belonging

Previous studies, discussed in the research review section of the dissertation, have already suggested that in the Latvian case citizenship does not necessarily correlate with Russian language speaker feelings of attachment to Latvia.⁵⁷⁸ However, the policy document claims that the role of citizenship is to, “... maintain and consolidate people’s feeling of belonging to the state...”⁵⁷⁹, thus, it was the goal of the empirical analysis to establish the correlation between citizenship status of Russian speaking youths and their sense of belonging to Latvia. Hypothesis H1.5 suggested that formal membership, or citizenship, will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia.

In 2004 there was a weak positive correlation, those Russian speaking students with citizenship did express a stronger sense of attachment to Latvia, however, in 2010 no such correlation could be detected. The empirical analysis was unable to validate H1.5 as the data was inconsistent and seemed to support the findings of Tabuns and suggest that in the Latvian case, citizenship status does not necessarily contribute to the strength of Russian speaker sense of belonging to Latvia. Also, those desiring to acquire citizenship were not confirmed to be doing so because of the strength of their attachment to Latvia. Citizenship status alone will not anchor feelings of belonging, and thus, the 2011 document is correct in placing only minimal emphasis on the integrative capacity of citizenship.

It is not enough to simply award citizenship to all residents and expect durable attachments to form, of importance are the actual rights and privileges citizenship bestows, and the sacrifices, in terms of ethnic identity, that are required in return for citizenship. As the central argument of the book *Citizenship in Diverse Societies* makes clear, sense of belonging to a common overarching citizenship identity can only be achieved if members are afforded full and active participation in the larger society, while also retaining a minority identity if desired.⁵⁸⁰ In light of the above, and the focus the 2011 policy guidelines place on non-discrimination and participation, it is interesting to note that no mention is made of voting rights for non-citizens as an

⁵⁷⁸ Tabuns, A. (2005).

⁵⁷⁹ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011)., p. 13.

⁵⁸⁰ Kymlicka, W., Wayne, N. (eds.) (2000).

integrative tool, although this is a topic that has been on numerous occasions addressed by both international organizations⁵⁸¹ and local academics.⁵⁸²

8.5. Policy Analysis - Belonging and Transnational Ties

Where the 2001 integration document was preoccupied with indivisible loyalties, mentioning loyalty as the end goal of integration, and seen as opposing external homeland relationships and transnational links, the 2011 integration policy guidelines make no mention of the concept of loyalty. The document even highlights the particularities of integration in the modern age by emphasizing that the Latvian state's national policy has to respond to the challenges of the 21st century and understand that many Latvians are headed for job opportunities within the European Union.⁵⁸³

Transnational links and multiple belonging are addressed in the document only from the Latvian perspective by citing the need for, "Supporting Latvians living in other countries to have a feeling of belonging to the Latvian cultural space can be considered to be a special policy direction."⁵⁸⁴ The special policy direction further stipulated that, "State policy on national identity and societal integration, including citizenship policy, has to be concerned with strengthening national identity, a feeling of belonging to Latvia, and to include within it every Latvian, every Latvian citizen, no matter where they are located, as well as encouraging their return to Latvia".⁵⁸⁵ Thus, as discussed by Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller⁵⁸⁶ in the theoretical section of the dissertation, Latvia is positioning itself as the external homeland for its Latvian diaspora abroad, encouraging the maintenance of bonds and hoping to stall the full assimilation of Latvians into their host societies. The policy document envisions

⁵⁸¹ See: United Nations (2003). *Concluding Observations of the Human Rights Committee: Latvia*. 06/11/2003. U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/79/LVA. Paragraph 18. Viewed 18.10.2013 from <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/hrcommittee/latvia2003.html>; Council of Europe (2006). *Rights of National Minorities in Latvia*. Resolution 1527, Paragraph 12. Adopted 17.11.2006. Viewed 18.10.2013 from <http://assembly.coe.int/main.asp?Link=/documents/adoptedtext/ta06/eres1527.htm>; European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (2008). *Third Report on Latvia*. 29/06/2007. Adopted 29.06.2007. Viewed 18.10.2013 from http://hudoc.ecri.coe.int/XML/Ecri/ENGLISH/Cycle_03/03_CbC_eng/LVA-CbC-III-2008-2-ENG.pdf, p. 37.

⁵⁸² See: Brands Kehris, I. (2010).; Makarovs, V., Dimitrovs, A. (2009). *Latvijas Nepilsoņi un Balsstiesības: Kompromisi un Risinājumi*. Rīga: Soros Foundation.

⁵⁸³ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011)., p. 7.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵⁸⁶ Guarnizo, L.E., Portes, A., Haller, W. (2003).

providing concrete support for programs that support this special policy direction and these numerous projects are outlined within Section 9.⁵⁸⁷

Once again, as in the 2001 document, belonging and identification with Europe and the resulting transnational ties, are not seen as negative, or taking away from belonging to Latvia, but instead viewed as supplemental to the integration process. As the policy principles in Section 2 highlight, belonging to Europe is a positive, and that, “The societal integration policy must strengthen the ties between Latvian and European identity, and must strengthen Europe’s common social memory in Latvia.”⁵⁸⁸ Further, the document even proposes two projects within Section 9 for, “Strengthening of the European dimension in the Latvian cultural space”⁵⁸⁹ and lists the promotion of interest in local Latvian and European history side by side in the medium term policy goals and activities area.⁵⁹⁰

In terms of transnational attachments, the new policy document emphasizes the role of Latvia in maintaining transnational ties with the Latvian diaspora abroad. The new policy document event states that, “A long-term policy is needed which would allow Latvians living in other countries, including those who do not plan to return for a long time, to maintain their identity and connection with Latvia.”⁵⁹¹ However, the document makes no mention of how it views the immigrant or minority transnational ties with their respective external homelands, or how these ties might influence their sense of belonging to Latvia. The only positive example of transnational ties, that is seen to strengthen the sense of belonging to Latvia and enrich the Latvian identity, is belonging to Europe, which is to be encouraged through state supported programs.

Section 5, within the policy results and outcomes indicators, lists two policy goals with an emphasis on European identification, most notably, “Increasing the number of people of Latvia who feel more affiliated with European history and a growing feeling of affiliation with the EU.”⁵⁹² The focus on transnational links seems to be a long term project for Latvia, as Section 9 in listing future proposed tasks and activities, also mentions the following initiative, “To support young people’s

⁵⁸⁷ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011)., pp. 53-55, pp. 59-61.

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 32..

transnational initiatives in the field of civic participation, interest education and learning experience.”⁵⁹³

8.5.1. Empirical Section Findings - Belonging and Transnational Ties

As the analysis of the *National Identity, Civil Society and Integration Policy 2012-2018* guidelines concluded above, belonging to Europe, feelings of belonging to Europe, and identification with European traditions, values and principles is something that is understood to supplement Latvian belonging. Thus, supranational belonging to Europe and the resulting ties and attachments are not seen as a negative, or taking way from belonging to Latvia, but instead are encouraged by the Latvian official policy guidelines overseeing social integration. In order to test if such a conclusion is warranted, hypotheses H1.6 and H1.6.1 were tested in the empirical data sets of Russian speaking youths. Hypothesis H1.6 suggested that multiple belongings, in this case to Europe, do not have a negative correlation with the expressed sense of belonging to Latvia. The aim of hypothesis H1.6.1 was to test if by strengthening the European dimension of the Latvian identity, stronger ties to Latvia and a more positive perception of the sense of community indicators, was to be expected.

In terms of European belonging, the empirical analysis concluded that H1.6 could be validated, as in the correlation analysis between a sense of belonging to Europe and a sense of belonging to Latvia, no negative correlation was to be found. In fact, in 2010 there was significant positive correlation between the two variables, and the closer a respondent felt to Europe, the stronger his sense of belonging to Latvia. Thus, the policy document is justified in promoting a European identity and emphasizing identification with European values, traditions, and culture, as supranational belonging to Europe does not detract from feelings of belonging to Latvia. However, the policy guidelines should not anticipate that the promotion of a sense of belonging to Europe will have a positive impact on the perception of the sense of community indicators shown to impact feelings of belonging to Latvia. Hypothesis H1.6.1 could not be validated, and the empirical analysis showed a consistent lack of significant statistical correlations between any of the factors

⁵⁹³ LR Kultūras ministrija (2011), p. 41.

operationalized to measure sense of community indicators and the respondents' feelings of belonging to Europe.

Transnational ties and multiple belongings are mentioned in the policy guidelines document only in relation to Europe as a means through which to encourage a sense of belonging to Latvia, and in the scope of Latvia as the external homeland for the Latvian diaspora community abroad. The document makes no mention of how it views immigrant or minority transnational ties with their respective external homelands, or how these attachments might influence their sense of belonging to Latvia. However, concern with Russian speaker belonging to Latvia has often been linked with the influence of the external homeland of Russia. The often employed understanding, as in the 2001 integration document, has been that belonging, or loyalty, is exclusive and as such external homeland belonging impedes the social integration process. The theoretical section discussion of research from other parts of the world suggests that transnational involvement and ties do not necessarily impede the integration process, and that these processes can even be positively related. Thus, the empirical analysis of the dissertation wanted to test if the 2011 policy document is justified in neglecting to pay specific attention to the influence external homeland belonging to Russia can have on the set goal of promoting a stronger sense of belonging to Latvia amongst the Russian language speakers.

As above, hypothesis H1.6 established that multiple belongings as such, in this case to Russia, do not necessarily have a negative correlation with the expressed sense of belonging to Latvia. Thus, an argument can be made that the 2011 policy document is justified in failing to specifically require undivided loyalty and an exclusive sense of belonging to Latvia, as a sense of belonging to Latvia and a sense of belonging to Russia were found not to be mutually exclusive. However, the various aspects of the sense of community theory, that were previously established by the empirical analysis to have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia, displayed significantly different properties when looked at in correlation with the respondents' level of belonging to Russia.

Integration policy has to become mindful and counterbalance the influence a sense of belonging to Russia exerts on the Russian language speakers' perception of integration and sense of belonging promoting factors in Latvia. Those Russian speakers in 2004 and 2010, who felt a stronger sense of attachment to Russia, were

more likely to avoid contact with Latvians, prefer a segregated work environment and personal space, and generally dislike Latvians and their characteristics. Such a mindset impacts the Russian language speakers' willingness to engage in contact and identify with the national group, ultimately negatively impacting their sense of belonging to Latvia. A sense of belonging to Russia also exerted sway on the perception of influence and needs fulfillment dimensions of the sense of community theory. The respondents with a greater sense of attachment to Russia were more likely to perceive discrimination based on ethnicity and citizenship status in the labor market, and have less of a conviction of their rights to freedom of expression in Latvia. Just as Latvia, in the 2011 policy guidelines, is positioning itself as the external homeland to its diaspora abroad and looking to stall their full assimilation elsewhere, a sense of belonging to Russia can be shown to defer the Russian language speakers willingness to fully integrate and deter their sense of belonging to Latvia.

DISSERTATION CONCLUSIONS

In fulfilling the aims set forth by the dissertation, the work first compiled a comprehensive overview of theoretical literature on sense of belonging and integration. The resulting theoretical contribution of this dissertation is in identifying and justifying the appropriate framework, the sense of community theory, within which to show how the process of integration is interlinked with sense of belonging development. The result is a novel approach to the study of feelings of belonging within the context of social integration. From the theoretical discussion and the operationalization of the sense of community theory, hypotheses to be tested in the Latvian case were put forward.

The dissertation recognizes that in each country and group of individuals feelings of belonging are shaped by different historical experiences, structural constraints, and cultural influence. Thus, in each particular instance the context has to be studied in order to understand to what extent certain elements, or dimensions of the sense of community theory, shape feelings of belonging. The Russian speaker's case in Latvia was thoroughly introduced and the appropriate target group for the empirical analysis and the testing of the sense of community theory selected.

In testing the theoretical assumptions of belonging and integration, through secondary data analysis of Russian speaking youths in Latvia in 2004 and 2010, the dissertation concludes that the following hypotheses could be validated:

- H1.1.1: Identification with the group shows a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia.
- H1.1.2: Inter-group contact, willingness to engage in contact shows a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia.
- H1.2.1: Shared interests show a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia.
- H1.2.2: Favorable perception of the group shows a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia.
- H1.2.3: Considering Latvia as homeland shows a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia.
- H1.3.1: Ability to express views freely shows a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia.

- H1.4.2: Lack of perceived discrimination within the economic shows a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia.
- H1.6: Multiple belongings do not necessarily have a negative correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia.

Hypotheses that were put forward, through the operationalization of the sense of community theory, but could not be validated because of inconsistencies were:

- H1.1.3: Language knowledge and use will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia.
- H1.3.2: The power to influence decision making will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia.
- H1.3.3: Civic participation will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia.
- H1.4.1: Envisioning future opportunities in Latvia will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia.
- H1.5: Formal membership, or citizenship, will have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia.
- H1.6.1: A sense of belonging to Europe will have positive influence on the perception of sense of community indicators that strengthen a sense of belonging to Latvia.

Thus, the sense of community theory is only partially able to forecast consistently the factors showing a correlation with the sense of belonging of Russian speaking youths' to Latvia. The analysis demonstrates that the economic climate, global processes, and political context also exert a significant sway on the factors influencing belonging.

The dissertation, in the empirical section, also establishes that significant influence is exerted on the perception of the sense of community indicators by external homeland belonging to Russia. Hypothesis H1.6.2 suggesting external homeland belonging to Russia has a negative influence on the perception of sense of community indicators that strengthen a sense of belonging to Latvia was validated. The empirical analysis concluded that a sense of belonging to Russia has a positive and consistent correlation with the following statements:

- 'I avoid contacts with Latvians, because I don't like them; Latvians are completely different than my people';
- 'I would prefer a job where all my colleagues are Russian speakers';

- ‘I feel best when only Russians or Russian speakers are around me’;
- ‘Latvians are snooty and speak only to those people who speak the Latvian language’;
- ‘Recently I have begun to dislike Latvians’;
- ‘Getting a job in Latvia, professional qualifications are not important, while citizenship issues are – citizens are given the advantage’;
- ‘Nationality, not professional knowledge, is important when getting a job in Latvia’.

A negative correlation between a sense of belonging to Russia and the following two statements was also established:

- ‘In Latvia, I have an opportunity to express my views freely on any issue at all’
- ‘In Latvia, everyone has an equal opportunity to influence the taking of decisions’.

These findings lead to the conclusion that those surveyed respondents who expressed a stronger sense of attachment to Russia were also more likely to negatively perceive Latvians and their characteristics, avoid contact and prefer segregated work environments and personal space, believe to have limited rights and influence in Latvia, and have a heightened perception of discrimination in the labor market. All of the above are factors that had previously been shown to have a significant correlation with the sense of belonging to Latvia.

In conducting the policy analysis of *National Identity, Civil Society and Integration 2012-2018* guidelines, the dissertation concludes that the integration policy aims to facilitate a sense of belonging to Latvia mainly through the promotion of language and culture, focusing on the cultural and identificational dimensions of integration. If it is the intention of the Latvian integration policy to foster a sense of belonging to Latvia, then the analysis of Russian speaking minority youths suggests that the emphasis on language and culture is unlikely to achieve the stated goal. Language knowledge and use was an inconsistent indicator of belonging. If it is the intention of the document to focus on the membership and emotional connection dimension of the sense of community theory, much greater emphasis should also be placed on promoting inter-cultural/inter-ethnic dialogue of which there is too little mention. The empirical analysis showed that identification with the host society,

favorable orientation toward the group, thinking in terms of commonality and not ethnicity, and willingness to engage in contact had a constant positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia. Additionally, the perception of homeland, or thinking of Latvia as homeland, was shown to consistently have a positive correlation with a sense of belonging regardless of ethnic identity. More attention has to be devoted to encouraging Russian speaking youths to think of Latvia as homeland and to identify with Latvia as their motherland, if feelings of belonging to Latvia are to be facilitated.

In terms of fulfilling other dimensions of the senses of community theory, for example influence, the policy guidelines focus on civic participation is also ill conceived. From the Russian speaking minority youths surveys it is clear that civic participation, specifically involvement in organizations or associations, is on the decline. Further, participation and involvement did not show a consistent correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia. Simply increasing the scope of non-governmental organizations, and trusting the organizations to bring together and represent public interest in the decision making process, is ineffective. The policy guidelines should follow through with its plan of formulating specific government policy to address the young people's insufficient civic education and the resulting shortcomings in participatory skills, and focus on maintaining their confidence in the freedom of expression, which was shown to have a consistent positive correlation with a sense of belonging to Latvia.

The needs fulfillment dimension, just like citizenship, in correlation with a sense of belonging depends on the actual rights and privileges bestowed. The empirical analysis established that a consistent correlation exists between a sense of belonging to Latvia and the lack of perceived discrimination in the economic sector. The policy document is correct in emphasizing the need to raise awareness and combat discrimination in the hopes of sustaining a sense of belonging to Latvia. The limited emphasis placed on citizenship is also accurate, as citizenship status was shown to be an inconsistent indicator of belonging. Unless the actual content of citizenship can meet the membership and shared emotional connection requirements through the community of citizens it creates and through the various rights and privileges associated with citizenship meet the influence, integration, and fulfillment of needs requirements of the sense of community theory, sense of belonging to Latvia as a result of simply gaining citizenship is unlikely.

The policy guidelines focus on the promotion of a European identity, and the strengthening of the European dimensions in the Latvian cultural space, in relation to encouraging a sense of belonging to Latvia is also unwarranted. The empirical analysis of Russian speaking youths showed that while a sense of belonging to Europe does not negatively impact the respondents sense of belonging to Latvia, there is also no evidence, from the data analyzed, to suggest that a sense of belonging to Europe will have a positive influence on the perception of the sense of community indicators that strengthen a sense of belonging to Latvia.

Sense of belonging depends on more than just cultural and identificational integration, mutually reinforcing dimensions representing both the emotional and rational needs have to be satisfied in order for durable and sustainable bonds to form. The state, as the main player in the politics of belonging, and in controlling the formal recognition of individuals as belonging, has to become flexible in accommodating rational, as well as emotional needs, and has to take into account the influence of global processes. Specifically, this dissertation also shows how transnational attachment to an external homeland can hamper the integration and sense of belonging promoting initiatives. The empirical findings demonstrated that a sense of belonging to Russia, amongst the Russian speaking youths, significantly impacts their perception of Latvians and the Latvian economic and political landscape. This has to become an openly addressed focus area in future state integration efforts, and measures have to be taken in order to circumvent the negative influence exerted by external homeland belonging to Russia.

As this study is limited in scope, specifically concentrating on the policy perspective, future research should focus on understanding the Russian speaking community perception of what they feel shapes their attachments to Latvia through in-depth interviews and qualitative analysis of Russian speaking sources. As this dissertation showed, the expressed sense of attachment of Russian language speakers to Russia significantly impacts their perception of sense of belonging promoting factors. Future research should establish what factors facilitate a sense of belonging to Russia, and what are the channels of influence used to maintain and encourage Russian speaker attachment to Russia. Such works would be supplemental to the empirical section and the survey response analysis of this dissertation.

Additionally, this work recognizes that it is limited by the particular time frame of analysis, and by the selected target group of the study. In order to

corroborate the findings of this dissertation, and verify the applicability of the sense of community theory identified dimensions for sense of belonging forecasting, further empirical analysis, at various times, should be carried out. This would help establish if the factors identified by this dissertation as showing a consistent correlation with the sense of belonging to Latvia of Russian speaking youths, also show a correlation with the sense of belonging to Latvia of different groups in society at different times.

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APPENDIX: Sense of Belonging to Europe Findings

Variable Correlation with Sense of Belonging to Europe 2004 and 2010

Correlation coefficient: Spearman's rank correlation coefficient ρ

Feelings of Belonging to Europe

	2004			2010		
	Instances	Value	Statistical significance	Instances	Value	Statistical significance
Feelings of belonging to Latvia	1155	.054	.066	511	.088	.048

Membership

	2004			2010		
	Instances	Value	Statistical significance	Instances	Value	Statistical significance
Latvians and Russians (Russian speakers) are two conflicting camps	1149	-.060	.042	510	.036	.420
No problem in making contacts with Latvians; Latvians same as everyone else	1158	.117	.000	511	.009	.832
Avoid contacts with Latvians because don't like; Latvians completely different	1157	-.079	.007	510	-.016	.719
Prefer situation where LV and Russian speakers live separately	1147	-.095	.001	509	-.078	.079
Prefer work environment with Russian speakers	1156	-.130	.000	511	-.041	.353
Feel best when Russian speakers around	1148	-.123	.000	510	-.009	.845
Latvians are snooty and speak to only Latvian speakers	1151	-.003	.914	509	-.037	.408
Rate Latvian language skills	1132	.091	.002	500	-.065	.145
Speak Latvian outside of school	1136	.056	.061	499	-.013	.775

Shared Emotional Connection

	2004			2010		
	Instances	Value	Statistical significance	Instances	Value	Statistical significance
I wouldn't like to move to another country, since Latvia is my homeland	1156	.004	.897	511	-.044	.321
Recently I have begun to dislike Latvians	1153	-.129	.000	508	-.067	.134
I don't care whether my friends are Latvian or Russian, as long as we have the same interests	1157	.059	.047	510	.060	.178

Influence

	2004			2010		
	Instances	Value	Statistical significance	Instances	Value	Statistical significance
In LV have opportunity to express views freely	1152	.086	.003	511	.074	.095
In LV equal opportunity to influence decision making	1152	.054	.065	511	.164	.000
Important to become involved to defend one's interests/viewpoints	1151	-.039	.184	511	.018	.687
Taken part in protest actions in past 6 months	1152	.025	.404	509	-.032	.467
Involved in organizations/associations in past 6 months	1153	.012	.693	511	.006	.895

Needs Fulfillment

	2004			2010		
	Instances	Value	Statistical significance	Instances	Value	Statistical significance
I relate my future to Latvia – studies, work	1159	-.006	.835	511	.058	.194

Getting a job in Latvia, professional qualifications are not important, while citizenship issues are – citizens are given the advantage	1151	.009	.762	508	-.017	.709
Nationality, not professional skills or knowledge, is important when getting a job in Latvia	1155	-.049	.099	509	-.005	.904

Citizenship

	2004			2010		
	Instances	Value	Statistical significance	Instances	Value	Statistical significance
Citizenship status	1157	.031	.291	511	-.089	.045
Desire to acquire citizenship	386	.064	.207	65	-.078	.536
What reasons could lead you to leave Latvia – citizenship problems	1159	.015	.610	511	.067	.128
Citizenship should be awarded to any resident of the state who wants it	1154	-.036	.225	506	.046	.304

Source: Calculation based on Baltic Institute of Social Sciences surveys 2004 and 2010.