

**Acculturation strategies and ethno-national  
identification – a study of adolescents in Russian-  
language schools in Riga**

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I, Olga Cara, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

## ABSTRACT

With the collapse of the Soviet Union the political status of the Russian-speaking population in Latvia changed, affecting their ethnic self-concept and identification with the new state. Despite the relatively successful adaptation by many Russian-speakers, however, the ethnic issue, language in particular, remains contentious due to its politicisation.

**The main aim of this study** is to thus look at how adolescents construct and maintain their ethnic identities and choose acculturation strategies and how their teachers and peers may influence these processes.

This study involves a mixed methods design where survey (450 pupils across 20 schools) instruments are used for statistical models for ethnic identification and acculturation and qualitative data (interviews and observations) capture the subjective and situational aspects of ethnicity or explore how adolescents construct their ethnicity within the school context and what subjective meaning they give to different acculturation strategies and ethnic identities.

The study of Russian-speaking adolescents showed their preference for integration and its evident competition with separation on the attitudinal level and even more so in actual behavioural patterns. These adolescents identify with both Latvian and Russian culture and groups and form a unique Latvian Russian identity. The study also demonstrates the role of significant others, such as parents, teachers, peers and Latvians in the acculturation and identification processes.

I dedicate this to my bilingual and bicultural children and my larger family. I also dedicate this to all of those individuals and families navigating their lives between and within two or more cultures who desire that their voices are heard and their experiences represented. Lastly, I dedicate this to all ethnic minorities in Latvia, especially children and young people.

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## INTRODUCTION

Following World War II, when the Baltic States were forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union, Latvia experienced a succession of massive waves of Russian-speaking immigrants, who came as workers from Russia and the other Soviet Republics. This was accompanied by a massive campaign of Russification with the aim of decreasing the use of Latvian language and culture. As a result of mass inward migration, the proportion of ethnic Latvians fell from 77% in 1935 to 52% in 1989. Currently, 28% of Latvia's population are ethnic Russians and 37% speak Russian as their first language. Although the majority of Russian-speakers arrived in Latvia as migrants after World War II, the proportion of those born in Latvia continues to grow. In 1989 approximately 40% of the Russian-speaking population was born in Latvia and by 2000 this figure had risen to more than 60%.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union the political status of the Russian-speaking population in Latvia changed overnight, significantly affecting their psychological and social self-concept and identification with the new state. Russians became a minority in the country that they saw as their home. These issues continue to have a major impact on interethnic relations and exacerbate tension between the Russian and Latvian groups.

The Latvian government is thus under pressure to find a means of integrating the two communities and find a solution that will satisfy the indigenous community, the migrant community and the international community.<sup>1</sup> One of the main means by which the Latvian government is seeking to facilitate integration and greater identification with Latvia among the Russian-speaking minority is through education: by means of increased use of Latvian as a language of instruction and a joint formal curriculum. Each of these methods has, however, proved problematic.

Russian-speakers have generally adjusted well to the new linguistic environment, with the result that – according to the latest survey data (Language, 2008) – only about 7% of

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<sup>1</sup> The European Union and Council of Europe have been putting pressure on Latvia to solve the 'Russian' question and encourage the development of an integrated civil society

Russian-speakers know no Latvian at all, with knowledge of Latvian improving more quickly among the younger generation, whose level is much higher than that of the older generation. Despite the successful adaptation by many Russian-speakers, however, the issue of language remains contentious due to its politicisation by members of both communities. As research (Pisarenko, 2002, 2004, 2006; Cara 2007; Pisarenko & Zepa, 2004) suggests, the ethnic tension remains in large part because the Latvian language fails to serve as a common tool of communication for all members of society and also because language is used as a symbolic tool in the creation of 'us' and 'them'.

Conflict between Latvian-speaking and Russian-speaking residents is exacerbated by fears among Latvians that the Russian language will take over, while Russian-speakers in their turn are anxious about assimilation. Subsequently as dictated by language and education policies in 1999 all ethnic minority primary schools had to switch to bilingual education, while ethnic minority secondary schools have had to teach at least 60% of class time in Latvian since September 2004. These 'language in education' reforms have created anxiety among ethnic minorities about the psychological well-being of their children, knowledge of school subjects, proficiency in their native language as well as fear of assimilation.

The broader use of education (aside from the linguistic aspect) as a means of facilitating integration among the younger generation has also proved problematic. One of the functions of education as the main agency of secondary socialisation is to transmit culture. In the case of ethnic minority children education is meant to introduce them to the majority culture and language so that they can become full members of society. All schools in Latvia, regardless the language of instruction, have the same formal curriculum that incorporates civic education, for example, through history or social sciences, with the aim of creating an integrated civic society. However, the education system in Latvia has failed in its aim of eliminating ethnic tensions through greater integration and identification with Latvian state, language and culture. Research shows that there are significant differences between the views of adolescents from Latvian and Russian-language schools in their perception of civic values and participation (Kangro,



2003; Curika, 2009) as well as perception and knowledge of Latvian history (Makarovs, 2008).

Although the Ministry of Education has developed a formal curriculum that is compulsory for all schools, regardless of their language of instruction, there is also, I argue, a 'hidden curriculum' that serves to segregate Latvian- and Russian-speakers. According to Jackson (1968) school education constitutes a broader socialisation process, whereby students learn the hidden norms and values of the wider society or particular groups through interaction with teachers and peers. The hidden curriculum represents a combination of assumptions about the nature of the social world (including ideas about ethnicity and civic society), is a part of secondary socialisation and a significant part of school life. These hidden curricula can pass on ideas that can influence adolescents' identity formation and choice of acculturation strategies. As Curika (2009) suggests in her research on the influence of Latvia's segregated education system on the civic socialisation of adolescents, the hidden curriculum of 'Latvian' and 'Russian' schools reproduces the segregated society in that adolescents from different schools have different views about civic participation and historical issues. The influence of school culture - teachers, peers that encompass the hidden curriculum - on acculturation and adolescents' identification with the state and its culture and language is thus an important but under-researched area.

Education is one of the essential means for human development and social cohesion (Smith, 2001; Sommers & Buckland, 2004). The education system is very often seen as an integrative factor in multicultural societies. Schools are seen as places where the new generation regardless of their ethnic origin acquire through formal curriculum the knowledge, attitudes and values that they will need as members of the society. The contemporary society still sees schools as institutions that 'create social beings' in the Durkheimian sense and solve social problems, such as social inclusion and tolerance (Aboud & Fenwick, 1999). Nevertheless, social researchers have shown limited interest in this function of the schooling system, especially in how schools influence acculturation and the construction of ethnic identity.

However, research and history suggest that education can also be a powerful device for the reproduction and creation of human stratification and segregation as well as carry the potential to generate or intensify conflict. This case can be illustrated with conflicts and segregated education systems between Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo or Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland. These examples show that education may let diversity and cultural differences become the basis for separation between groups of people and reproduce this division rather than facilitate the cohesion and integration of a multicultural society. This study seeks to develop a clearer understanding of one particular dimension of contemporary education – the construction of ethnicity and acculturation processes within a segregated education system in ethnic minority schools that implement bilingual education programmes.

The main aim of this study is to thus look at how adolescents construct and reconstruct their ethnic identities and acculturate and how their teachers and peers might influence these processes. The study aims to look at how the boundaries of ethnic identities are compromised, redefined or maintained in a context of multiple and intertwined worldviews that are present in Russian-language schools in Riga and how acculturation processes affect identity formation. I will also analyse how the use of two languages within the educational context influences the degree of ethnic identification and choice of acculturation strategies.

While bilingual education in ethnic minority schools, which began in 1999, focuses on language issues and knowledge of the Latvian language, very little attention has been paid to the construction of ethnic identity within schools. There are studies that have looked at the preparation for and decisions on the ethnic minority education reform in Latvia (Silova, 2002; Bjorklund, 2004; Galbreath & Galvin, 2006; Hogan-Brun, 2007) but most of this research with few exceptions (for example, Zepa, 2004) has involved policy analysis and represents the views of the adult population. This thesis endeavours to give voice to adolescents and policy analysis serves only as a context for the exploration of psychological and sociological mechanisms behind ethnic identification and acculturation. Moreover, after the bilingual education reform and further reforms in high schools in 2004 there has been no research done on how these reforms are being

implemented and how they might influence ethnic identification and the acculturation of ethnic minority adolescents.

There has also been a great deal of research done on Russians in the post-Soviet space, particularly in Latvia (see for example Melvin, 1995; Shlapentokh et al, 1994; Chinn & Kaiser, 1996; Kolsto, 1995, 1996, 1999; Laitin, 1998; Karklins, 1986, 1994; Pisarenko, 2006; Ponarin, 2000; Poppe & Hagendoorn, 2001; 2003). These studies explore the different identities of Russians and Russian-speakers and suggest possible developments. However, adolescents have not been the main focus in any of these studies. Furthermore, the main questions the researchers usually have asked are ‘what identities’ and not how these identities are created and what factors influence this process.

Ethnocultural characteristics have identified communities to both members and non-members since time immemorial and since the collapse of communism ethnicity has become an increasingly salient social and political issue in Central and Eastern Europe. At the same time ethnicity is one of the most controversial social phenomena.

What is ethnicity? According to Fredrik Barth, it is a set of delineated boundaries between neighbouring groups, and individuals are primarily concerned with maintaining these boundaries in order to explain one’s identity, often in a relative, comparative manner (Barth, 1969). Ronald Cohen expands this view and explains that ethnicity is rather a fluid concept by which members distinguish “in-groups” from “out-groups,” and which can be in a state of constant change due to various situational applications (Cohen, 1978, p. 388).

In this study ethnicity is viewed as a discursive system of classifications, a set of cultural identifiers used to assign people to groups (Cohen, 1978). This system is created in an attempt to explain and sustain differences and often inequalities. Furthermore, as Barth (1969) and Steinberg (1981) suggest, these differences are situational and experiential, not innate. As Brubaker (2002) implies, ethnicity has to be thought of in relational, dynamic and eventful terms rather than as a substance, an entity or collectivity of individuals. Ethnicity exists only through our perception and interpretation; it is

embodied in people and embedded in institutional practices and routines. It is not a thing in the world but a perspective of the world.

Furthermore, the term ethnicity can be used in different ways. Some researchers use this term to define the shared characteristics of an entire group. While some others see ethnicity in terms of an individual's identification with an ethnic group or aspects of that group's culture. This study will be focusing on individual ethnic identification.

The main focus of this thesis is on the factors influencing ethnic identification in an educational setting; that is, how adolescents in Russian language schools identify with Latvian and Russian ethnic groups and the extent to which they identify with each group. In this study I adhere to the definition of ethnic groups as groups whose members perceive themselves to share ethnocultural features, such as a common language, traditions and values, and who distinguish themselves from other such groups. Ethnic identity refers to one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the part of one's thinking, perceptions, feelings, and behaviour that is due to this ethnic group membership (Phinney, 1996). Ethnic identity thus constitutes identification with an ethnic group.

Ethnic identity is a dynamic concept. It is a part of one's social identity that reflects one's sense of self as a member of an ethnic group. The degree of identification with different ethnic groups, in the case of ethnic minorities or migrants in particular, and the strength and meaning of identity can change over time (across generations and even within a lifespan of an individual) and depending on the context. Moreover, identification with a particular ethnic group and the larger society can vary individually. An individual can identify with two or more cultures or with none.

As stated above, an individual can identify with both cultures or with neither; therefore it is essential to look at two components of adolescents' identification: their identification with their own ethnic group and with a 'new' culture, in this case Russian and Latvian culture and language, respectively. This study addresses the question of the formation of identification with a bidimensional approach based on the combination of two identifications: ethnic (minority ethnic group – Russian) and

national (majority ethnic group - Latvian). I use a term ethno-national identification to represent two-dimensional model of identity.

When exploring ethno-national identification, it is also important to look at a broader concept of acculturation. In the context of the acculturation of Russian-speaking adolescents the concept of change is central to their ethnic identity. Acculturation in this study represents this change. Acculturation within this approach is defined as individual processes that reflect dealing with other culture/s while also taking into account relationships with one's own culture (Berry, 1992). Acculturation strategies are modes that represent people's views, attitudes and behaviours that they use when they come into prolonged contact with other culture/s.

Canadian researcher John Berry's two-dimensional acculturation model based on four different acculturation strategies (assimilation, integration, separation, marginalisation) for ethnic minority and immigrant adaptation in the host society opens new possibilities for research on ethnic minority adaptation into a different culture (Berry, 1980).

It is important to distinguish between preferred acculturation attitudes (ideal situation) and the behaviours finally adopted (real situation) (Navas et al., 2005). Together, these attitudes and behaviours comprise what Berry calls acculturation strategies (Berry, 1997), but while the individual can hold a certain acculturation attitude, he or she can behave not in accordance with the attitude. So, individuals and groups may hold varying attitudes towards these four ways of acculturating, and their actual behaviour may vary correspondingly. Some researchers (e.g. Berry et al, 1989; Liebkind, 1996; Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000) suggest that these behaviours represent sociocultural adaptation outcomes or the actual degree of acculturation and this is what this study will be focusing on. I will distinguish between acculturation attitudes and behaviours of the Russian-speaking adolescents and investigate how the two are interrelated and how an individual's attitudes and behaviours are related to their ethno-national identification.

As mentioned above, ethnicity, ethnic identity and acculturation are contextually defined concepts that are subjectively constructed and fluid rather than fixed. Consequently, to answer the research question and increase the validity of findings, this study involves a

mixed methods design. Although survey instruments can help create statistical models for ethnic identification and acculturation, they cannot capture the subjective and situational aspects of ethnicity or explore how adolescents construct their ethnicity within the school context and what subjective meaning they give to different acculturation strategies and ethnic identities. This will be left for the interviews with adolescents and teachers as well as the observations of the school environment. The qualitative part of the study will be aimed at exploring and probing in much greater detail and nuance the survey questions and other issues that the survey methods could not answer.

This research will make both substantive and methodological contributions. It will provide critical understanding of the construction of ethnicity and the choice of acculturation strategies within an educational environment. The two-dimensional ethno-national identification framework will provide a new approach to understanding people's lives and in the functioning of a society, particularly in the 'new multicultural Europe'. My study will contribute both to the field of social psychology and sociology. Not only will this project offer a new conceptual approach, it will also contribute to methodological debates and the development of specific tools for analysis.

The structure of this thesis is as follows. Chapter 1 reviews some of the main theoretical perspectives on ethnicity, ethnic identity and acculturation and explains the main approach used in this research. The same chapter also looks at what various factors, such as perceived discrimination and parental attitudes maybe related to ethno-national identity and acculturation attitudes and behaviours. The review allows to build hypotheses and a theoretical framework that is used for investigation of the choice of acculturation strategies by adolescents and the development of their identities.

Chapter 2 presents the design of this study that enables us to address the research questions and also explains the conceptualisation of the theoretical model.

Chapter 3 looks at the specific situation of Russians and Russian-speakers in Latvia. This overview includes a short history of Russian-speakers in Latvia, as well as previous research on their identities and nationality policy.

Chapters 4-6 then introduce the analysis of the data collected. In Chapters 5 I look at structure and content of ethno-national identity of Russian-speaking adolescents. This chapter includes data on their self-identification, degree of identification with the Latvian and Russian ethnic groups, sense of belonging to Latvia as well as strength and salience of their identities.

Chapter 6 presents analysis of the acculturation attitudes and behaviours of the adolescents as well as their links to the ethnonational identification. In this chapter I use cluster analysis to identify acculturation profile and then bivariate analysis to look at the relationships between acculturation attitudes and behaviours and different dimensions of the identity. Finally I use path analysis statistical model of the factors that contribute to individual differences in adolescents' acculturation strategies and ethnic identities. In addition qualitative data is incorporated in each chapter to interpret main findings and to give more depth to the quantitative analysis.

Finally, Chapter 7 looks at the final model interpretation and summarises the main points raised in relation to the main research question. I look at possible generalisations, and discuss the main contribution the thesis makes to the body of research on Russian-speaking adolescents' acculturation and ethnicity in Latvia: to the theoretical model as well as methodological challenges. To conclude, I examine some of the limitations of the empirical work and offer some possible questions that were left unexplored for future research.

# 1 LITERATURE REVIEW: CONCEPTS OF ETHNICITY, IDENTITY AND ACCULTURATION

## *1.1 Ethnicity and identity*

### **1.1.1 Ethnicity: a constant or a construct?**

Ethnicity is one of the most controversial phenomena in the social world and social research. As this study looks at the formation of identity in the process of acculturation in ethnic minority adolescents, it is important to summarise the approach to ethnicity that is used here. One of the main questions that the following chapter is trying to answer is whether ethnicity is something that an individual or a group can change and manipulate. Further in this chapter I will discuss in more detail three main concepts: ethnicity, ethnic group and identity, and how they are understood and used in this work.

To begin with, the meaning of the term ethnicity is closely related to the meaning of two other concepts: ethnic group and ethnic identity. On the one hand, ethnic group presents ethnicity as a collective social phenomenon and both helps to create and maintain boundaries that are used for ethnic identification. On the other, ethnic identity represents ethnicity as a personal experience. Therefore, ethnicity is an abstract concept which contains both social and individual aspects; as I will show later it also contains both objective and subjective characteristics.

There are many definitions of an ethnic group, but among the most useful definitions for the purposes of this study is the classic one of Max Weber (1968):

*“we shall call 'ethnic groups' those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of the group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists” (p. 389).*



As we can see from this definition there are objective and subjective criteria for an ethnic group. Despite disagreements about the actual definition, there is general recognition of a number of features of an ethnic group; not all of them will be present or prominent for every ethnic group in every context, but many will be. First of all, these include characteristics shared by group members, such as the same or similar geographic origin and cultural traits, for example language, religion, foods, traditions, folklore, music etc. Secondly, there are also special political and social interests, particularly with regard to a homeland or a specific status, as well as institutions to serve the group. This last aspect is closely linked with the subjective characteristic of an ethnic group that is a group consciousness or sense of distinctiveness from others. To conclude I adhere to the definition of ethnic groups as groups whose members have a subjective belief in their common descent and perceive themselves to share ethnocultural features, such as a common language, traditions and values that are also linked to common descent (Smith, 1996), and who distinguish themselves from other such groups.

The subjective dimension of ethnic groups refers to socio-psychological boundaries and is related to ethnic identity and group formation processes that involve defining membership (inclusion) and the others (exclusion). In this study I am mostly interested in the interaction between these two processes and see the subjective dimension as the key factor differentiating ethnic groups from other identity groups.

The term ethnicity can be used in different ways. Since ethnicity is a social phenomenon it can be looked at as a specific form of collective identity that is formed by a specific historical situation (Comaroff, 1996). Therefore, some researchers use this term to define the shared characteristics, particularly the cultural traditions and languages, of an entire ethnic group to which people belong and/or are perceived to belong. These characteristics that define an ethnic group are not fixed or easily measured, so ethnicity as a concept is vague and ever-changing.

Others focus on ethnicity's subjective domain in terms of an individual's identification with an ethnic group or aspects of that group's culture. Ethnicity as a social process involves individual and/or group decision making. The main focus of this study is on the process of self-identity and ethnic identity in particular, and the choices that individuals

make with regards to it. But this matter of ethnicity as an individual phenomenon will be discussed further later in this chapter.

There are many different approaches to ethnicity. I would like to discuss here the main two that have been the most influential and have been widely used in research: primordialism and constructivism.

The split between the two approaches resembles many other discussions about the social world, namely the divide between structure (external) and agency (internal). The first, primordialism, argues that ethnicity is an essential primordial phenomenon that is something external that defines individuals, a type of 'social fact' defined initially by French sociologist Émile Durkheim (1895, p.13). The second, constructivism, suggests that ethnicity is a situational phenomenon that is a result of a social action that involves human agency and thus choice, to a certain degree, and can be used in an instrumental way as a resource or an element of political/group or individual strategy. This is a basic division of theories on ethnicity and there are as many approaches to the theories of ethnicity as there are theories themselves, but this will be sufficient for the explanation of how ethnicity is regarded in this study.

I would like to start with the primordialist approach to ethnic phenomenon as it is the oldest in the social sciences. It suggests that ethnicity is something given, ascribed fixed at birth, deriving from the kin and clan structure of human society, and for this reason is rather rigid and enduring (Geertz, 1963; Isaacs, 1975).

Geertz (1963) sees ethnicity as something that is primordial, one of the assumed 'givens' of social existence existing prior to all experiences or interaction, with individuals bound to a person from the same ethnic group not because of personal affection, but because of the importance attributed to the tie itself. Harold Isaacs in his work 'The Idols of the Tribe' (1975) has followed ideas of primordial attachments, concluding that ethnicity is a basic group identity. He saw ethnicity as something that a person acquires at birth and is composed of primordial attachments. Isaacs argued that ethnicity gives people a sense of belonging and self-esteem because one cannot be denied or rejected and ethnicity cannot be taken away. People celebrate their

ethnicities and thus differences from others in their everyday lives, for that reason Isaacs calls ethnicities “the idols of all our tribes” (1975, p. 40).

However, this approach has limits. Even Isaacs admits the dynamic and changing nature of ethnicity, but the primordialists cannot account for these changes or explain how they occur. Therefore the primordial approach has been widely discussed, criticised and opposed (Barth, 1969; Cohen, 1974; Eller and Coughlan, 1993; Eriksen, 1993; Comaroff, 1996; Brubaker, 2002), with particular reference to Geertz’s writings, and, above all, the apriority, ineffability and affectivity of ethnicity as a primordial attachment that comes with it. Eller and Coughlan (1993) blamed Geertz for dissocialising the ethnic phenomenon. They suggested that ethnicity is not a given, but is negotiated in social interaction. Besides, ethnicity is not fixed; on the contrary people can consciously manipulate ethnicity and question it. There are two main problems with the use of primordialism to explain ethnicity: people can have multiple and complex identities and these identities can change.

Although I am aware of the criticism of the approach that looks at ethnicity as a primordial attachment, I would still argue that primordialism is a useful concept to look at when doing research on ethnicity. The benefits of the primordial approach are obvious in its very core: in the value and the emotional attachments that are placed onto and into ethnicity and the subsequent power that it creates. Moreover, people form groups on this basis and this influences their behaviour. Primordialism explains and investigates in more depth some unifying principles such as shared history, myths, and language. It also brings in the instinctive dimensions of ethnicity that are subconscious and cannot be explained by individuals, but can be used at any moment and become significant in certain contexts. The approach of Geertz (1975) and Isaacs (1963) helps one to understand that, even if ethnicity is not a cultural given, most people still believe it to be so.

Nevertheless, we also have to remember that while primordial ties are emotional and affective, they are still created through social interaction rather than just being there. Even if laypeople see their ethnicity as something they cannot explain or as given to

them a priori, social researchers have to consider how ethnicity is constructed and what influences its formation and development.

Here the constructivist approach can be helpful. Constructivism is a more subjective approach which sees ethnicity as a socio-psychological phenomenon or a matter of perception and experience of 'us' and 'them' rather than as something given, as being objectively 'out there'. It is not that all objective aspects of ethnicity are rejected, but that they are seen as being dependent on the personal experiences of people.

This approach in the study of ethnicity has developed and broadened in the subsequent years. The discussion of ethnicity as a social phenomenon was greatly enriched by Frederick Barth (1969). Barth saw ethnic boundaries as psychological boundaries created by individuals rather than objective differences in ethnic cultures. The factors that are taken into account from existing differences, or indeed similarities, are only those that people themselves see as important. In his view, an ethnic group is a result of group relations in which boundaries are established through reciprocal perceptions and ethnic culture and its content is of less relevance.

In his work (Barth, 1969) he called for a focus on the processes involved in creating and maintaining ethnic groups by looking at the boundaries rather than the cultural differences. He implied that groups' boundaries do not move; the change happens only in the socially relevant factors for maintaining those boundaries. Barth insisted that the social interaction between ethnic groups not only does not erode them, but actually helps to maintain these boundaries.

However, Barth's approach was criticised by Eriksen (1991) for being ahistorical. While accounting for ethnicity on an individual level and taking into account human agency, it does not pay much attention to structure as set by wider social and historical processes that cannot be controlled or even experienced by an individual agent. Thus his approach focuses predominantly on self-ascription and ascription by others, that is human agency, but not on social structures. Nevertheless, Barth was still one of the first to declare that researchers had to reflect not on cultural differences and separate ethnic entities, but on the social processes involved in creating these differences.

Barth helped to shift the focus from fixed group characteristics to social processes. As Eriksen (1993) puts it, he helped to “replace substance with form, statics with dynamics, property with relationship and structure with process” (p 128). Thus ethnicity and ethnic differences are situational and experiential, not innate (Barth, 1969; Cohen, 1978).

Many later theoretical approaches grew out of this idea of Barth's. The idea of boundaries also appears in other approaches but, for example, for Ronald Cohen (1978) these boundaries are not stable as for Barth, but multiple and include overlapping loyalties that make multiple references for identification possible. Cohen presents ethnicity as a set of cultural identifiers used to assign people to groupings. This method of categorisation, as with any other cognitive process, helps people to know what to expect and how to react. If we can label people and allocate them to a group, that tells us the general characteristics of these people and what behaviour would be appropriate by referring to the norms of groups they and us belong to and the relationships between the two groups.

Again, similarly to Cohen's approach, Arnold Epstein (1978) saw urban ethnicities as a cognitive map for people, reducing the unknown or large number of overlapping groupings to a few manageable categories. He also suggested that ethnicity is a social process where both internal and external factors work in an interrelated manner. As researchers we have to take account of both individual agency and the social structures around it.

The constructivist approach incorporates some of Pierre Bourdieu's (1990) concepts of practice and habitus. These are seen as the essential factors that underlie and form the structure of all social phenomena. As suggested by constructivism, ethnicity is something that is being negotiated and constructed in everyday living through practice and habitus. It is created when individuals eat, dress, go to school and work and talk to each other. Ethnicity is a process which continues to unfold.

For example, Fishman (1989) differentiates between three aspects of ethnicity: being, knowing and doing. Being is the bodily experience of ethnicity. This almost

biological component of ethnicity makes any substantial changes in it difficult. However, ethnicity extends beyond the dimension of 'being', it is also knowing and doing. These two other domains of ethnicity can be manipulated consciously because they are more negotiable than being. Fishman focuses on language as a very important part of ethnicity when the past has to be captured, used and interpreted to solve current problems. Language is used in all three dimensions: being, knowing and doing.

Although Fishman (1989) agrees that ethnicity can be manipulated consciously, no external knowledge or objective scepticism can challenge the perceived validity of ethnicity and language because people have a psychological need to belong intimately, inter-generationally (Fishman, 1989). He also shows similarly to Anthony Smith that ethnicity is experienced as a guarantor of eternity and continuation that connects generations "through the myth of common and unique origin in time and place" (Smith, 1981, 66-67). Here the blood ties or assumed ties of Anderson's (1983) 'imagined community' govern as the most powerful motivation of humankind.

Ethnicity can be described as a system of classification (Comaroff, 1991) that is a necessary condition for human existence, a form of consciousness that occurs in everyday practices. It can be compared to totemism (Comaroff, 1992) as a universal, primordial process of categorisation that involves the marking and classification of identities and relations in opposition to each other and not focusing on the actual substance of those identities. Ethnic myths (Steinberg, 1981) that people use for explaining differences in group behaviour and social inequalities without taking into account situational and broader structural factors help to sustain ethnic differences. In order to truly understand where ethnicity comes from and why it persists, these ethnic myths have to be unpacked and deconstructed (Steinberg, 1981; Eller and Coughlan, 1993).

Ethnicity is a historically specific response to social context and interactions between ethnic groups, although this is not to say that once formed it is not experienced as real and objective. Inequality or differences came first, together with a psychological need for classification, and then ethnicity was created as a response to the first two. Nevertheless, as Comaroff (1996) suggests, after it has been created, ethnicity takes on a

natural appearance, becomes a 'given' that structures and determines social life and indeed creates or sustains inequalities.

Ethnicity has to be thought of in relational, processual, dynamic and eventful terms (Brubaker, 2002). Ethnicisation involves political, social and cultural processes, in which one must not think of a group as a unit of analysis, but focus on the fact that individuals who identify with this group can have different conceptualisations of the key aspects of their ethnicity and may identify with these ethnic markers to different degrees. In this way ethnicity exists only through our perceptions, interpretations, categorisations, representations and identifications. Ethnicity is not a thing in the world, but a perspective of the world (Brubaker, 2002). It is not enough to say that ethnicities are constructed; we must also explore how they are constructed, how people identify themselves, perceive others and interpret the world in ethnic terms.

Much of the current discussion in social sciences focuses on the fluid, situational and conditional nature of ethnicity (Hitlin et al., 2006; Wimmer, 2008, Helbling, 2009; McDonnell and de Lourenco, 2009; Burton et al., 2010). So, it is inappropriate to treat ethnicity as one-dimensional, fixed and stable. One has to recognise that ethnicity is situational in relation to one or more characteristics or expressions of shared belonging, such as language (Phinney et al., 2001a; Vedder and Virta, 2005), which I discuss here as attitudinal and behavioural, separate from one's identification. The extent to which these characteristics become important in the construction of ethnicity is dependent on context (e.g. Maylor, 2009; Holloway et al, 2009), for example school settings or larger society and immediate family. Moreover, the conceptual construction of ethnicity by researchers also differs and has to be made explicit in every study. I will describe my approach in the next two subsections as well as in the methodology chapter.

Moreover, research on ethnicity involves operationalisation, where to measure ethnicity fully one must find specific indicators. As has been mentioned above, ethnicity has both objective and subjective elements. One can directly observe objective dimensions, such as the language differences between groups or specific traditions. However, in this study I am interested in subjective dimensions of ethnicity which cannot be directly

observed and relate to the attitudes and perceptions of individuals. I will use a survey and interviews to investigate ethnicity.

To finalise, in this study ethnicities are viewed as systems of classification that are a product of internal and external factors created in an attempt to explain inequalities and difference in our world. Ethnicity is embodied in people and embedded in institutional practices and routines. In addition, ethnicity arises from specific historical and situational circumstances.

As described in this chapter, while some approaches insist that ethnicity is ascribed, other theories, including this study, see ethnicity as subjective and achieved, as something that people make decisions about, construct and manipulate. The latter approach also looks at how ethnicity, particularly the construction and perception of it, is influenced by gender, age, economic status or any other factors. In this study, the main aim is to look at subjective dimensions of individual ethnicity and in particular how Russian-speaking adolescents perceive their ethnicity and what influences their degree of identification with Russian and/or Latvian ethnic groups.

### **1.1.2 Ethnic identification: from one-dimensional to multidimensional concept**

To reflect the approach to ethnicity stated in the subsection above, that is, viewing ethnicity as something subjective and fluid, in the case of ethnic minorities in particular, we have to look at ethnic identification as a multidimensional rather than one-dimensional concept. Ethnic identity here refers to one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group and to the part of one's thinking, perceptions, feelings, and behaviour that is due to this ethnic group membership (Phinney, 1996). Ethnic identity thus constitutes identification with an ethnic group. Then again, ethnic identity can be thought of as degrees of identification with more than one ethnic group. This will be explored further in this chapter.



A fundamental question for adolescents born in a country to which their parents or grandparents migrated is their ability to live between two cultures and negotiate their own identity in such a way that they maintain their links with their ethnic group (ethnic identity) and at the same time integrate into the larger society and the majority national culture (national identity). The combination of these two dimensions can be seen as an individual's ethno-national<sup>2</sup> identification/s.

In this study, 'ethnic identity' refers to the Russian-speaking adolescents' identification with the Russian cultural group, while 'national identity' is used to refer to their identification with the Latvian cultural group. The broader term 'ethno-national identification' encompasses both the ethnic and national components of their identification and throughout the text I will refer to 'ethno-national identification' of Russian-speaking adolescents as simply 'identification'. The term 'ethno-national identification' does not presuppose that Russian-speaking adolescents necessarily identify with both groups.

Thus the conceptual approach in this research refers to identification as a bidimensional dynamic construct because, in the case of ethnic minorities, they have more than one group they can identify with. Identification here is not fixed, but is a fluid perception of self that can change over time (across generations and within the life of an individual) and depending on context. Yet before I proceed with the analysis of this bidimensional concept, I have to make some decisions as how to operationalise it into something measurable.

In their review, Sayegh & Lasry (1993) provided a comprehensive and cohesive assessment of the various bidimensional models and measurements of acculturation and ethnic identification. Most importantly, they showed that much existing research, even if it involves bidimensional models, does not provide truly orthogonal dimensions. In many such studies there seems to exist the built-in assumption that if involvement in and

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<sup>2</sup> In this study term 'ethno-national' is used when talking about broader identity that includes ethnic and national identifications. This term is also used when looking at previous research where a unidimensional model of identity was used where ethnic and national identity are presented as being two ends of a continuum.

identification with a national culture increases, then engagement with and identification with the individual's ethnic or traditional culture and group automatically decreases.

Thus these bidimensional models, while truly investigating involvement and identification with two cultures, still measure identification as a continuum rather than separately. Therefore, this approach is more consistent with the assimilationist perspective (Gordon, 1964) than with ethnic or cultural pluralism and multidimensionality (Berry, 1980, 1997; Laroche et al., 1997, 1998) which I advocate in my work.

Consequently, it has been proposed that the two dimensions should be measured separately so that they reflect identification with the national and ethnic cultures and groups independently of each other (Lasry & Sayegh, 1992; Sayegh & Lasry, 1993; Sanchez & Fernandez, 1993; Noels, Pon, & Clément, 1996; Bourhis et al., 1997; Laroche et al., 1997, 1998).

Altogether, this serves as an acknowledgement of the ideas suggested much earlier by Hutnik (1986, 1991) with regards to his ethnic identity model by proposing that “ethnic minority identity must be conceptualised along at least two main dimensions: one relating to the degree of identification with the ethnic minority group; and the second relating to the degree of identification with the majority group” (Hutnik, 1991, p. 128).

Although there seems to be a tendency at the conceptual level to move back towards a truly bidimensional identification model for migrants and ethnic minorities, only some empirical studies have translated this idea into action. The research studies done by Lasry & Sayegh (1992) and Sanchez & Fernandez (1993) and Phinney et al. (2001) are among those few. Moreover, these studies, as well as Sabatier's research in 2007, found that immigrants' identification with their ethnic culture was indeed unrelated to their identification with the national culture. Strength of identification with one's ethnic group and larger society can vary independently in the case of ethnic minorities.

A few other studies looked at how ethnic identity and national identity vary independently with degrees of identification with both ethnic and national cultures simultaneously (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Bourhis et al., 1997; Berry et al., 2006). As Berry et al. (2006) show, the correlation between the two identifications can be positive, negative or zero depending on the group or context. These correlations combined with the mean values for each identity can be used to describe broader identification. For example, high average values for both identifications show a tendency for a bicultural or integrated identity, whereas low average values for both suggests alienation or marginalisation. Finally, for those who choose assimilation or separation - the tendency to identify with just one group - mean values for identification will indicate which identity is stronger. As the research by Berry et al. (2006) shows, strong identifications with both are more characteristic of immigrants in countries with a long tradition of immigration, such as the United States, New Zealand, Australia or Canada. Despite the large and growing number of ethnic minority and migrant adolescents, very little research has looked at the question of identity within a bidimensional model of acculturation and identification where both ethnic and national identities are considered as elements of broader ethno-national identification.

As stated above, an individual can identify with both cultures or with neither (Berry & Sam, 1997; Phinney, 1992). Thus it is essential to look at two components of adolescents' identification: their identification with their own ethnic group and with a 'new' culture, in this case Russian and Latvian culture and language, respectively. Therefore this study addresses the question of the formation of identification with a bidimensional approach based on the combination of two identifications: ethnic (minority ethnic group – Russian) and national (majority ethnic group - Latvian).

### **1.1.3 Further operationalisation of ethno-national identity: identification of oneself and identification with a group**

Despite the amount of theoretical and empirical research on identities and/or identification there are still fundamental problems in this area. There is an absence of a consistent and methodical approach to distinguishing between different aspects of identification (Rosenthal, 1987; Phinney, 1990, 1992; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992; Liebkind, 1992, 1995; Kinket & Verkuyten, 1997).

One of the problems with a clear distinction between different aspects of identification is a conflation of the two meanings of the term 'identification': identification of and identification with (Kinket & Verkuyten, 1997). The first meaning of the identification concept (identification of), refers to the purely cognitive act of acknowledgment and categorisation of somebody (including oneself) as the holder of a particular identity label, and in most cases reflects the individual's membership of some category or group (Lange, 1989, p. 172). According to Self-Categorisation Theory (Turner et al., 1987), this process is conceptualised as social identification, referring mainly to identification of oneself as a member of a social category.

In this study, the term ethnic self-identification has been chosen to represent this more cognitive form of identification. In addition, because of the importance of language I also use linguistic self-identification to describe my sample and limit it to a certain linguistic group, namely Russian speakers.

Since ethnic self-identification may differ from 'objective' group membership as determined by the family's ethnic origin, in particular in cases of migrants and ethnically mixed families, it is more informative and reliable to measure it through an open-ended question where individuals are allowed to choose any subjective label rather than from a predesigned list of different categories (Phinney, 1992). This is the approach I use in this study.

While these categories of ethnic self-identification are an important part of research on identification and serve as an indicator of one's identification to a certain degree, they do not cover the full range of the meanings of identity. As scholars have argued these subjective labels can vary over time and context (Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004), and encompass different meanings among individuals and groups (Phinney, 1996); therefore they are not consistent and reliable indicators on their own.

Although ethnic self-identification and specific labels used have been studied as a way of investigating identity construction (Phinney, 1990; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001), some researchers argue that these labels or categories individuals 'choose' are, in many ways, imposed on them by others (Suárez-Orozco, 2000; Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004). As Suárez-Orozco suggests, ethnic self-identification is a social process in which one's ethnic membership is ascribed to the individual rather than freely chosen, coming mainly from two outside sources: the in-group (You are a member of our group.) and the out-group (You are a member of that group.). It is through these influences of in-group and out-group members that individuals come to construct their self-identity. As Erikson explained, combining an understanding of ethnicity as a typology and/or classification of people and its subjective and objective aspects:

*"Identity formation [is] a process ... by which the individual judges himself in the light of what he perceives to be the way in which others judge him in comparison to themselves and to typology significant to them; while he judges their way of judging him in the light of how he perceives himself in comparison to them and to types that have become relevant to him."* (Erikson, 1968, p. 22-23)

Furthermore, defining or labelling oneself as a member of a group does not necessarily imply that one identifies with this category (Lange, 1989; Liebkind, 1992). Therefore, identification of should not be confused conceptually with the identification with that reflects strength, development and/or understanding of the meaning of one's identity (Phinney, 1989, 1990, 1992). However, it has to be mentioned here that ethnic self-categorisation is related to other aspects of identification. For example, it may induce changes in the strength of identification if more and more members of the same group

select specific labels for self-identification and make this category appealing and thus it starts to serve as a collective reference model.

According to Social Identity Theory (SIT), one of the other major theories of intergroup processes (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, p. 101):

*“Social categorizations are conceived here as cognitive tools that segment, classify, and order the social environment, and thus enable the individual to undertake many forms of social action. But they do not merely systematize the social world; they also provide a system of orientation for self-reference: they create and define the individual’s place in society... Social groups, understood in this sense, provide their members with an identification of themselves in social terms.”*

Moreover, social groups provide their members not only with social identification, but also the emotional and value significance of such membership. Based on SIT a person’s social identity is described as “that part of an individual’s self-concept that derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel, 1981, p. 255).

This theory incorporates three main elements: 1) people are motivated to maintain a positive self-concept; 2) the self-concept derives largely from group identification; and 3) people establish positive social identities by favourably comparing their in-group to out-groups (Operario & Fiske, 1999).

An extension of SIT is Self-Categorisation Theory (Turner et al., 1987). This theory suggests that social contexts create meaningful boundaries for groups. Social identities according to this theory are socially constructed according to situational pragmatics. Brewer (1991) in her work argued that social identification for individuals satisfies two main needs: to belong to a group, while maintaining distinctiveness. Thus, identification has to be seen as a subjective process involving a matter of choice (Liebkind, 1984) and a matter of degree (Lange & Westin, 1985). This approach incorporates conceptualising ethnicity as a fluid concept that reflects an individual's choice rather than a fixed category.

Phinney (1992) operationalised ethnic identity into three measurable dimensions in her Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM): 1) ethnic self-identification; 2) the sense of belonging to the ethnic group – ethnic commitment; and 3) the level of ethnic identity development – ethnic identity achievement. Phinney (1992) used two main theories of social identity to create the MEIM, that is SIT and Erikson's (1968) theory of identity development. On the basis of SIT, it is expected that identity would include a sense of group belonging. In the MEIM, items that assess attachment, pride, and good feelings about one's identification represent strength of identity, termed affirmation and belonging.

According to Erikson's approach, identity formation takes place during adolescence and evolves through a process of exploration and commitment. This approach suggests that the strength of identity and commitment will vary with age. So, younger adolescents would be expected to have a less clear and committed sense of their ethnicity. That is why it is useful to look at adolescents and investigate what might influence their identity formation. In the MEIM this dimension of identity is assessed by the achievement scale, including 'exploration' items (activities to learn about an ethnic group) and 'commitment' items (a clear understanding of a person's ethnicity).

Finally, in the case of ethnic minorities it is not only their identification with ethnic and national groups that is important, it is also their sense of belonging to a particular country they were born or arrived in. Indeed, research on identities generally highlights both the group and territorial dimensions (Riger & Lavrakas, 1981; Breuilly, 1993). Therefore, it is not only divisions between 'us' and 'them', but also feelings towards a particular territory that are involved in identity formation. However, it is important to note that the two dimensions are interrelated; the sense of belonging to a state is interdependent with the relational, social dimension of one's identification with one or more ethnic groups (Bar-Tal, 1997).

Moreover, exactly this sense of belonging to Latvia seems to be a central aspect in the integration efforts made by the Latvian state (Tabuns, 2006; Volkovs, 2010; Muižnieks, 2010; Zepa & Klave, 2011) and focal for Latvian politicians when they discuss ethnic

minority issues (e.g. Zatlars, 2010; Elerte, 2011, Brands Kehris, 2011). Nevertheless, this aspect of identity can be highly politicised and be tied to the nation and state context as well as being specific to different state policies and views held by the national group. Therefore, it is not only individual choice that is of importance here, but also the responses of both the national group and state are crucial. In this study, to take into account this specific aspect, I will investigate how the sense of belonging to Latvia is related to perceived discrimination.

In sum, in this study I have operationalised identification into four measurable dimensions 1) ethnic self-identification; 2) the degree of identification with Russian and Latvian cultures and groups; 3) the level of ethnic identity development – ethnic identity achievement or exploration stage 4) the sense of belonging to Latvia.

Ethnic identity is a complex multidimensional construct that is subject to social, cultural, and developmental changes (Phinney 1996). But despite its fluid nature, ethnic identity is a real aspect of one's life, often related to how one interprets and creates experiences in other spheres of life. That is why it is so important to study how ethnic identity is formed and what influences it.

Different factors have been discussed in past literature as possible influences that might shape how ethnic boundaries and identification have been understood and constructed. In this study I not only look at the identifications of young Russian speakers per se, I also focus on how different acculturation attitudes and behaviours, such as language use and knowledge and social contacts, as well as perceived discrimination and socio-demographic variables, influence the degree of adolescents' identification with the Latvian and Russian cultures and groups. In addition, I also explore how adolescents' parents, teachers and peers might influence their identification formation and choices.



## ***1.2 Approach to acculturation***

In the modern world it is hardly possible to find a society that consists of just one ethnic group. Almost all countries are multicultural, yet not many will define themselves as such. However, this study is not focusing on nationality policies and/or a definition of a multicultural society. The main aim of this research is to investigate how people adapt to life in these multicultural societies and what strategies they use to create a coherent identity and adjust successfully to life in their country. Furthermore, this study focuses on ethnic minority adolescents as an example.

Enculturation or socialisation has been seen as a lifelong process for an individual, involving changes and continuities as a response to interaction with the surrounding cultural environment (Kagitcibasi, 1988). Enculturation results in the development and sustainability of similarities within and variations between cultures with regards to both subjective and objective dimensions of culture (Berry et al., 1992). However, enculturation is seen as the process through which an individual acquires the culture of his own group with the help of cultural agents such as parents and teachers. Given this multicultural nature of many modern societies, social research has increasingly investigated what happens to those individuals who have two or more cultural contexts around them (Berry, 1997).

Therefore many social scientists are very interested in what happens when two different ethnic groups come into long-term contact; in this study the two groups are the indigenous Latvian majority and immigrant Russian-speaking minority. Some studies look at ethnic conflict and resolution and view ethnicity as a cultural process primarily determined by an underlying struggle for power. Others look at the creation of nationality policy within a particular state or nation-state. Many of these approaches look at the group level, whereas I would like to direct the focus of this research to the individual level and consider what happens to individuals when they come into long-term contact with one or more ethnic groups that are different from their own. That is why acculturation processes and individual strategies lie at the centre of this study.

Although the term acculturation has been in existence since the end of the 19th century, it was not until the mid-1930s that a formal definition was proposed and acculturation was legitimised as a field of study by the American Council for Social Science Research, following the work of three anthropologists: Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton and Melville Herskovits in 1936. They defined it as follows:

*“Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into a continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups. Under this definition, acculturation is to be distinguished from culture-change, of which it is but one aspect, and assimilation, which is at times a phase of acculturation.”*  
(p. 149)

However, since then the term acculturation has been used differently by several social science approaches. It is important to distinguish acculturation from some other terms, such as adjustment, adaptation, and assimilation.

When examining acculturation, it is very important to stress that acculturative changes are not always directed toward closer cultural resemblance; acculturation may also strengthen an individual's own cultural traditions and values because, as research suggests (Supple et al., 2006; Umana-Taylor, 2004), contact with other ethnic groups can boost the saliency of one's own ethnic identity. This helps us to understand that assimilation is only one possible outcome and direction of acculturation.

Adjustment and adaptation in their turn are results of the acculturation process and cannot be used interchangeably with this term. Adjustment in psychology means the behavioural process of balancing conflicting needs that involves altering one's behaviour to reach a harmonious relationship with one's environment. For ethnic minorities this balance is between their culture and the culture of the larger society.

Berry (1997) pointed out two outcomes of acculturation: psychological and sociocultural adaptation. *Psychological adaptation* refers to both positive feelings of well-being and personal satisfaction, self-esteem and an acceptance of oneself within the new cultural environment as well as to some negative aspects related to psychological dysfunction or stress symptoms like anxiety, depression, psychosomatic complaints and conduct

disorders. *Sociocultural adaptation* refers to the sense a person has of his or her ability to fit into a new culture, to negotiate social relationships and to deal with social institutions. Familiarity with the language and customs of the country of settlement and interpersonal relationships with members of the cultures of settlement and origin are very important factors that influence sociocultural adaptation. A third adaptive outcome has recently been introduced (Portes et al, 2002): *economic adaptation*. This refers to the degree to which work is obtained, is satisfying and is effective in the new culture.

In this study of young Russian-speakers I will focus more on acculturation attitudes and on sociocultural outcomes, such as Latvian knowledge and use and social contacts with Latvians, which I will refer to as a degree of acculturation. Degree of acculturation represents how much of the national culture, including language and social contacts, individuals have incorporated into their behaviour. I will also investigate how different acculturation attitudes and separate behaviours are related to adolescents' ethno-national identity.

Although the concept of acculturation originated within the discipline of anthropology and has most often been treated as a cultural group phenomenon, acculturation may also be treated as a two-level phenomenon: that of the group and that of the individual (Berry, 1980). Acculturation studies at the group level focus on changes in social groups and structures, while studies at the individual level look at identity, values, attitudes and health. Acculturation at the individual level can be defined as "changes in individual experience as a result of being in contact with other cultures and participating in the process of change that one's cultural or ethnic group is undergoing" (Sam, 1994, p.7). As has already been mentioned, this research looks at individual-level acculturation because, in the Latvian context, issues related to the agency of individuals within the acculturation process rather than to structural influences is quite an unexplored field of social research.

In 1964, the sociologist Milton Gordon, describing cultural changes within ethnic minority groups, developed a one-dimensional assimilation model (Gordon, 1964). Biculturalism was seen only as a middle stage on the way from the total segregation of two cultural groups to their absolute assimilation. The basic assumption of this approach

was that an individual loses his or her cultural ethnic identity and specific behaviours as soon as he or she adapts to a new culture. Acculturation in this approach was seen as a unilinear and unidirectional process and was equal to assimilation. Later, this approach was criticised by John Berry (1980) and gave way to alternative acculturation models.

In the 1980s, Berry (Berry, 1980, 1984; Berry et al., 1986, 1989) proposed that there were two independent dimensions underlying the process of acculturation: the individual's own ethnic group and the majority's ethnic group. Relationships between these two dimensions can be manifested in a number of ways, including preferences for involvement in either both cultures or neither. Thus Berry's acculturation model was two-dimensional. His approach focused on different attitudes and behaviour models held by individuals in prolonged contact with different cultures. These combinations of attitudes and behaviours, what he calls modes of acculturation or acculturation strategies (Berry, 1980, 1984; Berry et al., 1986, 1989), are the result of a combination of two dimensions: (1) a degree of importance for an individual to maintain his/her own culture, language and identity and (2) a degree of importance to become a part of a larger society.

Berry pointed out four acculturation strategies that are available to individuals and to groups in plural societies. These modes are assimilation, separation, integration and marginalisation. The different modes may bring about changes of varying degree on the acculturating individual.

Assimilation is defined, namely, as relinquishing one's cultural identity into the larger society. The individual chooses to identify solely with the culture of the larger society, and his or her ties with the original ethnic culture are lost.

Separation entails an exclusive involvement in one's traditional cultural values and norms, coupled with little or no interaction with the members and the culture of larger society. If the separation option is not self-imposed, but is initiated by the larger society, then the term segregation is more appropriate (Sam, 1994). In his earlier works Berry (1980) uses the word rejection instead of the term separation. Rejection refers to self-imposed withdrawal from the larger society.

Integration involves an identification and involvement with one's traditional ethnic culture as well as that of the larger society. Integration implies the maintenance of cultural integrity as well as the movement to become an integral part of a larger societal framework. Therefore, in the case of integration, the option taken is to retain cultural identity and move to join the dominant society. (Berry, 1980)

Marginalisation is characterised by a rejection and/or lack of involvement in one's traditional culture as well as that of the larger society. The individual may give up being part of their own culture without becoming a part of a new culture. Berry had a hard time defining this last acculturation mode. In the beginning he calls this acculturation option 'deculturation'. It is characterised by striking out against the larger society and by a feeling of alienation, a loss of identity (Berry, 1980). However Young Yun (Young Yun, 1995) in his work uses the term 'deculturation' in a slightly different way. For him deculturation is cultural unlearning, it is when individuals during their acculturation process lose some of their old cultural traditions and values. Young Yun's definition of this term is similar to the term 'cultural shedding'.

Moreover, the validity of marginalisation as an approach to acculturation has been questioned (Del Pilar & Udasco, 2004). The likelihood that a person will develop a cultural sense of self without drawing on either the ethnic or national group or culture is not very probable, taking into account the importance of a sense of belonging and identity to any individual. As research has shown, the marginalisation approach may be viable only for the small segment of migrants who reject (or feel rejected by) both their heritage and receiving cultures (Szapocznik et al., 1980; Unger et al., 2002; Berry et al., 2006; Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008) and scales that attempt to measure marginalisation typically have poor reliability and validity compared with scales for the other categories (Cuellar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995; Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Unger et al., 2002; Berry et al., 2006). This has to be taken into account in this study and explored further in this particular dataset and Latvian context.

It is important to note that the choice of acculturation strategies can vary in different spheres of life. For example, an individual may choose integration in the linguistic and political spheres, but separation in close social contacts.

Acculturation behaviours are the behaviours that may accompany one's acculturation attitudes. They are part of acculturation strategies, but while the individual can hold a certain acculturation attitude, he or she can behave not in accordance with the attitude. Furthermore, as Navas et al. (2005) suggest, researchers have to distinguish between preferred acculturation attitudes (ideal situation) and the behaviours finally adopted (real situation). So, individuals and groups may hold varying attitudes towards these four ways of acculturating, and their actual behaviour may vary correspondingly. Together, these attitudes and behaviours comprise what Berry calls acculturation strategies (Berry, 1997). Some researchers (e.g. Berry et al, 1989; Liebkind, 1996; Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000) suggest that these behaviours represent sociocultural adaptation outcomes or the actual degree of acculturation and this is what this study will be focusing on.

Similarly, Paul Brady in his work (Brady, 1990) differentiates between internal and external acculturation. Internal acculturation is associated with individual attitudes, but external acculturation with behaviour, for example language proficiency and usage and social contacts. In this study I look at both internal and external acculturation and how an individual's attitudes and behaviours are related to their identification.

Some researchers also call for the need to distinguish attitudinal from behavioural dimensions of acculturation. The research of Gentry et al. (1995) shows that attitudinal dimensions (such as identification) tend to change more slowly than behavioural ones (e.g. measured by language use). Attitudes must therefore be treated as relatively separate from behaviour, but influencing each other.

Research (Berry et al., 1989, Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001) has indicated consistency ~~between~~ a variety of behavioural measures of the actual degree of acculturation and attitudes towards the process. Of course, these correlations cannot indicate which comes first: attitudes or behaviour. Although in this study I will assume that attitudes result in specific behaviour, I still agree that the relationship is reciprocal and one influences the other.

The assumption that assimilation was the most adaptive (economically and psychologically successful and less stressful) acculturative style remained largely

unchallenged until the 1970s, when alternatives to the assimilation model were introduced in the context of the civil rights movement. These theories were based on the assumption that acculturation at the expense of giving up identification with the culture of origin causes distress and poor achievement for the acculturating groups (Birman, 1994). Studies exploring the acculturation process suggest that the integration option is the one most preferred by both adults and adolescents (Berry, 1980; Berry et al., 1987; Berry & Krishnan, 1992; Sayegh & Lasry, 1993; Kwak & Berry, 2001). The literature also shows that this mode of acculturation is the most adaptive one and has a positive influence on an individual's well-being (Berry, 1997; Ward, 1996; Phinney et al., 2001). However, some other research (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003) showed that the separation option could be as adaptive as integration.

Research on acculturation has been quite popular in West European countries and the USA. In the Baltic countries this is still a new research approach. In Lithuania, Kasatkina (2000, 2004, 2006) looked at the acculturation of Russians and concluded that they preferred integration as their first choice of acculturation because they wanted to maintain their own culture, but at the same time they felt a sense of belonging to Lithuania. In Estonia Kruusvall et al (2009) investigated the strategies of inter-ethnic adaptation of Estonian Russians using Berry's acculturation theory and Valk et al (2011) looking at the relationship between the ethnic and national identity of different ethnic groups residing in Estonia and using bidimensional acculturation model came to very similar conclusions.

My own research in Latvia showed similar results. The results of the study (Pisarenko, 2002, 2006) on Russian-speaking adolescents' acculturation strategies suggest that integration was the most favoured strategy and marginalisation was the least preferred one. It has to be emphasised, however, that separation was the second most preferred strategy and was as popular as integration in the social contact domain. With this study I want to go further and not only describe what acculturation strategies adolescents choose, but how they make this choice.

Very often nationality policy, social contacts with representatives of the other cultural group and their attitudes towards migrants or ethnic minorities can be crucial for the choice of acculturation mode and identification of immigrants or ethnic minorities themselves. As was shown in the section on ethnicity, their choice is a product of both internal and external factors. Thus as many researchers advocate in their acculturation models (Berry, 1997; Bourhis et al., 1997; Piontkowski et al., 2000; Navas et al., 2005), it is essential to look not only at individual acculturation strategies, but also to pay attention to the behaviour of the dominant group representatives and state ethnic policy towards ethnic minorities. In this study I begin my empirical analysis by providing a specific historical, social and political context for Russian-speaking adolescents' acculturation and identification in Latvia (see Chapter 3).

When exploring adolescents' acculturation it is important to keep in mind the specific context that distinguishes that kind of research from research on adults' acculturation into a different culture. First, adolescents are very much influenced by their parents and peer groups. Adults have to think about their and another culture, but adolescents also have to adjust their decision to their parents' and peers' expectations (Sam, 1994). Adolescents go through socialisation processes where ideally parents and society are working together, supplementing each other. However, this is different for ethnic minority children: they are between two cultures – what their parents offer them and what the dominant society accepts. Finally, adolescents' identities are still developing (Erikson, 1968) and they are at an age when many important decisions have to be made, including their self-identification and its religious, sexual and ethnic dimensions. All these processes interact with and influence adolescents' acculturation and formation of ethnic identification/s.

Considerable research, which will be looked at in the next few sections, has determined what kind of factors could influence the ethnic identification and acculturation processes, for example, age, gender, education, migration motivation, expectations, cultural distance, language, religion, individual personality, length of stay, social support, societal attitudes, modes of acculturation and so on. As I have already



mentioned, some of these factors will be explored in more detail in the next few sections.

Berry in his work also considered how various factors are related to each other to account for an individual's acculturation and adaptation in a new society. Berry (1997) distinguishes between individual- and group-level variables. For example, the society of origin and society of settlement, 'significant others' (for example parents and/or peers) are group-level variables, while an individual's demographic, social, and psychological characteristics are individual-level variables. In this study, sociocultural variables (such as gender, language knowledge, peer contacts, perceived discrimination) and psychological variables (self-esteem, identification) are individual-level variables. In addition, aggregated measurements of peers' attitudes and teachers' characteristics and views are seen as group-level variables.

### ***1.3 Acculturation attitudes and behaviours and their relationships with ethno-national identity***

#### **1.3.1 Acculturation attitudes and identity**

Although it was imperative to bring identity back into the empirical acculturation framework as one of the most essential aspects of acculturation, this also caused problems in creating a clear identification model. As an example, both behavioural dimensions of acculturation, such as language choice and social contact, and acculturation attitudes, are still often included in the instruments measuring identification (Noels et al., 1996; Phinney, 1992). Moreover, it is unworkable to investigate the relationship between the two when they are confounded by including the same items in measures of acculturation and identification. In this study I detach the two concepts, acculturation and identification, and view identification separate of specific acculturation attitudes and behaviours, but interrelated with them. To unpick this relationship is one of the main aims of this study.

Although related, identification and acculturation are to be treated as two distinct phenomena because, as research suggests (Liebkind et al., 2004), the acquisition of new cultural traits does not imply the simultaneous adoption of a new identity. Different acculturation strategies may be associated with different identifications (Berry et al., 2006) that also have to be treated separately. Thus identification with one's ethnic group was found to be positively related to integration and separation but negatively related to assimilation and marginalisation, whereas national identification tended to be positively associated with assimilation and integration but negatively with separation and marginalisation or not related to marginalisation. Some other studies showed similar results (Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000), where ethnic and national identifications were differently related to their acculturation attitudes. Ethnic identity was associated positively with a separation strategy and negatively with an assimilation strategy, whereas national identity related positively to an assimilation strategy and negatively to a separation strategy. However, the degree of neither ethnic nor national identification was per se related to integration or marginalisation strategies.

In Kim and Berry's study (1985) of Korean and Hungarian migrant adolescents in Canada, they showed that both integration and separation are also characterised by such factors as the high importance of ethnic identification as opposed to assimilation, which was associated with a marked decrease in ethnic identification.

Research (Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Berry et al., 2006) reveals that, consistent with the theory and models described above, the migrants who have a high degree of national identity and a low degree of ethnic identity prefer the assimilation strategy; those with high degrees of both identifications choose the integration strategy. Furthermore, those with a high degree of ethnic identity and a low degree of national identity give preference to the separation strategy.

Thus, as research shows, it is possible to preserve one's own ethnic identity while on the behavioural level identify to a certain degree and function fully in the mainstream society (Laroche et al., 1998). Although some research does indeed (e.g. Laroche et al., 1997) reveal a negative correlation between an orientation towards the national group and ethnic identification in immigrants, many other studies do not provide any evidence

for the decline of ethnic identification when individuals identify with the national group and adopt some of the behaviours linked to it, such as national language proficiency and use for example.

According to Horenczyk (1997), these acculturation strategies may rather be associated in a newly constructed identity in which immigrants combine their identification with the ethnic and national groups and adapt their behaviours and attitudes in a way that incorporates the cultural norms and values of both groups. Here, one can talk about new identities as a combination of ethnic and national identifications. Finally, there is an indication of a contrast between immigrants' acculturation attitudes and their actual behaviour (Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000), where some migrants at the attitudinal level want to keep their own culture but at the behavioural level they actually accept that of the majority. This tendency demonstrates the significance and necessity of a multivariate approach by which, in researching the acculturation process, one has to separate between acculturation attitudes, actual behaviours and identifications.

However, as some research (Berry et al., 2006; Jang et al., 2007; Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008; Schwartz et al., 2010) pointed out, it is also useful to investigate acculturation profiles to validate acculturation categories in the specific local context by combining acculturation attitudes, actual behaviours and identifications. So far Berry's acculturation model with four clearly distinguishable acculturation profiles has been criticised (Rudmin, 2003, 2009) for the use of a priori classification rules assuming that all four categories exist and are equally valid. Indeed, research suggests that more ways of classifying individuals (e.g. using cluster analysis, latent class analysis) either provide evidence of the existence of fewer than four original categories or may extract multiple variants of one or more of the acculturation categories.

For example, using a sample of Hispanic young adults in Miami, Schwartz and Zamboanga (2008) found that classes resembling three of Berry's four categories — integration, separation, and assimilation — emerged from analysis, along with two additional variants of biculturalism and an extremely small class resembling the marginalisation category. In another study of young Koreans in the USA, only three clear acculturation profiles were discovered; there was no evidence of the

marginalisation strategy (Lee et al., 2003). Finally, cluster analysis of first-generation Korean migrants showed that only a two-cluster model was an optimal group classification (Jang et al., 2007). Based on the unique characteristics of the sample, including the fact that they were all born in Korea and had been and continued to be substantially exposed to their ethnic culture, the two groups discovered were identified as an “integrated group” and “separated group.”

These findings suggest that Berry’s typology may not exist in a given sample or population, and that some categories may have multiple subtypes. The application of the four acculturation profiles to the specific context of young Russian-speakers in Latvia will be investigated in this study.

The main hypotheses based on previous research are:

H<sub>1</sub>: Integration is associated with a high degree of identification with both the Latvian and Russian groups.

H<sub>2</sub>: Marginalisation is associated with a low degree of identification with both the Latvian and Russian groups.

H<sub>3</sub>: Assimilation is associated with a high degree of identification with the Latvian group and a low degree of identification with the Russian group.

H<sub>4</sub>: Separation strategy is associated with a high degree of identification with the Russian group and a low degree of identification with the Latvian group.

H<sub>5</sub>: Only two acculturation strategies/profiles (integration and separation) from the original four of Berry’s are applicable in the specific situation of young Russian- speakers in Latvia.

### **1.3.2 Language use and knowledge**

One of the central acculturation behaviours is proficiency in ethnic and national languages and their use. Language has very often been considered to be fundamental to research on immigrants' acculturation and adaptation. Language is a component of culture, but a very specific one. There is agreement that culture is a complex multidimensional entity that includes a set of symbolic systems, such as norms, values, beliefs, language, as well as habits and skills learned by individuals as members of a given society or group (Hamers & Blanc, 1995). As a product of culture, language is transmitted from one generation to the other, but it is also a tool for the internalisation of culture. Language is a part of culture and influences how things are thought about. Moreover, while language and culture are closely related, they are not homologous. When more than one culture and language are in contact in the same society, cultural and linguistic identities do not always overlap.

Language can help to maintain contacts with another cultural group and social and political institutions. It is one of the means by which group boundaries can be regulated: if you do not know the language, you cannot build social contacts with the other group and participate in certain activities. It is informative to determine whether proficiency in the dominant group language and its use are useful indicators of the acculturation process and of the formation of one's identification. In this study, language use and knowledge are seen as acculturation behaviours and the link between them and acculturation attitudes and identification is investigated.

One might think that language fluency bears a clear-cut relationship to sociocultural adjustment; it is associated with increased interaction with members of the host culture and a decrease in sociocultural adjustment problems. However, the interrelatedness of language proficiency and acculturation is not straightforward (Ward, 1996). There have been assumptions that second language proficiency or usage would influence social and emotional adjustment among immigrant children (Aronowitz, 1984). Yet, Ekstrand, in his 1976 study of more than 2000 immigrant adolescents in Sweden, found

that correlations between competence in Swedish and adaptation were very low. Taft (1979) and Bhatnagar (1980) also suggested that knowledge of the local language might help in some aspects, but it did not seem to be a major determinant of successful adaptation.

Nevertheless, more recent research shows that ethnic (minority own language) and national (majority language) language competence has often been associated with other specific acculturation behaviours and attitudes (Lanca et al., 1994; Young & Gardner, 1990). Analysis of the ICSEY<sup>3</sup> project data (Berry et al., 2006) suggests that adolescents with an ethnic profile chose a separation strategy and scored high on ethnic language knowledge and use, whereas those from an integration profile chose an integration strategy and scored high on knowledge of the national language and average on ethnic language as well as reporting quite balanced use of both languages. The same study also shows that adolescents with a national profile chose an assimilation strategy which also involves high proficiency in the national language and predominant use of it.

In Neto's (2002) study of immigrants in Portugal the choice of a separation strategy was associated with better knowledge of the minorities' own language (ethnic language). However, majority language proficiency was not found to be an important predictor of acculturation strategies in the same study. Nevertheless, in one of Neto's subsequent studies (Neto et al., 2005), it was shown that both integration and separation were related to greater acculturation behaviour with regards to national culture, including language use and social contacts. The results of Pisarenko's studies (2002, 2006) suggest that proficiency in the second language (national language) is positively interrelated with assimilation and integration and negatively with separation.

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<sup>3</sup> In 1993 J.W. Berry and a group of researchers from different countries formed a special programme 'International Comparative Studies of Ethnocultural Youth' (ICSEY) to extend knowledge regarding the adaptation and integration of second generation migrants into the host society. The research programme includes the following countries: Australia, Canada, Finland, France, Germany, Israel, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, United Kingdom, and the USA. The study examines factors related to adaptation and integration in each host society concentrating on factors that influence the psychological, socio-cultural and educational adaptation and integration of adolescents.

Other studies showed a similar pattern of the relationship between language knowledge and use and acculturation attitudes. Kvernmo and Heyerdahl (2004) argued that bilingual students scored lower on assimilation and higher on integration and separation than their monolingual (national language) peers. The Korean-Canadian and Hungarian-Canadian study (Kim & Berry, 1985) showed that both integration and separation were linked to fluency in the ethnic language and high frequency of its use. These two acculturation attitudes were distinguished from each other by fluency in the national language, with poorer knowledge related to separation. Assimilation, on the other hand, was correlated with low fluency in ethnic language, low frequency of its usage, and a preference for speaking the national language. These findings support earlier findings among immigrant adolescents elsewhere (Phinney et al., 2001).

Bilingualism includes not only bicultural competence but also integrative behaviour that should reinforce stronger integration attitudes (Vervoort, 2010). In this case ethnic language proficiency provides cultural maintenance, but national language knowledge encourages more social contacts with the national group that then increases tolerance and openness towards other groups.

Nowadays, many researchers recognise the significance of studying not only language knowledge but also language use (e.g. Chiswick & Miller, 2008; Van Tubergen & Kalmijn, 2009). As research shows, while majority language proficiency is often seen as sign of assimilation, language knowledge itself does not necessarily imply assimilation and identification with the national group (Espinosa & Massey, 1997). The actual use of ethnic and national languages is probably a much stronger indicator of integration or assimilation and one's identification (Alba, 1990; Van Tubergen & Kalmijn, 2009).

Moreover, not only acculturation strategies but also identification seems to be related to language knowledge. Acculturation and the learning of a second language are topics that have attracted considerable attention in recent years (Lanca et al., 1994). National language knowledge may encourage integration and a stronger bicultural identity. For example, Kvernmo and Heyerdahl's (2004) study found that native language had a significant main effect on ethnic identity strength and ethnic achievement, with

bilingual adolescents reporting higher scores than monolingual national language speakers. Competence in ethnic language provided a strong sense of ethnic identity.

Proficiency in the majority language tends to increase with the length of residence in the host society (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2000; Liebkind, 1993). As a consequence of this, individuals may come to relate more to members of the national group and their ethnic identification may decline. Proficiency in the national language and national identification may, in turn, increase the feeling among immigrants that the national group acknowledges and accepts them, which can lower perceived discrimination. It was found in previous studies (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000) that immigrants' self-esteem can increase directly through better knowledge of the national language as well as indirectly through lower perceived discrimination.

In general, studies that directly address the question of the relationship between identification and linguistic behaviour suggest that proficiency in the ethnic language and its use and ethnic identification are positively related (e.g. Bankston and Zhou, 1995; Imbens-Bailey, 1996). However, in previous research, identity and language have been measured using various methods and one has to be careful when interpreting the findings and applying them to other studies. Imbens-Bailey (1996) looked at the role of proficiency in Armenian for bilingual American children of Armenian descent. Her study argued that the bilingual adolescents expressed a closer affinity with their ethnic community through knowledge of the ethnic language that may help sustain exposure to ethnic language and social contacts.

Bankston and Zhou (1995) assessed ethnic identity (based on self-identification and preference for endogamy) and ethnic language proficiency, providing evidence for a strong link between proficiency in the ethnic language and ethnic identification. Similarly to the previous study, here again researchers suggest that the ethnic language provides opportunities for exposure to one's own ethnic group, culture and language.

However, as other research shows (Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000), ethnic and linguistic self-identifications are not related to proficiency in ethnic and national languages. The study



provided evidence, supporting findings obtained by Ethier and Deaux (1990), that it is not the actual proficiency in the relevant languages, but more the use of these languages that was closely linked to their identification. At the same time it is important to look at both language and context simultaneously; Jasinskaja-Lahti showed that most of the Russian-speaking adolescents in her study based in Finland had a tendency to use their ethnic language a lot and were also generally proficient in Finnish, leading to a different relationship between language and identification, where the use of national language and its knowledge were not related to national identification.

Individuals can maintain or construct their multiple identifications irrespective of their proficiency in the languages of the respective ethnic groups (De Vos, 1980; Giles, 1978; Giles & Johnson, 1981). Moreover, the sense of belonging and membership of ethnic-minority individuals can, in context, be related to the emotional ties and perception of linguistic links with previous generations, rather than to the actual maintenance of language knowledge (Streitmatter, 1988; Sprott, 1994).

However, few studies provide strong evidence for a direct link between identification and knowledge of ethnic or national languages. As I described earlier, many more studies (Bankston and Zhou, 1995; Imbens-Bailey, 1996, Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000) support the idea that language knowledge is indirectly linked to ethnicity through social contacts. So, Jasinskaja-Lahti (2000) in her study of Russian migrant adolescents in Finland showed that the cultural orientation of the adolescents' social contacts was one of the factors that strongly predicted the degree of Russian and Finnish identity, while at the same time proficiency in the Finnish language appeared to promote their orientation towards contacts with native Finns, indirectly supporting their Finnish identity.

Since social interaction can provide a means by which ethnicity is experienced (Alba, 1990), frequent occasions of social interaction with individuals from the same ethnic group are likely to strengthen ethnic identification. Furthermore, if they speak the ethnic language among themselves, in-group social contacts could be associated with greater ethnic language proficiency, which may again encourage ethnic identification. I will return to in-group and out-group contacts in more detail in Section 1.3.3.

The role of language in creating and maintaining one's ethnic and national identifications continues to be a highly controversial question. Some researchers continue to argue that language plays a central role in one's ethnicity (Fishman, 1989; 1996) and as Giles et al. (1977) state:

*“In-group speech can serve as a symbol of ethnic identity and cultural solidarity. It is used for reminding the group about its cultural heritage, for transmitting group feelings, and for excluding members of the out-group from its internal transactions.” (p 307)*

Nevertheless the same authors and others (e.g. Edwards and Chisholm, 1987) also point out that language is not a required component of identity; there are situations and groups where language is not an important aspect of identity. Some academics suggest that ethnic knowledge and feelings can be transmitted using any language, including the national one (Glenn & De Jong, 1996) and that the loss of ethnic language knowledge is not associated with the certain reduction of one's ethnic identification (Bentahila & Davies, 1992, Phinney, et al., 1998), for example, in the case of Scots in Great Britain.

For the most part, different methodologies and differences in the specific situation of the groups studied have to be taken into account to explain the conflicting findings regarding the relationship between language and identity (Imbens-Bailey, 1996).

For many ethnic groups, language can be an important dimension of ethnic identity by symbolising their distinction from other ethnic groups (Giles & Johnson, 1981; Heller, 1987), which can be linked to both positive and negative responses from their own ethnic group and other groups. Such attitudes and experiences can hasten the exploration of ethnic identity and sense of ethnic belonging. Moreover, ethnic and national language proficiency can be perceived as a necessary requirement for group membership and acceptance into those groups. When language is the core value of an ethnic group, like it is in Latvia, it may be an important factor in determining the members' cultural identity. In this case language can often be a critical element of group membership that facilitates in-group cohesion and serves as an emotional and symbolic dimension of one's identity (Giles & Coupland, 1991).

Furthermore, very few studies (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2000; Phinney, Romero et al., 2001) have used a bidimensional model of cultural identity and language knowledge and use. This could explain some of the conflicting findings from studies where only one dimension of cultural identity was looked at, where ethnic and national identities were presented as a continuum rather than two dimensions of a broader cultural identity. In this study both ethnic (minority) and national (majority) identities are considered as elements of a broader cultural identity and ethnic identity and national identity may vary independently. In this study a bidimensional model of ethno-national identity will allow us to look at the influence of national and ethnic language on both dimensions of identity (ethnic and national) separately.

Ethnic and dominant language knowledge and use are key variables in acculturation research. They are used in most measures of acculturation and are one of the major acculturation behaviours. It is also important to look at the relationship between attitudes, linguistic behaviour and ethno-national identification. When looking at adolescents, different contexts for language use are also essential. In this study I will look at school, close social contacts and broader society as well as mass media as the main areas for the use of Latvian and/or Russian language. The main question is the relationship of language to other variables within the acculturation processes, particularly acculturation attitudes and other acculturation behaviours as well as identification. Since all Russian-speaking adolescents speak Russian, I will be looking at their proficiency in Latvian, that is being bilingual, and the balance between their use of Russian and Latvian in everyday life.

To conclude, the main hypotheses following from the previous research review are:

H<sub>1</sub>: The actual degree of acculturation (expressed as fluency in Latvian and its frequent use in everyday circumstances) is positively associated with the choice of integration and assimilation and negatively with separation and marginalisation.

H<sub>1A</sub>: Better knowledge of Latvian is positively associated with the choice of integration and assimilation and negatively with separation and

marginalisation

H<sub>1B</sub>: Frequent use of Latvian is positively associated with the choice of integration and assimilation and negatively with separation and marginalisation.

H<sub>2</sub>: The actual degree of acculturation expressed as fluency in Latvian and its frequent use in everyday circumstances is associated with a stronger Latvian identification and weaker Russian identification

H<sub>2A</sub>: Better knowledge of Latvian is related to a stronger Latvian identification and weaker Russian identification.

H<sub>2B</sub>: Frequent use of Latvian is related to a stronger Latvian identification and weaker Russian identification.

H<sub>3</sub>: Better knowledge of Latvian is related to more frequent contacts with Latvians.

H<sub>4</sub>: More frequent use of Latvian is related to more frequent contacts with Latvians.

H<sub>5</sub>: Better knowledge of Latvian is correlated with more frequent use of this language.

### **1.3.3 In-group and out-group social contacts**

Social contacts with individuals from one's own ethnic group and from the larger society are one of the fundamental dimensions of acculturation behaviour. This aspect has often been used to validate acculturation attitudes and look at actual behaviour (Berry et al., 1989). Ethnic contexts, that is the presence of social and cultural institutions supporting the ethnic culture, such as ethnic organisations, extended families, neighbourhoods (communities with high densities of ethnic group members),

and the availability of one's original cultural group (Berry, 1997; Berry & Kim, 1988), are assumed to provide a healthy acculturation process.

As I will show in this chapter, many researchers have considered and in some cases confirmed that positive and extensive exposure to national culture through social contacts with the majority group is a necessary precondition for the successful acculturation of an individual. So the more positive contact (often measured by discrimination levels or perceptions) and more contact overall individuals have with members of a new culture, the easier acculturation is and the better an individual's well-being. Moreover, Alba (1990) argues that social interactions can provide a means by which ethnicity is experienced and expressed.

Very often, research on ethnic socialisation in psychology and sociology focuses on parents as the main ethnic socialisation agent. Yet, the research results are quite conflicting about parental influence. Much research has suggested that there is a lack of correlation between the racial attitudes of children and those of their parents and friends (Aboud & Doyle, 1996; Phinney et al., 2001b). Researchers have found some correlation, but it is not very strong (Bird et al., 1952; Mosher & Scodel, 1960; Spenser, 1983 as cited in Brown, 1995, p 150-151). Branch and Newcombe (1986) in their research showed that prejudice in younger children correlates negatively with their parents' attitudes and this correlation becomes positive only when they are six to seven years old. Other researchers have illustrated that parental ethnic socialisation can have an influence only on some aspects of ethnocultural self-concept, such as identity achievement/resolution or exploration, but not sense of belonging (Umana-Taylor & Fine, 2004; Supple et al., 2006).

These limitations notwithstanding, the family remains one of the major socialising agents of children and adolescents into their cultural context (Super and Harkness, 1997), and parental attitudes are likely to be important to acculturation attitudes, behaviours and identification. As evidence suggests, immigrant parents can have a significant impact on their children's ethnicity, either directly or indirectly through the support of the ethnic language in the home environment. For example, the ethnic language proficiency of adolescents is closely related to the attitudes of parents

regarding cultural maintenance (Phinney et al., 2001a). Besides, as researchers argue, the direction of the relationship between parental attitudes and behaviours and those of their children is more likely to be causal because it seems less plausible that parental ethnicity would be influenced by the adolescents' identification. However, the latter cannot be completely excluded and the context of any particular study has to be taken into account.

The conflicting results about parental influence on children's ethnicity lead us to search for other additional sources of influence. For adolescents, the extent of their social networks very often is influenced not only by their parents, but also by their school and the neighbourhood in which they live. Peers and teachers also become important as children enter adolescence. Schools and other educational settings at this age are the major arenas for intergroup contact, acculturation and the development of ethnocultural identity. Thus research has to move beyond the family as the primary source of influence on one's ethno-national self-concept into the education system and look at different contextual factors such as teachers and peers.

There is evidence of the important role of peers in socialisation (Harris, 1995). As research shows (Phinney et al, 2001a), social contact with peers from one's own ethnic group is associated with stronger ethnic identity; this peer effect is in fact greater than the effect of ethnic language use and knowledge. Furthermore, if these contacts create an opportunity for the use of the ethnic language, then this interaction is associated with better proficiency in ethnic language that may encourage ethnic identification even more.

The Korean-Canadian study (Kim & Berry, 1985) showed that assimilation attitudes were linked to having fewer Korean and more Canadian friends. The same study provided evidence that integration was associated with greater participation in Canadian clubs and organisations, while separation was characterised by having more Korean friends.

As the ICSEY project data (Berry et al., 2006) show that adolescents with an ethnic profile who chose the separation strategy prefer contact with their ethnic group and

score low on contact with peers from the national group. Those adolescents who prefer to have peer contact from both groups choose the integration attitude. Finally, the same study also shows that adolescents with a national profile choose the assimilation attitude and their peer contact was largely with members of the national group. Similarly, in his study, Neto (2002) suggests that contact with peers from one's own ethnic group is positively related to the integration attitude. Moreover, in-group social interactions seem to be related to acculturation attitudes, while out-group interactions are not.

Nevertheless many of the results of these studies were correlational and did not demonstrate any causality or the direction of effect. In this study, since I am using cross-sectional data, I will also not be making any causal arguments. It may be that adolescents who have strong integration or assimilation preferences are more likely to learn and use the national language and to interact with the national group. On the other hand those who have greater exposure to the national culture and language, that is wider social contacts with the national group, could be more likely to choose integration or assimilation that is associated with high national identification. Therefore, social interaction with peers from one's own group or national group is likely to be related to acculturation attitudes and other acculturation behaviours as well as ethnic and national identifications in ways that are not easily separated. Furthermore, some other factors may contribute to each of these processes. In this study I will use self-reported social contact with Russian and Latvian groups to investigate the link between social contacts (acculturation behaviour), acculturation attitudes and identifications.

As stated earlier, although the family context represents a significant source of socialisation surrounding identity formation, the construction of ethno-national identity assumes a contrast group (Phinney, 1990) not only to create 'us - them' associations, but also to compare ethnic attitudes among members of the same ethnic group. For ethnic adolescents, the peer group may be an important source of contrasting socialisation experiences. Proposed by Leon Festinger (1954), Social Comparison Theory suggests that people judge themselves largely in comparison to others. People want to know how

their abilities stack up against others. Some abilities and characteristics can have clear physical criteria, for others there could be no non-social means of comparison available. Identity belongs to the former.

Social psychological research shows that individuals tend to lean more toward social comparisons in situations that are ambiguous. The formation of ethnic and national identifications in adolescents is very complicated and rather ambiguous. While it is very challenging for all different identities and ages, it is even more challenging for adolescents who live in multicultural societies. They are surrounded by fragmented and multiple identities and their self-concept is a complicated interaction between psychological processes, social influence and the creation of new categories and attitudes. Social Comparison Theory could be useful when looking at peer group and teachers' influence on adolescent ethno-national identities and acculturation.

As research shows, ethnically heterogeneous school and peer environments can boost the saliency of ethnic identity in adolescents and increase their ethnic affirmation or commitment (Supple et al., 2006; Umana-Taylor, 2004). While in ethnically homogeneous schools and peer environments it could be easier for adolescents to maintain their ethnic identity and language, it also could leave these adolescents less aware of ethnic diversity in the larger society. Kvernmo and Heyerdahl's (2004) study found that Sami adolescents in the high ethnic density areas reported lower preference for assimilation than did peers in the medium- and low-density contexts. For separation attitudes, adolescents in the high ethnic density areas showed the highest scores.

Another study (Sabatier, 2007) implies that the social environment context variables – the ethnic composition of school and peers – contribute to adolescents' ethnic and national identity, but to a lesser degree than relationships with parents or perceived discrimination. The percentage of national friends predicted the strength of ethnic and national identity. A higher percentage was associated with a stronger national identity, but a weaker ethnic identity.

Given the significant amount of socialisation adolescents receive from peers (Rubin, Bukowski & Parker, 1998), it is likely that the peer group also affects identity



development either by reinforcing the ethnic group attitudes and behaviours they receive in their home environments from the immediate family or by providing a possibility for social contact with peers from the national group. In the latter case peers provide contrast and very often can contradict traditional attitudes and behaviours specific to an ethnic group. Indeed, ethnic minority adolescents who have extensive contact with peers from the same ethnic group tend to have a stronger and more stable ethnic identity (Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Phinney et al., 2001a).

Several researchers have also reported that adolescents' ethnic identifications vary depending on the social context. For example, in Rosenthal and Hrynevich's (1985) study, Greek-Australian and Italian-Australian adolescents reported feeling more Greek or Italian while inside their ethnic groups, but felt more Australian when in school and participating in national or general school and other activities. Taken together, this research leads to a hypothesis that peer factors would have a mirror effect on ethnic and national identification.

As most of the social research in this area shows, individual factors are stronger predictors of ethnic identity during early adulthood than peer socialisation (Ontai-Grzebik & Raffaelli, 2004). Yet, this is not a clear-cut statement. While correlations between ethnic identity and peer contacts were significant in Ontai-Grzebik and Raffaelli's study, the significance disappeared when entered into regression models after all other variables. The problem might be that ethnic identity exploration and achievement were also entered into the other models. It could be that these variables' correlation with the peer contact variable removed its significance as a predictor from the model.

Another theory that suggests that children are influenced by the attitudes of significant others with whom they identify and from whom they seek approval is Social Reflection Theory (Allport, 1954). As we know from research, parents are not the only 'variable' in the formation of children's ethnicity (Phinney et al., 2001a; Supple et al., 2006; Brown et al., 2007). Thus this approach suggests the possibility that teachers' and peers' identifications and acculturation attitudes and behaviours might be related to individual-level adolescents' acculturation variables.

Although the influence of peers and teachers is very important, as shown above, very few researchers explored the effect of social context on ethnic identity and acculturation, particularly teachers' impact. One of the studies that explored ethnic identity and social context (Kinket & Verkuyten, 1997) showed that ethnic minority adolescents are more likely to refer to their ethnicity in self-description and to indicate positive self-evaluation in classes with a high percentage of ethnic pupils, whereas national adolescents were less likely to refer to their ethnic label in self-description when the percentage of national classmates was high. In addition, ethnic self-evaluation was more positive in both groups when classmates talk more frequently about national and ethnic culture and when the proportion of national adolescents is low. The same association becomes negative when the percentage of national adolescents in a class is high. Furthermore, children who perceive teachers' negative reactions to ethnic harassment evaluate their ethnic identity more positively.

In this study I will be looking at how peers influence adolescents' acculturation attitudes, behaviours and identifications. On the individual level I will use the measurement of frequency of contact with the national group. In addition, peer effect will be measured as an aggregate from the responses at a class level. Furthermore, I will also look at the influence of teachers on their pupils' acculturation attitudes, behaviours and identifications, where again I will use aggregated data of their teachers' attitudes, behaviours and characteristics at a class level. Similarly to parental influence, the direction of influence from teachers to pupils is more likely to be unidirectional because it seems improbable that teachers' views would be influenced by the average adolescent's attitudes or behaviours.

Finally, I will use some proxies for parental attitudes as reported by adolescents themselves, such as parental views on language maintenance, education and country of birth.

The main hypotheses based on previous research are:

H<sub>1</sub>: More frequent contacts with Latvians are positively associated with the choice of integration and assimilation and negatively with the choice of separation

and marginalisation.

H<sub>2</sub>: More frequent contacts with Latvians are positively related to Latvian identification and negatively to Russian identification.

H<sub>3</sub>: Adolescents' attitudes at an individual level mirror peers' ethno-national identity and acculturation strategies (aggregated at class level).

H<sub>4</sub>: Pupils' ethno-national identity and modes of acculturation mirror their teachers' ethno-national identity and acculturation strategies.

H<sub>6</sub>: Parents' views have an effect on both Russian and Latvian identification, acculturation attitudes and the actual degree of acculturation of their children.

#### **1.3.4 Perceived discrimination**

Little is known about how widely adolescents perceive discrimination and how this influences their acculturation experiences and choices as well as their identity. While discrimination may be an important factor in acculturation, there is little research done in this field. In this study I want to look at how perceived discrimination is related to acculturation attitudes and behaviours as well as ethnic and national identification.

It is important to explore the potential role of perceived discrimination in choosing how to acculturate. Although discrimination is a significant factor in the acculturation processes, its occurrence is difficult to determine objectively because it involves people's intentions and beliefs. The intentions behind somebody's action are generally unclear and uncertain to the perceiver. Discrimination can occur without being perceived and it can be perceived where it did not occur. Thus, the perception of discrimination rather than its objective occurrence is important because it is exactly the individual interpretation of those events by the perceiver that may influence acculturation attitudes and behaviours and shape his/her identifications.

Based on the results of the ICSEY study, researchers (Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003; Berry et al., 2006) suggest that perceived discrimination is negatively related to adolescents' involvement in the larger society. The results of this project show that young people who chose integration and/or assimilation reported significantly less discrimination. Those who chose separation reported more discrimination and, finally, those who chose marginalisation showed the highest perceived discrimination scores.

Similarly to the findings above and to other research studies (Neto, 2002; Liebkind et al., 2004), the results of my own research (Pisarenko, 2002, 2006) also clearly revealed that the level of perceived discrimination had significant positive correlations with separation and marginalisation and negative correlations with the integration option. Jasinskaja-Lahti et al.'s research (2003) also detected the fact that immigrants who showed more assimilation attitudes perceived less discrimination than those who preferred integration or separation options.

Other research has yielded similar results, where increased assimilation results in less perceived discrimination (Aguirre, Saenz, & Hwang, 1989; Floyd & Gramann, 1995), while other research suggests the opposite: that greater assimilation leads to greater perception of discrimination (Portes, 1984). These conflicting findings show that there are other factors that might influence perceived discrimination and be interrelated with it. Very often perceived discrimination is introduced as an independent variable, yet it can be seen as an outcome variable as well. It is very hard to establish any causality in these relationships. Berry et al. (2006) argue that by using structural equation modelling they provide evidence for the prior role of discrimination on the choice of acculturation strategies and adaptation. I will use perceived discrimination as an independent variable that may influence acculturation strategies and identification.

In this study I will focus on sociological variables surrounding perceived discrimination and its role in the acculturation process. However, Phinney et al. (1998) argue that because the effect of sociocultural factors is relatively small and indirect, the evidence for the impact of psychological characteristics is very compelling. Self-esteem appears

most often in previous studies in relation not only to discrimination, but also ethnic and national identities.

The results of the ICSEY project (Sam et al., 2006) suggest that higher self-esteem is associated with both assimilation and separation attitudes and behaviours of immigrant adolescents. Strong ethnic or national identification was also related to higher self-esteem. Yet, no relationship between self-esteem and acculturation attitudes was found in Neto's (2002) study in Portugal. Many other studies showed a link between identification and self-esteem (for example, Crocker, Cornwell, & Major, 1993; Verkuyten, 1998). Research shows a positive association between ethnic identity and self-esteem (Phinney, 1992; Phinney, Madden & Santos, 1998). Higher self-esteem seems to be related not only to less perceived discrimination, but also to better national language knowledge (Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000).

Yet, results of the research on the relationship between self-esteem and perception of discrimination are not clear cut. According to Social Identity Theory, in the quest to maintain self-esteem, individuals look to the positive evaluation of their in-group in comparison with other groups. Thus individuals with higher self-esteem and a stronger ethnic identity would be more likely to have more negative attitudes toward other groups and to perceive more discrimination. Similarly, Wills' (1981) Downward Comparison Theory suggests that individuals who have lower self-esteem might try to enhance their esteem through downward social comparison, so negative attitudes towards others would enhance their level of self-esteem. Here again, higher self-esteem could be related to negative attitudes towards other ethnic groups and this negative image could lead to the perception of more discrimination from these other groups or members of these groups.

Yet, there is not much evidence to support this. Most studies show a positive relationship between high self-esteem and less perceived discrimination (Crocker, Cornwell & Major, 1993; Phinney et al., 1998; Cassidy et al., 2004; Cassidy et al., 2005), while only very few others associate more perceived discrimination with higher self-esteem (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001). Ehrlich (1974) suggested the principle of self-congruity, where individuals have a generalised attitude toward self and

others. Thus high self-esteem provides a base of acceptance of others and low self-esteem would lead to rejection of others. This approach can be extended to the perception of discrimination where high self-esteem is related to less perceived discrimination.

The Rejection-Identification model tries to explain the positive association between less perceived discrimination and high self-esteem through ethnic identity (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999). This theory posits that perceived discrimination may lead to increased in-group identification (higher ethnic identification), which can help maintain psychological well-being in the face of societal devaluation. Thus, following this model, perceived discrimination is directly negatively linked with well-being, but is compensated for via increased identification with the minority group which has a positive impact on psychological well-being. Yet, while this protects individuals' self-esteem, this can also lead to negative attitudes toward other groups.

Romero and Roberts (2003) only partially supported the Rejection-Identification model where higher perceived discrimination was associated with lower self-esteem, but also with a lower sense of ethnic belonging and exploration. Sense of ethnic belonging was positively related to self-esteem, but ethnic exploration was not significantly related to self-esteem.

To address unknown aspects of the Rejection-Identification model, Armenta and Hunt (2009) examined how the ethnic identification and personal self-esteem of Latino/Latina adolescents were influenced by perceived discrimination. As the data showed, perceived group discrimination was related to higher self-esteem via direct and indirect routes (through ethnic identification). On the contrary, perceived individual discrimination had a direct and indirect negative effect on self-esteem. Moreover, these two levels of discrimination showed interactive effects on both ethnic identification and self-esteem. These results highlight the importance of distinguishing between group and individual levels of perceived discrimination. In this study I separate these two levels of perceived discrimination.

The study by Umana-Taylor and Updegraff (2007) found that self-esteem was negatively related to perceived discrimination and positively related to ethnic identity, suggesting that ethnic identity may reduce the impact of risk factors such as discrimination by promoting self-esteem in adolescents. They also argue that acculturation attitudes may moderate the relationship between perceived discrimination and self-esteem. In particular, they proposed that a strong orientation toward the dominant culture (assimilation/integration) would magnify the negative relationship between discrimination and self-esteem. Further research is needed to investigate the role of self-esteem in acculturation processes but that is outside the realm of this study. Nevertheless, the theories mentioned above will be used to interpret some of the findings in this study.

Perceived discrimination is very often seen as a key factor for understanding how adolescents construct their identity (Erikson, 1968). Phinney (1989) in her work suggested that the perception of discrimination drives awareness of one's ethnicity and intergroup relations in the larger society. The more prejudice and discrimination there is toward immigrants or just towards people of different ethnic or racial origin, the harder the acculturation process (Ward, 1996).

Similarly to the interrelatedness between self-esteem and perceived discrimination, findings on the relationship between ethnocultural identity and perceived discrimination are not straightforward. On the one hand, as Crocker and Major (1989) suggest, the more central group membership is to an individual, the more likely this individual is to perceive more discrimination. There is, indeed, some evidence for a positive association between stronger ethnic identification and more perceived discrimination (for example, Branscombe et al., 1999), but there is still a question about the causal direction of this association.

On the other hand, Phinney et al. (1998) in their study argued that a positive view of oneself (high self-esteem and strong ethnic identity) was related to a generally positive interpretation of events and thus there is less perceived discrimination. A study by Phinney, Ferguson & Tate (1997) showed that a stronger ethnic identity was related, indirectly, to more positive attitudes toward other groups and thus might be related to

less perceived discrimination. Phinney (1990) also finds a positive relationship between strong ethnic identity and less perceived discrimination. Nevertheless, some other studies (Verkuyten, 2002; Cassidy et al., 2005) did not find any association between identification and the perception of discrimination.

These conflicting findings show that both perceived discrimination and cultural identity have to be operationalised at more than one level and dimension. Cassidy et al. (2005) and Verkuyten (1998) similarly to Armenta and Hunt (2009) suggested that it is important to distinguish between private (individual) and public (group) perceived discrimination to analyse the relationship between cultural identity and perceived discrimination. Moreover, it is also important to look at ethnic and national elements of identity as well as both exploration and belonging dimensions of ethnocultural identity.

As previous research suggests (Operario and Fiske, 2001), ethnic minorities with a strong ethnic identity perceive more personal discrimination than those with a weaker ethnic identity. Yet, these two groups of individuals perceive the same amount of group-level discrimination. In addition, when two dimensions of ethno-national identity are taken into account, available data show that the perception of discrimination may reinforce ethnic identity and links with one's ethnic group and weaken national identity and ties with the national group (Bourhis et al., 1997). Furthermore, when the exploration and belonging dimensions of ethnocultural identity are measured separately, research shows that high ethnic exploration predicts perception of more discrimination and that ethnic affirmation as a positive sense of belonging to one's ethnic group is indirectly related to discrimination through attitudes toward others (Romero & Roberts, 1998). Contrary to Social Identity Theory, a stronger sense of belonging was associated with more positive attitudes toward others.

When the ethnic and national elements of cultural identity as well as both the exploration and belonging dimensions of ethnocultural identity are measured in the same study then it appears that perceived discrimination predicts weaker national identification, but stronger ethnic identity exploration (Sabatier, 2007). Thus, the perception of rejection from the national group may act as a barrier to integration and identification with this group, but may not provide an incentive to identify more strongly



with one's own group. Yet more perceived discrimination could encourage exploration of one's own ethnicity. As Umana-Taylor and Updegraff (2007) found in their study, ethnic identity exploration was positively related to perceived discrimination.

Some evidence about the existing relationship between national identification and perceived discrimination comes from research by Jasinskaja-Lahti (2000). She argues that the Russian adolescents who had a low national identification were also more oriented towards marginalisation or separation and perceived more discrimination than those who supported the integration or assimilation attitudes. As Jasinskaja-Lahti suggests, it could be only a matter of perception, with those with a lower preference for integration or assimilation more likely to be discriminated against compared to those who are well integrated or assimilated. In this study I will use perceived discrimination as a potential predictor of acculturation attitudes and behaviours. However, cross-sectional data in Jasinskaja-Lahti's study and in my research do not allow for any major causal arguments and, as previous research indicates, the opposite causal direction (discrimination causes acculturation preferences) is also possible (Horenczyk, 1997; Bourhis et al., 1997).

Finally, there is considerable research looking at the relationship between language (as a component of acculturation behaviour and very often a central element of one's identification) and perceived discrimination. Felix-Ortiz et al. (1994) showed that a perception of greater discrimination is associated with elements of acculturation such as a preference to speak the ethnic language in comparison with the national language and preference to be around ethnic friends rather than friends from the national group. Romero & Roberts (1998) also showed that individuals who perceived greater discrimination spoke the national language less. There are different theoretical approaches to explain the relationship between linguistic behaviours, such as language knowledge and use, and perceived discrimination that make use of social contacts and identifications.

According to the first approach, when language is a central element of ethnic identification, perception of discrimination will increase ethnic in-group identification (Rumbaut, 1994) and also increase knowledge and use of an ethnic language that is also

associated with stronger ethnic identification (Fishman, 1966; Tajfel, 1974). Furthermore, respectively less perceived discrimination and/or high levels of tolerance in society will weaken ethnic identity as well as increase knowledge of the national language and decrease proficiency in an ethnic language (Fishman, 1966; Hamers & Blanc, 2000). However, this approach has also been criticised for taking for granted a direct link between ethnic identity and linguistic behaviour, which is not always the case as I have already argued in the section about language.

The second approach, which is prominent in the works of Giles and his colleagues (1977) as well as Edwards (1985), proposes that the relationship between identification and linguistic behaviour is more pragmatic rather than emotional. This approach suggests that individuals are pragmatically motivated to learn a national language and use it to communicate with others (Giles et al., 1977). Therefore, perceived discrimination may encourage individuals to increase their proficiency of the national language in order to achieve greater social acceptance from the national group (Galindo, 1995). However, this can happen alongside the maintenance of other valuable elements of their ethnic identification (Edwards, 1985), including their ethnic language.

The third theoretical approach suggests a link between perceived discrimination and national language knowledge and use by creating boundaries between social groups and by limiting opportunities to use the language in question and improve its knowledge (Norton Pierce, 1995; McKay and Wong, 1996; Fisher et al., 2000; Carhill et al., 2008). Moreover, perceived discrimination can also lower self-esteem in general and increase anxiety about language skills, thus making adolescents more likely to avoid situations where they have to use the language (Felix, 2004; Hamers & Blanc, 2000; McKay & Wong, 1996).

As an extension to this approach Medvedeva (2010) showed an association between perceived discrimination and proficiency in English among the adolescent children of immigrants. Yet the relationship was not straightforward; the study provided evidence of a negative impact of perceived discrimination by school peers, and of a positive association with perceived societal discrimination and discrimination by teachers and counsellors.

On the one hand, Medvedeva argues that perceived discrimination discourages or hinders adolescents' participation in English-dominant school activities and decreases the likelihood of their participation in English-dominant social networks (Lippi-Green, 1997; Fisher et al., 2000). Therefore, as other authors (Norton Pierce, 1995; Carhill et al., 2008) have already argued, these adolescents have fewer opportunities to practise English, with negative consequences for English language competence. In addition, this strategy of social avoidance or exclusion might coexist with linguistic avoidance (using simpler language structures) having a cumulative negative effect on English language knowledge over time (Felix, 2004; Sinclair, 1971).

On the other hand, perceived societal discrimination, as expressed by school administration and teachers, may have a positive influence by encouraging adolescents to improve their national language skills in an attempt to overcome possible future discrimination and to succeed academically and economically.

To conclude, in this study I will focus on the relationship between perceived group- and individual-level discrimination and acculturation attitudes and behaviours as well as identifications. Based on the previous research and my theoretical approach I hypothesise that:

H<sub>1</sub>: Lower perceived discrimination is related to the choice of integration or assimilation and higher perceived discrimination is associated with the choice of separation or marginalisation.

H<sub>2</sub>: Exploration of ethno-national identity is related to lower perceived discrimination.

H<sub>3</sub>: Higher perceived discrimination is positively related to Russian identification and negatively to Latvian identification.

H<sub>4</sub>: In general higher degree of acculturation is related to lower degree of perceived discrimination.

H<sub>4A</sub>: Less contact with Latvians is associated with higher perceived discrimination.

H<sub>4B</sub>: Better knowledge of Latvian is associated with lower perceived individual discrimination.

H<sub>4C</sub>: Better knowledge of Latvian is associated with higher perceived group discrimination.

H<sub>4D</sub>: More frequent use of Latvian is associated with lower perceived discrimination.

#### ***1.4 Summary and final theoretical framework***

In this study ethnicity is viewed as a discursive system of classifications, a set of cultural identifiers used to assign people to groups (Cohen, 1978) that according to Barth (1969) and Steinberg (1981) are situational and experiential, not innate. Furthermore, this study will be focusing on individual ethnic identification rather than ethnicity as the shared characteristics of an entire group. **The main focus of this study** is construction of ethno-national identities by Russian-speaking adolescents in Riga and their acculturation choices and processes.

Ethnic identity is also a dynamic concept. As explained in previous sections, an individual can identify with both cultures or with neither, therefore it is essential to look at two components of adolescents' identification: their identification with their own ethnic group and with a 'new' culture, in this case Russian and Latvian culture and language, respectively. This study addresses the question of the formation of identification with a bidimensional approach based on the combination of two identifications: ethnic (minority ethnic group – Russian) and national (majority ethnic group - Latvian). I use a term ethno-national identification to represent two-dimensional model of identity.

When exploring ethno-national identification, it is also important to look at a broader acculturation processes. Acculturation within this approach is defined as individual processes that reflect dealing with other culture/s while also taking into account

relationships with one's own culture (Berry, 1992). I will use Canadian researcher John Berry's two-dimensional acculturation model based on four different acculturation strategies (assimilation, integration, separation, marginalisation) for ethnic minority and immigrant adaptation in the host society (Berry, 1980).

Acculturation strategies are two-dimensional combining people's views, attitudes and behaviours with regards to their own and other culture/s. It is important to distinguish between preferred acculturation attitudes (ideal situation) and the behaviours finally adopted (real situation) (Navas et al., 2005). Together, these attitudes and behaviours comprise what Berry calls acculturation strategies (Berry, 1997), but while the individual can hold a certain acculturation attitude, he or she can behave not in accordance with the attitude.

I will distinguish between acculturation attitudes and behaviours of the Russian-speaking adolescents and investigate how the two are interrelated and how an individual's attitudes and behaviours are related to their ethno-national identification. As some researchers (e.g. Berry et al, 1989; Liebkind, 1996; Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000) suggest I use a theoretical model where the acculturation behaviours, such as language use, knowledge and social contacts represent sociocultural adaptation outcomes or the actual degree of acculturation. I also introduce perceived discrimination, parental attitudes and teacher and peer level variables as explanatory factors into the model.

**The hypotheses** formulated in previous sections and main theoretical concepts and approach are summarised in the theoretical model presented in Figure 1-1. Next chapter will explain the operationalisation of the model to create measurements to be used for the data collection.

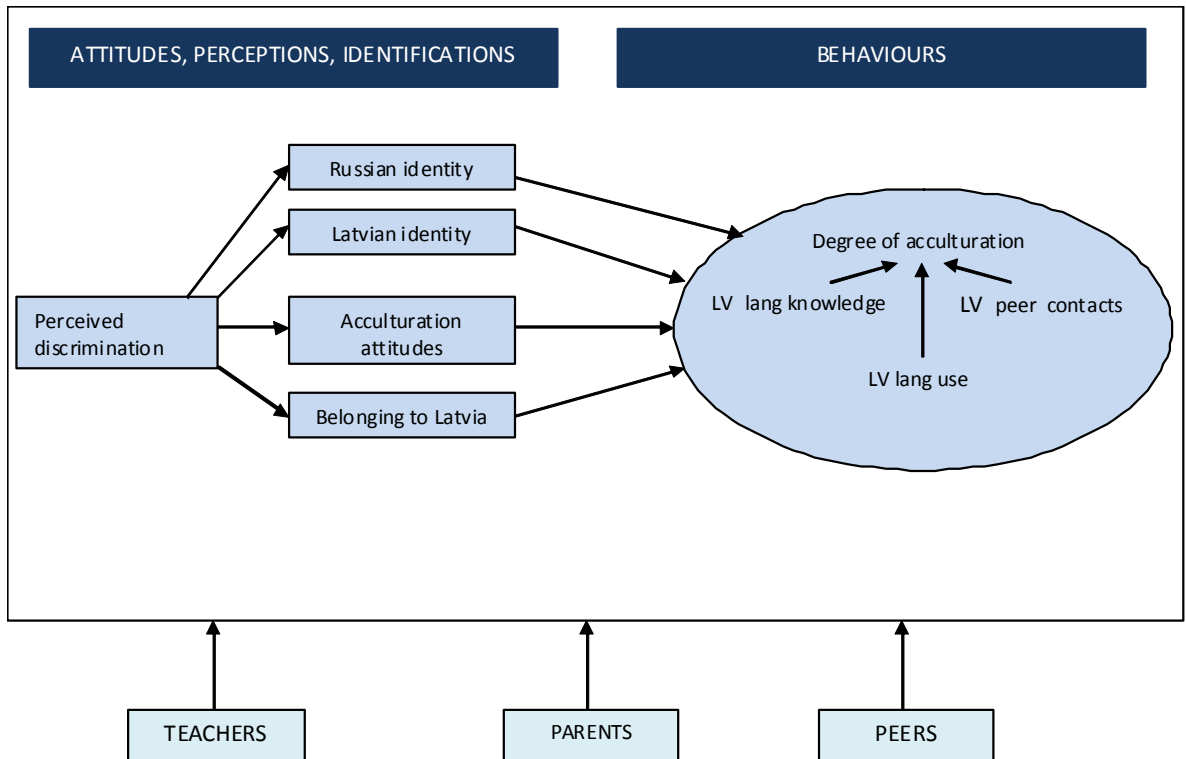


Figure 1-1 Theoretical framework: acculturation attitudes, behaviours and identifications

## 2 METHODOLOGY

### 2.1 *Research questions and hypothesis*

**The main aim of this study** is to look at how Russian-speaking adolescents choose acculturation attitudes and behaviours as well as construct their ethnicity by identifying with Russian and Latvian groups. Additionally, where possible, I will study how their significant others, such as parents, teachers and peers influence these processes. In general, this research is set to add some answers and new questions to the study of ethnicity: looking at how the boundaries of ethnicities are compromised, redefined or maintained in the context of the multiple and intertwined worldviews found in Russian-language schools in Riga and how these processes might be influenced by peers and

teachers. I will also analyse how the use of the two languages within the bilingual education context influences ethnic identification and the choice of acculturation strategies, both in terms of attitudes and behaviours.

**The research questions** that are designed to achieve the main aims of the study are:

- What are the acculturation attitudes of young Russian-speakers in Latvia?
- What are the acculturation behaviours (language knowledge, use and social contacts) of Russian-speaking adolescents in Latvia?
- Do the different acculturation attitudes correspond to or produce different acculturation behaviours?
- What are the ethno-national identities of Russian-speaking adolescents? Do they identify with both Russian and Latvian ethnic groups and, if so, to what extent?
- What is their sense of belonging to Latvia?
- How do various acculturation attitudes relate to different dimensions of ethno-national identity, in terms of degree of identification with the Latvian and Russian groups and sense of belonging to Latvia?
- How far is Berry's (1980) acculturation model applicable for Russian-speaking adolescents in Latvia?
- What is the parental effect on the identification and acculturation attitudes and behaviours of Russian-speaking adolescents?
- What is the peer effect on adolescents' identification and acculturation attitudes and behaviours?
- What is the relationship between the identification and acculturation attitudes and behaviours of teachers and their pupils?

## ***2.2 Mixed methods design***

As stated in Chapter 1, the concepts of ethnicity and acculturation are contextually defined, subjectively constructed and fluid rather than fixed. Consequently, to answer the research questions and to increase the validity of the findings, this study uses a mixed methods research design.

A triangulation mixed methods design (see Figure 2-1) was chosen to combine the strengths of qualitative and quantitative methods and to increase the validity of the findings (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). According to this approach quantitative and qualitative data were collected at the same time, but completely separately and the results were converged for interpretation at the analysis stage. The two types of data were merged in such a way that the quantitative data provided the structure and tested the hypotheses and the qualitative data provided some illustration of the survey data and helped to understand the issues in more depth, as well as interpret the quantitative findings.

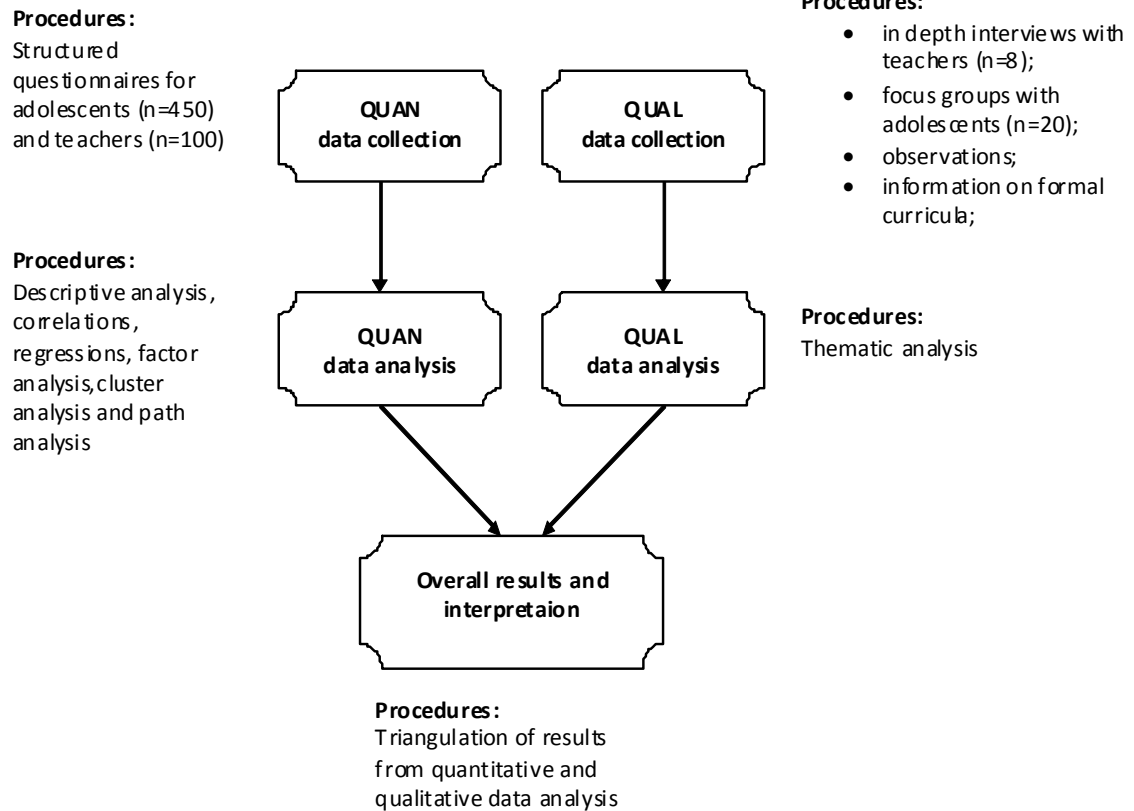
The quantitative part of the study is based on surveys of adolescents and their teachers that were designed and conducted by me in 2009. To introduce a longitudinal dimension, data from similar surveys conducted by me in 2002 and 2007 were used for comparative purposes.<sup>4</sup>

A series of in-depth interviews with teachers, focus group discussions with adolescents and semi-participant observations within school environment sought to explore in much greater detail the questions addressed in the surveys. Additionally, the qualitative methods also allowed capturing the issues that the surveys could not reveal, such as the subjective and situational aspects of ethnicity and the subjective meanings given to acculturation strategies and identifications.

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<sup>4</sup> The same schools participated in all three surveys.





**Figure 2-1 Visual diagram of the procedures: mixed methods study – triangulation design.**

*Source: adapted from Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007, p. 46.*

## ***2.3 Quantitative data: adolescents and their teachers’ survey***

### **2.3.1 Procedure**

The sample of Russian-speaking adolescents was drawn from schools in Riga with Russian as the language of instruction. For comparison purposes the same sample of schools was selected for the survey in 2009 that participated in the study in 2002 and 2007. Random sampling was used in order to ensure the selection of schools from each of the six main municipalities of Riga in 2002. Overall 25 schools were selected at that stage. In each school one class from Year 7 in 2002 and 2009 and Year 12 in 2007

were included in the survey. Data from 2007 were collected from the same cohort of pupils as in 2002. A total of around 450 adolescents participated in the study each year.

Additionally in 2009, teachers from those schools who taught the same class that participated in the pupils' survey were also invited to participate in the survey. There were around 850 teachers in Russian-language schools in Riga who taught from Year 7 up to Year 9 in 2009 (ISEC, 2009), out of which 104 (12 per cent) were included in this study.

Although the same schools participated in the study in 2002, 2007 and 2009, it must be emphasised that the adolescents interviewed were not the same. Because of the mobility between classes within each school, between schools and drop-outs it was impossible to ensure panel data from 2007. In addition, data collected in the first round in 2002 was anonymised and hence could not be linked to the data from 2007. In 2009 the survey was conducted again amongst Year 7 pupils, with a completely different cohort of pupils from the same schools taking part.

Nevertheless the survey data allow us to make two important comparisons. First, the comparison between 2002 and 2007 still allows us to follow changes within the same cohort on the group rather than individual level. Second, the comparison between 2002 and 2009 enables us to analyse indicative changes between two cohorts in the same age group.

The chosen schools were approached and permission was sought to distribute questionnaires among their students and teachers. All pupils, teachers and heads of schools were informed that participation in the study was voluntary and anonymous.

### **2.3.2 Participants**

The target population for this study consisted of Russian-speaking adolescents who were studying in Year 7 (age 13-14) in the winter of 2009 in schools in Riga with Russian as

the language of instruction. Riga was chosen as a target city because of its ethnic composition and size (Riga is the capital of Latvia and 35 per cent of the population lives there).

As the focus of this study is Russian-speaking adolescents, only those who reported Russian as their first language were selected for further analysis. This step helped to narrow the focus of the research and to investigate identification and acculturation among adolescents with a common linguistic self-identification.

**Table 2-1. Socio-demographic profile of teachers, 2009**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b><u>Gender</u></b>		
<b>male</b>	6	5.8
<b>female</b>	98	94.2
<b><u>Subject</u></b>		
<b>Russian language and literature</b>	19	18.3
<b>Latvian language and literature</b>	9	8.7
<b>English language</b>	14	13.5
<b>Mathematics</b>	15	14.4
<b>History</b>	10	9.6
<b>Social sciences</b>	6	5.8
<b>Geography</b>	12	11.5
<b>Other</b>	19	18.2
<b><u>Teaching experience</u></b>	from 1 to 45	20 years (sd = 11)

Table 2-1 summarises the socio-demographic characteristics of the teachers involved in the study. As expected, the teachers were predominantly female with a wide range of teaching experience, but on average the sample included rather experienced teachers. Subjects represented in the sample covered all curriculum areas. Unfortunately the number of Latvian language teachers was too small (and did not cover all the schools in the sample) to do any meaningful analysis and their data were excluded from any further examination.

### 2.3.3 Operationalisation and measurements

The initial questionnaire (a modified and complemented version of the ICSEY project self-administrated questionnaire<sup>5</sup>) was piloted with a convenience sample of 10 adolescents in 2002. A slightly amended version of the questionnaire was then used in 2007 and in 2009. The paper based questionnaire offered to the adolescents was in Russian. Approximately one hour was required to complete all questions.

The questionnaire was divided into six main sections: (1) sociodemographic information, (2) ethnic and linguistic self-identifications (labels), (3) acculturation attitudes and behaviours, (4) ethno-national identity, (5) perceived discrimination and finally (6) perceived parental attitudes.

The teachers' paper based questionnaire was also offered to teachers in Russian and took around one hour to complete. This questionnaire was very similar to the adolescents' version, but included more separate questions about the languages used in teaching and learning and teaching methods.

In this section I present a short summary of how concepts presented in the theoretical model (Figure 1-1) are operationalised and what main measurements are used in this study<sup>6</sup>.

#### **ATTITUDES, PERCEPTIONS AND IDENTIFICATIONS**

*Acculturation attitudes.* Acculturation attitudes measurements were adopted from the ICSEY project. Four acculturation attitudes (assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation) were assessed among adolescents and their teachers on a four-

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<sup>5</sup> John W. Berry, Kyunghwa Kwak, Karmela Liebkind, Jean S. Phinney, Colette Sabatier, David L. Sam, Erkki Virta & Charles Westin, Adolescent and parent questionnaires for the ICSEY project (International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth), unpublished working document, 1995; Acculturation Depot (Version I) Abridged Versions of Acculturation Scales: Benet-Martinez Acculturation Scale (BMAS), Cultural Beliefs and Behaviors Adaptation Profile (CBBAP), General Ethnicity Questionnaire-abridged (GEQ-a). <http://www.ocf.berkeley.edu/~psych/depot.html> (10.03.2002)

<sup>6</sup> A more in depth information about the creation of scales and items used can be find in the analysis Chapters 4 and 5.

point scale (from 0 ‘Strongly disagree’ to 3 ‘Strongly agree’) in each of the four domains: cultural traditions, language, friends and social contacts (see Table 2-2 for full statements). The responses given by each respondent in different spheres were summed to provide an overall score for each acculturation attitude ranging from 0 to 12. A higher overall score indicates a stronger support for the acculturation attitude.

**Table 2-2 Measurements of acculturation attitudes in four domains**

	<b>Language</b>	<b>Friends</b>	<b>Wider social contacts</b>	<b>Traditions</b>
<b>Integration</b>	I feel that it is of the same importance for me to know Latvian and Russian	I prefer to have both Russian and Latvian friends	I prefer to participate in those events and activities where both Russians and Latvians are present	It is of the same importance for me to keep Russian traditions and to adopt Latvian ones
<b>Separation</b>	I feel that it is more important for me to know Russian language than Latvian	I prefer to have only Russian friends	I prefer to participate in those events and activities where only Russians are taking part	It is more important for me to keep Russian traditions and do not adjust to Latvian culture
<b>Assimilation</b>	I feel that it is more important for me to know Latvian language than Russian	I prefer to have only Latvian friends	I prefer to participate in those events and activities where only Latvians are present	It is more important for me to get to know Latvian traditions and adapt those than keep any Russian traditions
<b>Marginalisation</b>	I feel that it is not important for me to know either Russian or Latvian	I do not want to have either Russian or Latvian friends	I prefer not to participate in any events and activities. It does not matter if Russians or Latvians are present there	It is not important for me either to keep Russian traditions or to adapt any Latvian ones

***Ethnic self-identification.*** Ethnic self-identification of adolescents and their teachers was measured by asking the respondents an open question to choose the ethnic label they relate to, allowing for bicultural self-identification and as many labels as they wanted to specify.

***Linguistic self-identification.*** Asking respondents which language they saw as their first language or mother tongue assessed linguistic self-identification. This was set up as an open question allowing for bilingual identification and again as many languages as they wanted to specify.

***Ethnic and national identification.*** The two dimensions of ethno-national identity were assessed separately allowing thus for independent identification with their ethnic and national group. This enabled me to examine the bicultural content of ethnic identity, in this case the degree of Russian and Latvian identity. The measure included four items. First, adolescents and their teachers were asked to what degree they felt Latvian and to what degree Russian. Second, they reported how strongly they felt part of Latvian and part of Russian culture. Two factors – *Russian identity and Latvian identity* – were extracted from the factor analysis of the four items and were used as composite measures of identification in the later analyses.

***Sense of belonging to Latvia.*** Study participants also had to evaluate their attitudes towards Latvia and Russia using 3 items: (1) “I am proud to live in Latvia”; (2) “I do not want to live in Latvia”; (3) “I want to live in Russia”. The summed variable from these 3 items was used in the analyses to represent their feelings towards Latvia. The range is from 0 to 9 with higher values indicating more positive feelings towards Latvia.

***Affirmation or exploration of identity.*** This was assessed using a scale modified from Phinney’s ethnic identity measure (1992). It was measured using seven items from the original MEIM (Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure) 12-item scale (Phinney, 1992) that have subsequently been used in many studies on adolescents (see, for example, Roberts et al., 1999; Phinney et al, 2001) and also in the ICSEY project. The initial results from the factor analysis of the MEIM items indicated two factors. Factor 1 was made up of four items representing identity search (a developmental and cognitive component) and was called salience and exploration and factor 2 by two items that indicated affirmation/belonging (an affective component) and was called belonging.

***Perceived discrimination.*** Perceived discrimination was measured using 10 four-point Likert scale statements. Responses were given on a 4-point scale ranging from 0

(Strongly disagree) to 3 (Strongly agree). Some of the statements were taken from the ICSEY study (Berry et al., 2006). A sample statement is: “I have been teased by Latvians because of my ethnic background”. The ten items assessing perceptions of discrimination were reduced to two factors using factor analysis. Factor 1 assessed appraisals of personal discrimination (PD) and factor 2 assessed appraisals of group discrimination (GD). The factor scores were used in the later analyses to assess the amount of perceived discrimination as experienced by the immigrant adolescents at both individual- and group-levels. Higher scores mean more perceived discrimination.

*Attitudes towards ethnic minority education in Latvia.* The questionnaire contained three questions about pupils' and teachers' attitudes towards Latvian language use in primary, secondary and university education. Respondents were asked to evaluate specific statements on a four-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (Strongly disagree) to 3 (Strongly agree). A sample item is: “Russian children in Latvia should have to study in Latvian”. A summed variable measuring attitudes towards Latvian language use in education was used in the later analyses.

## **BEHAVIOURS/ DEGREE OF ACCULTURATION**

*Knowledge of the Latvian language.* Knowledge of the Latvian language was measured by separate subjective assessments of speaking, writing and reading skills of pupils and teachers. Each skill was measured using a four-point scale ranging from 0 (no knowledge or almost no knowledge) to 3 (fluent). The scores were summed to provide an overall knowledge of the Latvian language ranging from 0 to 9 to use in the further analyses.

*Use of the Latvian rather than Russian language.* Use of the Latvian language was measured<sup>7</sup> in four domains for teachers: home, friends, school (outside the class time) and broader society (shops, streets) and six domains for adolescents: home, friends, school and outside school as well as watching TV and reading newspapers and magazines. The responses were summed to provide a measure of the overall balance of the use of Latvian and Russian languages. The range is 0-12 for the teachers' variables

and 0-18 for the pupils' variables, where high scores indicate use of the Latvian language and low of the Russian language. These summed variables were created to use in all further analyses.

***In-group and out-group social contacts.*** Social contacts were operationalised in terms of peer interactions: the number of friends among Russians and Latvians and the frequency of contact with them outside school. Two summed variables named Russian Contact Orientation and Latvian Contact Orientation were created for the later analyses, but only the Latvian Contact Orientation was used because the Russian Contact Orientation variable was highly skewed with not enough variation for the bivariate or multivariate analyses.

## **PEERS**

Peers level acculturation and identification variables were the same as individual level variables aggregated at a class level and subtracting an individual value for each pupil.

## **TEACHERS**

Teachers level acculturation and identification variables were the same as individual level variables aggregated at a class level where applicable distinguishing between the attitudes and behaviours of different subject teachers. In addition variables representing attitudes towardsteaching and teaching methods were used in the analysis.

***Language used in teaching and learning.*** Five items in the teachers' survey were used to measure<sup>8</sup> general language use in educational settings. The items dealt with language use by teachers during class time in general and when teaching, by pupils when writing and speaking and the language of the schoolbooks used. The use of languages other than Russian and Latvian was excluded from further analysis. The responses were summed to provide a measure of the overall balance of the use of Latvian and Russian languages in the range from 0 to 15, where high scores indicate

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<sup>7</sup> The responses in each domain range from (0) only in Russian to (3) only in Latvian.



high use of the Latvian language and low use of the Russian language. The summed variable was created to use in all further analyses.

**Teaching methods.** Teachers were asked a list of questions about the subject they teach and overall teaching methods. These questions included information on how long they had been teaching, what teaching methods they used and what in their opinion determines the authority of a teacher in a classroom.

## PARENTS

**Parental attitudes.** Adolescents were asked to evaluate their parents' attitudes to the Latvian and Russian languages as well as bilingual education and plans to leave Latvia. Responses were given on a 4-point scale ranging from 0 (Strongly disagree) to 3 (Strongly agree). The responses to four main questions were summed up into two variables to represent (1) parental pro-Russian and (2) pro-Latvian views.

**Socio-demographic background.** The questionnaire also contained questions on the respondents' gender and birthplace and the birthplace of the adolescents' parents.

In the exploratory part of the research I use descriptive analysis and bivariate analyses of the variables explained above as a basis for identifying the possible relationships between acculturation attitudes, behaviours and identifications. I also look at peers' and teachers' variables on to explain some of the variance in the individual attitudes, behaviours and identifications. This information is then used to develop path models of the factors that contribute to individual differences in the acculturation process. Firstly, path analysis allows me to measure the size of a hypothesised relationship, so the importance or contribution of different attitudinal and behavioural variables can be compared. Secondly, it allows me to investigate simultaneously multiple paths representing relationships between acculturation attitudes, identifications and the actual

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<sup>8</sup> The responses in each domain range from (0) only in Russian to (3) only in Latvian.

degree of acculturation (or acculturation behaviours) and distinguish between direct and indirect associations.

#### ***2.4 Qualitative data: participant observation, focus groups and interviews***

The qualitative aspect of this study involves focus groups with adolescents, in-depth interviews with teachers and observations of the school environment. In interviews with teachers and focus groups with adolescents semi-structured interview techniques were used.

Qualitative methods were chosen because I was not only interested in quantitative descriptors of the acculturation processes, but also wanted to investigate and understand how acculturation actually happens within the school environment and how adolescents talk about their ethnicities. The qualitative approach is focused on action, processes and changes rather than a static and fixed situation. Qualitative methods are particularly useful for this study because, as mentioned above, ethnicities and acculturation are not fixed, but fluid processes, a sequence of events and different choices. Qualitative methods were also used because of their flexibility and the possibility of adding extra questions and themes at any time during interviews and observations. These methods are also more adolescent- and teacher-led rather than researcher-led.

Focus groups were used for the study of adolescents because they allowed me not only to explore adolescents' views and attitudes, but also to investigate how those attitudes are formed within peer groups. Pupils had the opportunity to discuss their views with each other in focus groups.

Open questions were used in both interviews with teachers and focus groups with adolescents. The list of themes similar to the topics of the questionnaire, such as ethnic

self-identifications, language use, ethnicity and social contacts etc., was prepared in advance, but research participants could spend as much time as they wished on each theme and more detailed questions were asked further in relationship to their narratives.

Overall I interviewed 8 teachers and 20 adolescents, who participated in four focus group discussions in four different schools that were chosen randomly. Both teachers and adolescents were approached during the survey and asked if they would agree to participate in a further interview or a focus group. The final sample for the qualitative sample was based on self-selection, but as the data show there is a variety of different views represented and this suggests the reliability of the data collected.

In addition, I spent two weeks in one of the schools doing semi participant observation. Again the school choice was based on self-selection from a randomly selected five schools; the school where agreement from a head of school was received the quickest was chosen for observations. I do not claim that this school is representative of any specific school group or all schools in Riga, but it was an average secondary school in Riga based on their academic attainment.

I followed one Year 7 class during and outside their classes. Data obtained through observation served as a check against participants' subjective reports of what they believe and do. Observations were also useful for gaining an understanding of the social and cultural contexts. In addition, when acting as interviewer and focus group facilitator, I was guided by the cultural understanding gained through participant observation which allowed me to discern subtleties within participant responses. Knowing more about adolescents' culturally-specific cues allowed me to ask more appropriate follow-up questions and probes.

As with all research, and qualitative methods in particular, I made a personal commitment to protect the identities of the people I observed and with whom I interacted. I ensured that particular individuals could never be linked to the data they provided. I did not record any identifying information such as names and addresses. Some locations were documented in field notes, but they were coded and eliminated upon entry of the field notes into the computer, with the code list kept in a separate,

secure computer file with limited access protected by password. All adolescents and teachers were informed about the main aims of the study and that their views would only be used in an anonymised form and that they were free to withdraw from the study at any point in time.

### **3 HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT FOR THE IDENTIFICATION AND ACCULTURATION OF RUSSIAN-SPEAKING ADOLESCENTS**

#### ***3.1 Introduction***

In this chapter I set out the context within which the choice of acculturation strategies and identification of my respondents is made. This chapter looks at the conceptualisation of the identification of Russians and Russian-speakers in post-Soviet Latvia in the context of official ethnicity policies aimed at their integration into Latvian culture and society, coupled with the ethnic and primordial understanding of the nation and ethnicity as a Soviet legacy. In particular, it includes an analysis of the historical, social and political factors that might influence both the acculturation choices and the identification with Latvians or Russians of Russian-speaking youth.

First, I give a general overview of Soviet nationality policy and its impact on perceptions of ethnicity in the post-Soviet space. I follow with a review of the contemporary conceptualisation of the Latvian nation and current ethnicity policy in Latvia. Thereafter, I consider the segregated education system as well as recent education reforms and their possible influence on acculturation and identification among pupils in Russian-language schools and on societal integration in Latvia. Finally, I give

a brief description of what identifications Russian-speakers are seen generally to choose in the context of described historical, social and political factors.

### ***3.2 Ethnicity in the Soviet Union***

Before I proceed to analyse current discussions on Latvian and Russian identification and the acculturation of Russian-speakers in Latvia, it is important to look at the understanding of nationality/ethnicity in the Soviet Union and the impact it has on the conceptualisation of both Latvian and Russian identity today<sup>9</sup>.

As many researchers (Motyl, 1990; Hosking, 1992, 1999; Martin, 2000; Slezkine, 1994; Suny, 2001) have explained, the attempt to create a Soviet nation through its repressive and russifying programmes – implementing Soviet nationality and modernisation policies with the aim of merging different nations into a Soviet people – did not erode nationalities but on the contrary created salient and united nations in many Soviet republics. Paradoxically the Soviet Communist Party, although internationalist in its aims, ended up fostering and promoting ethnic and national particularism (Slezkine, 1994), an argument also supported by Terry Martin (2000), who suggests that *korenizatsiia* (indigenisation), affirmative action and territorial delineation unintentionally promoted nationality and national identities. Bolsheviks were responsible for the ethnic particularism.

Even Stalinism did not reverse the policy of ethnic nation building. It drastically cut down the number of national units but never questioned the ethnic core of those units. Slezkine portrays the Stalinist nationality policies as a process of normalisation after what he calls a "carnival of nationalities" up to 1932, where anything ethnic was highly praised and celebrated: "The Soviet apartment as a whole was to have fewer rooms but the ones that remained were to be lavishly decorated with hometown

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<sup>9</sup> In the Soviet Union the term 'nationality' was understood as a synonym of and used instead

memorabilia, grandfather clocks and lovingly-preserved family portraits." (p. 334) The Soviet Republics were created as nation-states in all but name and the indigenous populations in these Republics thus not only continued to identify with their nations, but also strengthened their national identification, whereby the nation was understood in primordial terms.

In his article "Modernization or Neo-traditionalism? Ascribed Nationality and Soviet Primordialism", Terry Martin, like Slezkine, describes the Soviet state as a promoter of nationality and national identities. He shows how the Bolshevik conception of the nation in the 1930s dramatically shifted away from a view of nations as modern constructs and towards a focus on supposed deep primordial roots of modern nations. Martin sees the cause for this paradoxical development as the extreme statism of the Soviet Union (Martin, 2000).

Because nationality/ethnicity was an official category in the Soviet Union and was standard practice in almost all official papers, each citizen's nationality (in terms of ethnic origin rather than residence) was written in his/her internal passport. The internal passports identified every citizen by 'natsional'nost'' [ethnic nationality], e.g. Russian, Ukrainian, Latvian, Estonian. This was on the so-called 'pyataya grafa' [fifth row] of the passport. When an individual applied for his or her passport at the age of 16, he/she would be assigned the nationality of his/her parents if the parents were both of the same nationality. If their parents differed in nationality, the individual had to choose between the two nationalities. Otherwise, there was no choice and ethno-national identities were fixed by the state at the age of 16<sup>10</sup>.

Individuals were identified in terms of their ethnicity in almost all of their everyday activities. All official forms had a line marked 'nationality' which was not a neutral piece of information but often a crucial advantage or disadvantage for everyday life. For example, it made a difference to one's employment and promotion, as well as

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of 'ethnicity'

<sup>10</sup> Currently in Latvia's passports there is no 'nationality line', but if a person wants he/she can put his ethnic origins on the second page. Furthermore, ethnicity is still recorded in the official Registry documents.

entry to university and one's further career. Thus an awareness of nationality was privileged and encouraged in the Soviet Union (Slezkine, 1994). Therefore these actions reinforced people's belief in primordial ethnicity. Soviet nationality policy led to a primordial understanding of the nation by encouraging the Soviet population to believe that nationality was inherent, fundamental and a very important attribute of all people.

Nevertheless, the passport nationality coexisted with the belonging of a person to a certain Soviet Republic, as indicated in the same Soviet passport. The nationality column assumed a primordial personal understanding of national identification, while the latter assumed a territorial affiliation. This tension in Soviet nationality policy, i.e. the incongruity between national territories and personal nationalities and the failure to create civic identities, has had a great impact on ethnic relations and understandings of nationality in the post-Soviet period, as we shall see below.

Not only were the Soviet Republics created as nation-states, with ethnicity serving as a compulsory individual marker in the Soviet Union, with most other forms of identification, such as class and religion, also eradicated by the Bolsheviks (Suny, 1993; Hosking, 1999), but the Soviet identification failed to unite all ethnic groups living under the Soviet regime. Unlike in America, Britain or Australia, 'Soviet' was never considered an ethnic or national identity and was ineffective in attempts to serve as identification at all-Union level (Roeder, 1991; Suny, 1993; Slezkine, 1994; Brubaker, 1996). This only encouraged further ethnic identification in the Soviet Republics.

To conclude, Soviet ethnic engineering: naming, mapping, census categories, statistical enumeration, indigenisation, passportisation and territorialisation, as well as other practices fixed the more fluid distinctions among people of different nationalities. The differences became more visible and seemingly unalterable. The legacy of Soviet nationality policy is felt today in many post-Soviet states in that national belonging is still very often understood as something that is essential and natural, echoing the Soviet idea that nationality was primordial (Martin, 2000).

For post-Soviet states, including Latvia, the Soviet experience, for all the effort to forget it and distance themselves from it, has been an ineradicable experience and influence. The practices of fixing each citizen's nationality and national territoriality in their internal passport facilitated the development of an unusually strong primordial identity and notion of an ethno-nation. As Ronald Suny argues, "it does not come without costs if people see their nation as something essential, real, ancient, and continuous, and, in their own view, can justify their claim to unique, uncontested and not-to-be-shared sovereignty" (2001, p 896). While it is possible, theoretically, to have a homogeneous nation, in reality, in our ethnically mixed world, this is only possible by excluding some parts of the population, as has been the case – as we shall see – in post-Soviet Latvia.

### ***3.3 The legacy of the Soviet rule: Latvian ethno-nation and Russians as enemies***

As a result of Latvia's geographical position at the crossroads of various powers, for most of its history it has been subject to foreign rule. Poland, Lithuania, Sweden, Germany, and Russia have governed the area of present-day Latvia at various times.

By the end of the 18th century, Latvia was fully under Russia's control and it was because of the October Revolution in 1917 and the Civil War (1917-1922) that followed, when the new regime was militarily weakened, that Latvia became independent for the first time. The newly-built Latvian state pursued a liberal policy of multiculturalism to reflect and acknowledge the ethnic makeup of the state<sup>11</sup>. For example, educational policy guaranteed education in minority languages from 1919 and schools provided bilingual instruction in Latvian, Russian, Belarusian, Yiddish and other languages. However, the later Latvianisation policies of authoritarian president

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<sup>11</sup> According to the Latvian census conducted in 1935, Latvians made up 77 per cent of the population. Russians were the largest minority group (8.8 per cent), followed by Jews (4.9 per cent), Germans (3.3 per cent), Poles (2.6 per cent), and Belarusians (1.4 per cent).



Kārlis Ulmanis to form a strong ethnic Latvian nation and gain support and recognition by the people as their legitimate representative, as 'one of them', prevented any further development of multiculturalism after 1934.

As a result of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939 Latvia came under Soviet control, before being invaded by Nazi Germany in 1941. Latvia stayed under Nazi control until 1944, when it was again incorporated into the Soviet Union. When Latvia was incorporated into the Soviet Union, it experienced two processes that had a great impact on the ethnic balance and the later construction of the Latvian nation. Firstly, thousands of Latvians experienced forced deportations. Secondly, Latvia experienced a large inflow of people from other parts of the Soviet Union. The Latvian share of the population of Latvia declined from 77 per cent in 1935 to 52 per cent in 1989. These two opposite processes resulted in a real fear that Latvians would become a minority in their own republic, as they actually became in some urban areas in the southern region of Latgale. Given this, Latvians feared Russians and russified minorities were swamping their homeland and destroying their national identity. Additionally, the USSR carried out discriminatory policies, based on the language an individual spoke, in favour of Russian-speakers who were given priority in terms of housing, jobs, access to economic privileges, etc.

Although there was little everyday hostility between Latvians and non-Latvians, including Russians, in 1991 only 21 per cent of Russians reported to speak Latvian as a second language, while 66 per cent of Latvians spoke fluent Russian (Zepa & Karklins, 1995). The Latvian language served and continues to be an important cultural symbol and the asymmetrical bilingualism and discriminatory linguistic policies of the Soviet regime gave way to the formation of two separate communities of Russian and Latvian language speakers in Soviet Latvia. This tendency continued into independent Latvia and language remains one of the focal issues of the formation of the Latvian nation and the acculturation of Russian-speakers.

Thus Latvian identity and especially the Latvian language were perceived to be at risk during Soviet times. This and, as it was discussed earlier, Soviet Union's 'unintentional' promotion of nationality and national identities not only helped to strengthen and

develop the Latvian nation and identity, but also created a situation where the Latvian national idea developed in opposition to the Soviet Other. This argument is supported by Terry Martin (2000), who argued that the creation of the enemy nations, the Other, helped in the primordial understanding of nations.

Therefore, to be a 'Latvian' meant not being a 'Soviet'. However, because 'Soviet' was often conflated with 'Russian' during the Soviet period, anti-Soviet feeling often translated into anti-Russian sentiment. Although the Communist Party of the Soviet Union very often spoke about international ideology and the multicultural nature of Soviet society, in reality the ruling elite consisted mainly of Russians or russified and sovietised other nationalities and the Russian language played the primary role in all official communication. Thus, the Soviet Other in the minds of many Latvians equalled the Russian Other.

In the run-up to independence in 1991, however, there was a significant change in the Self/Other relationship between Latvians and Russians, a change that would have an important impact on the identification of the Russian-speaking community in Latvia. By late summer in 1988 the National Independence Movement of Latvia representing more radical nationalistic views had begun to call for full independence of Latvia and claimed that to be a part of the Latvian nation individuals and groups have to trace the direct lineage to the interwar Latvian republic. They began registering all citizens who had been in Latvia before the occupation and all other potential citizens who supported an independent Latvia in the future. They registered nearly half the population before electing a Citizen's Congress of the Republic of Latvia in April 1990 to act as a parallel government in the movement towards independence.

However, for Latvia to regain its independence, the Russians could not serve as the 'Other'. They could not be branded as an enemy, because the Latvian political elite "knew that they needed the support of large numbers of non-Latvians because it was widely believed at the time that Latvians had already become a minority in their own homeland" (Jubulis, 2001, p. 74). The Latvian leadership understood that there was a need to win over the ethnic minorities, including Russians, and this is why Latvians came to adopt a different approach, whereby the enemy was to be the Soviet Union, not

Russia as such, with Latvia liberating the whole of humanity from the Soviet power (Alter, 1994, p.22). The radical National Independence Movement of Latvia was joined by the more moderate Popular Front of Latvia, which would lead the independence campaign from mid-1989 to 1991. Because of these tactics most Russians were quickly won over or at least convinced to stay neutral, and they became ‘circumstantial allies’ who helped Latvia acquire its independence in 1991 rather than the Other against whom Latvia defined itself (Muzergues, 2004, p. 19).

The Popular Front of Latvia had the most success in uniting different ethnicities who lived in Latvia and appealed to the idea of civic nation. For example, it participated in the creation of National Cultural Associations in 1988, building on the initiative of the Russian, Jewish, Belorussian, Polish, and other groups. Further, the Popular Front worked with the Latvian Communist Party to create a Nationalities Forum. The forum served the goals of both the front and the minorities, as it officially expressed support for Latvian sovereignty as well as support for the right of cultural autonomy for minority cultures (Muižnieks, 1993; Dribins, 2007a).

This cooperation between ethnic groups and inclusive vision of the Latvian nation continued between 1989 and 1991 and resulted not only in symbolic, but also very practical outcomes. For example, in March 1990, elections to the Latvian Supreme Council the members of the Popular Front won the majority of votes and the deputies of the Supreme Council reflected the multicultural nature of the Latvian society. Considering the ethnic make-up of Latvia, the Popular Front could not have won so decisively if it had not had the support of ethnic minorities. Later that year the newly elected deputies voted to support Latvian independence (Dreifelds, 1996; Apine, 2001)

The most dramatic moment of this ethnic solidarity came in the winter of 1991. From January 13 to January 27, in what became known as the “time of the barricades,” Latvians of all ethnic backgrounds stood on round-the-clock watch of key buildings, communication centres, and bridges (Jundzis, 1998). The experience of the barricades continued to be a key memory for all who participated.

However, once independence was acquired, Latvia's relations with Russia and its own Russians worsened. The idea of the civic inclusive Latvian nation as envisioned by the Popular Front and supported by ethnic minorities was reshaped. After the collapse of the Popular Front to attract a support base, newly established political parties on both the right and the left of the spectrum appealed to ethnic allegiances. This targeting of ethnic groups was employed not only by parties seeking the support of ethnic Latvians but also by those who saw themselves as the representatives of non-ethnic Latvians, especially Russians (Pabriks & Purs, 2001).

Russians once again came to embody the Latvian fear of losing their own country and identity and had to be eliminated through expatriation to their 'homeland'. When it was understood that Latvian Russians were there to stay, with that also came a realisation that the Other had suddenly become part of the Latvian state and possibly would have to be accommodated as a part of the Latvian nation. Because of the Soviet experience, as Melvin (1995) suggests, and the absence of strong civil structures, nations appeared to represent anti-totalitarian interests and it led to the creation of a new enemy, "the fifth column of Russian-Soviet influence, the Russian-speaking population. In this climate, the issue of citizenship quickly emerged as the focal point for the political struggle to define new nation." (Melvin, 1995, p.38)

The rhetoric of the transitional parliament of Latvia<sup>12</sup> and even more so of a later elected fifth Latvian Parliament in 1993 came to be dominated by nationalistic political statements that were aimed at encouraging Russians to return home to Russia (Lieven, 1993). The earlier ideas of the National Independence Movement of Latvia about the direct lineage of the citizens of Latvia to the interwar Latvian republic came back into play. This ended the period of harmony between the two communities that took place

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<sup>12</sup> The Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia was the transitional parliament of Latvia from 1990 to 1993, after the restoration of independence. The Supreme Council was elected on 18 March 1990 as the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR. On 4 May 1990 it declared the restoration of independence of Latvia and began a transitional period which lasted until the first session of the fifth Saeima on 6 July 1993. Independence was fully restored on 21 August 1991 during the Soviet coup attempt.

just before Latvia regained its independence, and gave a clear message to Latvian Russians.

Furthermore, from the autumn of 1991 to the approval of the 1994 Law on Citizenship, steps were taken to have non-Latvians, predominantly Russians, effectively excluded from political life and Latvian nation-building. Russians were then excluded from Latvian citizenship. Grounded in international law, individuals who had arrived in Latvia as a result of the occupation of Latvia by the Soviet Union were not to be considered as citizens, but to be sent home to their country of origin (which was not possible for a variety of reasons), or to be considered not as ethnic minorities, but as migrants who could become citizens of Latvia only through a process of naturalisation.

While the road to independence was characterised by inter-ethnic co-operation, the subsequent citizenship law and language and education policies caused significant damage to Latvian-Russian relations, issues that I will look at in more detail in subsequent chapters. These misguided policies came about as a result of distrust in and fear of Russian-speakers and an unwillingness and/or inability to engage in dialogue with both groups (Muižnieks, 2010). Thus, Russians in Latvia are often seen and portrayed in political discourse as part of an enemy nation which wants to destroy the Latvian nation and state from within (Lieven, 1993; Pabriks & Purs, 2001; Muzergues, 2004; Golubeva, 2010; Golubeva & Kazoka, 2010).

Moreover, this issue has been made even more testing because of another Soviet legacy - the primordial ethnic understanding of the nation. Because of these Soviet experiences many post-Soviet nations, including Latvia, took an ethnic form. While Others, in this case Russian-speakers, could be included in civic nations, they could not, by definition, be incorporated into ethnic nations. Because membership of this primordial community is considered to be fixed and hereditary, one can only be born into it. This makes it even harder to accept Russians as loyal members of the Latvian nation. In this context, Russia, as a legitimate successor of the Soviet Union, serves as a reminder of the great suffering of the Latvian nation (Golubeva, 2010) and only facilitates distrust in Latvia's Russians by Latvians because they are a part of the Russian nation; they are the Other.

Taking Slezkine's approach (1994) I would suggest that Latvia adopted the "passport nationality column" approach, whereby the nationality category in one's passport during Soviet times assumed that political legitimacy in a particular territory could only be claimed by the titular nationality, understood as an ethnically homogeneous people. This leads to a creation of an ethnically defined nation-state, whereby the ethno-nation is the legitimate owner of the state. The prevailing narrative taken up by ethnic Latvians after the collapse of the Soviet Union was that the Latvian nation-state had existed prior to and during occupation by the Soviet Union but that they had been denied their national expression during the 50 'dark' years of Soviet rule, and that they were yearning for freedom. Furthermore, the Latvian nation was defined against Russians and Russian-speakers, which now it makes it very challenging to incorporate them into a single national collective.

This has an important influence on the current acculturation and identification of the Russian-speaking population in Latvia. This distrust directed towards Russian-speakers by Latvians and the feelings of hurt and upset on the part of Russian-speakers themselves dominate debates on nationality policy in Latvia and create barriers for the successful realisation of integration, as we shall see in the following sections.

### ***3.4 Nationality policy in contemporary Latvia***

Before looking at the processes of identification of Russian-speakers in post-Soviet Latvia, it is important to consider the nationality policy context. There are two main issues that are usually discussed when looking at any nationality policy: the preservation and development of the national language and culture on the one hand, and the maintenance of ethnic minority languages and cultures in a multicultural society, on the other.

In Latvia, nationality policy has to operate within the discourse of fear and distrust from Latvians and feelings of hurt and also fear of assimilation from Russians. Additionally,

as described in the previous chapter, the Soviet Union failed to create a civic identity and only strengthened the Latvian ethno-nation. Furthermore, as Nils Muižnieks states:

*“In the final decades of Soviet rule, a situation developed in which two numerically similar groups had formed – a Latvian language group and Russian-speakers – which differed in their sources of information, their attitudes towards the situation in Latvia and in their value orientations.” (2010, p.34)*

These differences and Soviet legacies necessitated an integration policy and other policies related to it to accommodate the multicultural nature of modern Latvian society.

Nevertheless, in the early 1990s, right after Latvia regained its independence, multicultural values were not seen by the new political elite as something that would help to maintain the stability of the state. It was felt to be more important to restrict the political rights of the predominantly Russian-speaking migrants in Latvia and encourage their return ‘home’ to Russia or other post-Soviet countries of origin (Vebers, 2000). Russians and other Russian-speakers were labelled migrants and ‘aliens’; many of them did not receive citizenship automatically; instead they had to apply for it and go through a naturalisation process.

Several pieces of legislation as part of nationality policy were produced, the two key ones being the Law on Citizenship<sup>13</sup> and the State Language Law, the latter proclaiming the Latvian language as the state language without any special acknowledgment of the Russian language.

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<sup>13</sup> The Citizenship Law was adopted in 1994 after long discussions. Since Latvia’s government claimed that they had restored the Latvian state that existed prior to the Soviet occupation, only those residents who were registered or whose ancestors were registered as citizens of the pre-occupation Republic of Latvia, as well as ethnic Latvians who could prove their ethnic origin, could automatically acquire Latvian citizenship. People who migrated to Latvia after June 17, 1940 and their descendants became non-citizens as they lost their former citizenship of the USSR, but did not qualify for Latvian citizenship. In 1998 after a referendum the Citizenship Law was amended to allow non-citizen parents to register their children born in Latvia after 1991 as Latvian citizens. The Citizenship Law itself does not state that Russians cannot get citizenship automatically, but it does say that ethnic Latvians can even if their ancestors were not citizens of the pre-war Republic of Latvia. Thus, the Latvian Citizenship Law includes both *ius solis* for children born after 1991 even if both their parents are non-citizens and *ius sanguinis* for ethnic Latvians

In the middle of the 1990s, when the Latvian political elite realised that the ethnic minorities and migrants were there to stay, the issue of the integration of Latvian society emerged as a priority. In 1997 the Board of Naturalisation commissioned a study ‘On the Way to a Civic Society’. This research showed that there were great differences in the attitudes and behaviour of citizens and non-citizens in Latvia and that Latvia was on the way to becoming a two-community state. This study was taken as a base for the development of the integration programme that was finally accepted by Parliament in 2001.

The National Programme ‘Integration of Society in Latvia’ set specific aims for the political, judicial, social, educational and cultural realms of society, and reaffirmed that the integration of society was a government priority, at least at an official level. Yet, as some researchers argue (Muižnieks, 2010), when integration policy was adopted, it was a messy compromise formed largely as the result of international pressure in a context of crisis rather than a true reflection of the situation and dialogue between the Latvians and non-Latvians. Therefore, the integration idea looked much better on paper than in the actual changes in policy and everyday attitudes and behaviour of people.

The Law on the Society Integration Foundation (SIF) was adopted in 2001. The Foundation helps to implement the objectives of the state programme ‘Integration of Society in Latvia’ and financially supports initiatives that encourage both the social and ethnic integration of Latvian society. The Foundation supports society integration projects and manages both state and foreign donor and European Union funding.

Ilona Kunda (2010) notes that, although the Foundation is widely recognised as an efficient, transparent and well-governed agency, it is not a pro-active player in integration policy development. As Kunda puts it:

*„Inspired by a somewhat misplaced faith in the self-organizing capacity of society and its ability to generate integration policy solutions “from below,” the Foundation has often supported “monologue” projects lacking sustained face-to-face contact between persons belonging to different cultural groups. This was not only a politically safe path to tread in the political minefield of integration*



*policy, it also reflected the preferences of many inhabitants of Latvia, who sought support for maintaining and reproducing familiar strategies of separation. (Kunda, 2010, p. 281)”*

Reflecting a renewed focus by the government on integration issues, the Secretariat of the Minister of Special Assignments for Society Integration Affairs was established in November 2002. The Secretariat has focused on efforts to promote multidimensional dialogue among the various ethnic communities in Latvia and implement anti-discrimination measures and policies. Yet, in December 2008, the Secretariat of Minister of Special Assignments for Society Integration Affairs was closed and some of the functions moved to the Ministry of Family and Children’s Affairs and later to the Ministry of Justice. Since 2008, within the context of economic crises, ethnic integration issues have not been seen as a priority and have been moved into the background once again.

For the purpose of setting up a context in which Russian-speaking adolescents form their acculturation attitudes and choose specific behaviours and identifications, I would now like to focus on the outcomes in the two main areas of integration 20 years after Latvia regained its independence and 10 years after the first Programme for Integration: language and communication, and legal and political issues (mainly citizenship). I will look at the issues of ethnicity and language in the area of education in more detail in the next chapter. Additionally, I will analyse in more depth the linguistic behaviour of young Russian-speakers later when I look at the empirical data from this study. Thus, here I will only give a brief sketch of the developments in these two areas over the last 20 years.

### *Language and communication*

During Soviet times a massive campaign of russification was started to decrease the usage of the Latvian language and culture in the public domain, with Russian language playing the primary role in all official communication. This did not significantly alter the maintenance of the Latvian language among Latvians, but did nothing to encourage non-Latvians to learn the Latvian language.

Currently, survey results show that Russian and Latvian languages continue to compete in everyday life as a means of communication in Latvia; in 2005 94 per cent of Latvian population could communicate in Russian and 91 per cent could communicate in Latvian (LETA, 2005). In the census of 2000, about one half of Russians claimed knowledge of Latvian. This is a significant jump from the figure of about 21 per cent reported in the last Soviet census of 1989. However, these figures also mask huge regional and generational differences in Latvian language knowledge. As a rule, knowledge of Latvian is significantly better among the younger generation, but weaker in Latgale, Latvia's easternmost region.

Statistical data from the Board for Citizenship and Migration Affairs show that in January 2010, 60 per cent of the population of Latvia are ethnic Latvians, 27 per cent ethnic Russians and 13 per cent people of another ethnic origin (such as Poles, Ukrainians and Belarusians). However, if we look at the linguistic split we have a slightly altered picture. Thus according to Latvia's population census of 2000, 61 per cent of the population spoke Latvian and 37 per cent spoke Russian as their first language.

Nevertheless, 95 per cent of those with Latvian as their native tongue self-identified as Latvians, 2 per cent chose Russian as their ethnic self-identification and 3 per cent chose some other ethnicity. On the contrary, only 75 per cent of those who chose Russian as their mother tongue self-identified as Russians, 5 per cent identified as Latvians and 20 per cent as some ethnic group. And yet if we look at people whose ethnic and linguistic identification overlap, then we find it is true for 95 per cent of Russians and 96 per cent of Latvians.

In this demographic and linguistic context, all of the Latvian political parties emphasise that the Latvian language is the most important resource for integration in Latvia because it is the official state language. It is hoped that the Latvian language will serve as a base for Latvian national identity and help to unify society. However, many non-Latvians and their political representatives argue that if harmony and integration in society are to be realistic goals, there should be a balance between the different languages in Latvia and the Latvian language cannot serve as the basis for Latvian

national identity if the Latvian nation is to include non-Latvians. At the same time, however, they admit that everyone needs to learn the Latvian language and that the Latvian language is important in Latvia.

This is also reflected in the linguistic behaviour of non-Latvians. On the one hand the Latvian language learning programme<sup>14</sup> and some changes in the education system can be considered one of the most successful projects in integration with regards to Latvian language knowledge. An annual national survey on language (2008) carried out by the Baltic Data House provides strong evidence that Latvian language proficiency among non-Latvians, as well as interest in learning Latvian, has increased. On the other hand, however, the Russian language continues to be self-sufficient in many urban areas in Latvia, in Riga in particular, and to serve as the language of interethnic communication, while the use of the Latvian language is very often limited only to the situations where it is formally required (BISS, 2008a).

Additionally, mass communication in Latvia is characterised by a separation of sources by language (Kruks, 2001; Šulmane, 2006; Muižnieks, 2010; Golubeva, 2010). There are many Russian and Latvian media outlets that are quite diverse, but there is still almost no interaction between the two groups. Ilze Šulmane (2010) argues that Latvia has two stable, self-sufficient media subcultures based on the Latvian and Russian languages. These subcultures can be described by the use of different sources and divergent messages and views towards important aspects of socio-political life in Latvia, such as history, education, the Latvian Parliament and international affairs (Golubeva, 2010). While there are examples of people who participate in both subcultures, they form an exception to the rule of the coexistence of two separate parallel information worlds.

### *Legal and political issues*

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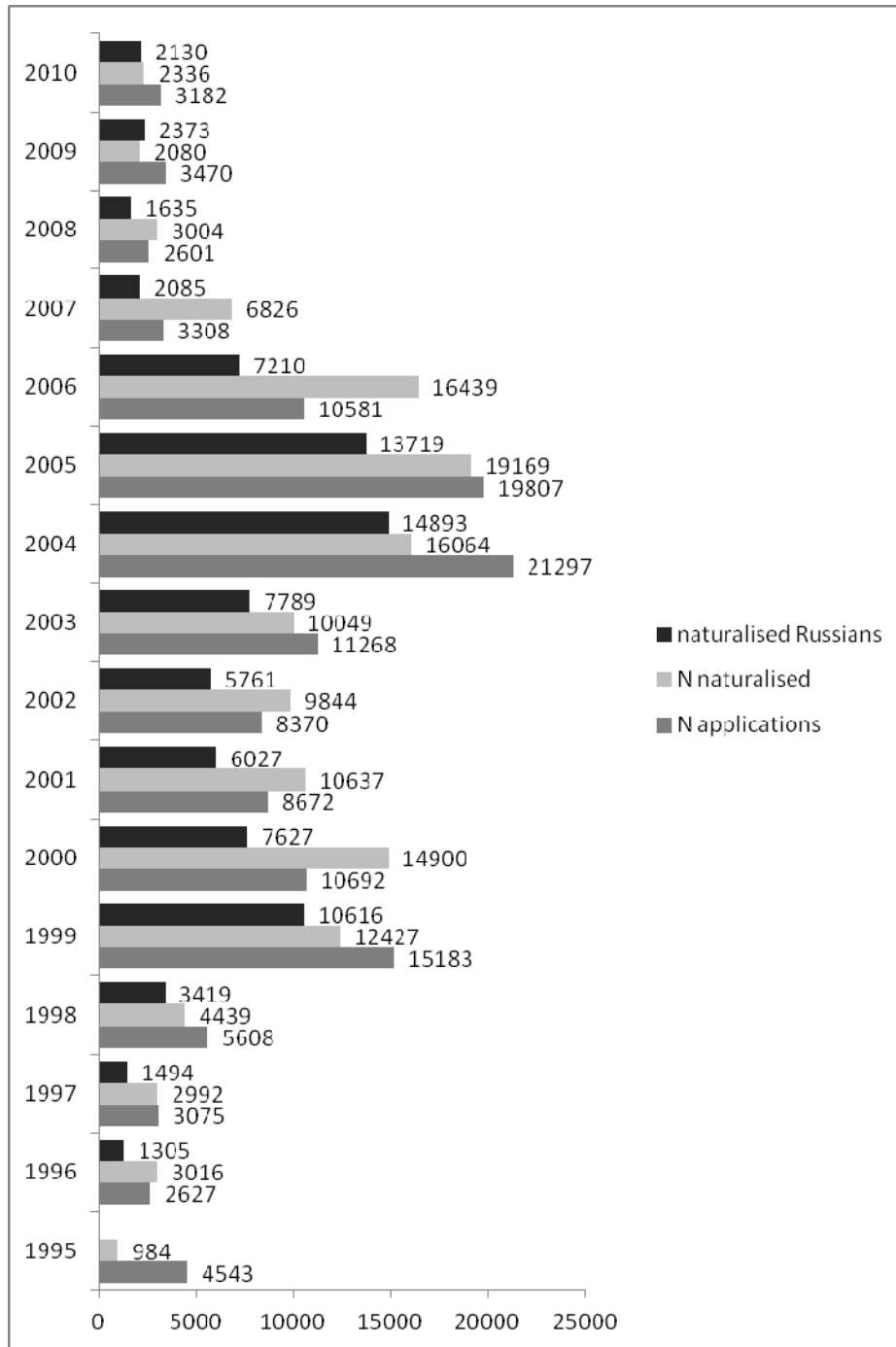
<sup>14</sup> In 1995, the government initiated the National Programme for Latvian Language Learning, administered as from October 2004 by the National Agency for Latvian Language Training [NALLT]), which in 2009 was reorganised into the Latvian Language Agency (LLA).

With regards to citizenship and other legal status issues, although the majority of Russian-speakers arrived in Latvia only after World War II, the proportion of those who were born in the territory of Latvia continues to grow. In 1989, approximately 40 per cent of the Russian-speaking population in Latvia were born there, but by 2000 this proportion had increased to more than 60 per cent. Nevertheless, non-citizens still represent 15% of the population 20 years after independence. With regards to the role of citizenship, participation, and representation in integration, Ilze Brands Kehris (2010) noted that it is difficult to declare massive progress in this area. Moreover, naturalisation rates recently hit an all-time low. Overall, the number of non-citizens halved from 715,000 in 1991 to 382,226 in 2010. Due to both the successful work of the Board of Naturalisation and to Latvia joining the EU in 2004 the naturalisation rate reached its height in 2004–2006, peaking in 2005, but has decreased rapidly since (see Figure 3-1). The largest proportion of naturalised citizens (65 per cent) are of Russian ethnicity, which corresponds to their share among the non-citizens of Latvia (on 1 July 2010 64 per cent of non-citizens were Russian).

Insufficient knowledge of Latvian language and history used to be seen as the major barrier for applying for naturalisation. Today language is very often only a secondary concern<sup>15</sup>. Instead, psychological aspects, such as the belief that citizenship should be granted automatically for all those born in Latvia and viewing the naturalisation process as humiliating, as well as pragmatic aspects such as reduced fees for visas to CIS states, lack of money or time or just overall passiveness are the most important barriers (Board of Naturalisation, 2003, p. 66).

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<sup>15</sup> Only 5% of those who applied for naturalisation from 1996 to 2010 did not pass the history test and 13% did not pass the Latvian language test. However, it is interesting to note that the pass rates in both history and language tests began to decrease from around 2001. For example, in 1999 less than 1% did not pass the history test and the language test, but in 2010 18 % did not pass the history test and 43% did not pass the language test. This needs separate further research.



**Figure 3-1** Naturalisation process in Latvia, 1995-2010 *Source: Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs. Annual Citizenship Statistics Reports.*

The full, equal and effective participation of all people in society in economic, cultural, social and political life is not only a core aspect of integration, but it also influences acculturation choices. Additionally, it has an impact on individuals' overarching sense of belonging to the state and thus identification with the state and various ethnic groups.

In Latvia ethnic minorities are slightly under-represented at the national political level and in some local governments<sup>16</sup>, but well represented in others, e.g. the residents of Riga elected an ethnic Russian mayor in 2010. Yet, citizenship remains the key political participation criterion: the right to vote and stand as a candidate for elections in national parliamentary elections is reserved to citizens only, and in local government elections to citizens of the EU (Brands Kehris, 2010). Participation in elections remains at the centre of nationality policy and discourse in Latvia.

Furthermore, unlike in Estonia, Latvian political parties stay largely oriented towards one ethnic and/or linguistic group. In addition most ethnic minority activists and politicians see their political participation as being quite unproductive in both legislative politics and through advisory bodies (Brands Kehris & Pūce, 2005).

As has been mentioned above, there are a number of key pieces of legislation affecting integration (e.g. the Law on Citizenship and the State Language Law). Almost all of these laws were adopted and later amended (if at all) under severe international pressure. Since the last amendments in late nineties there have been no further changes to this legislation to reflect new changing social and political contexts.

Parallel to these developments in Latvia, the Russian Federation has adopted several policy documents in the realm of 'compatriots' policy, created new institutions to implement them, and allocated increasing amounts of funding to diaspora NGOs and Russian diaspora media, including in Latvia. As a result, in 2009, for the first time since the early 1990s, the number of Latvian non-citizens applying for Russian citizenship exceeded that applying for Latvian citizenship.

Moreover, all subsequent policies were and continue to be very Soviet in their outlook even if different in content. The name of the dominant group has swapped between Latvian and Russian, but very few from either group's political elite have questioned the

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<sup>16</sup> The statistics on ethnicity and mother tongue together with other socio-demographic information of MPs and local councils are available at the home page of the Central Election Commission. (<http://www.cvk.lv/cgi-bin/wdbcgiw/base/komisijas2010.galrez10.statko>)

very core of the policies and institutions – the primordial understanding of ethnicity leading to an ethnic nation and single nation-state. Furthermore, the everyday life of ordinary people is much more complicated than a standard division into Latvians and Russians (Cara, 2010a), creating an even bigger gap between state policies and people.

In summary, acculturation trends of the larger society as represented by nationality policies in Latvia are rather ambiguous, with elements of separation, marginalisation and integration within different domains. Latvia has experienced integration in some, such as Latvian language knowledge and progress towards a formally unified education system (as we will see in the next section), but there are quite stable patterns of separation in the media and in public as well as political life.

Finally, in 2011, ten years after the original Programme for Integration was accepted, the Cabinet of Ministers approved the guidelines for the National Identity and Society Integration Policy for 2012-2018, developed by the Ministry of Culture. The main aim of these guidelines is a strong, consolidated Latvian nation, a national and democratic community based on the Latvian language, culture and national identity (Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Latvia (2011). Guidelines on National Identity, Civil Society and Integration Policy (2012–2018).<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> The guidelines identify several problems that need to be solved. Among those are the overall political inertness of the people, distrust in social and political bodies, the lack of any system and regular campaigns to battle social exclusion and discrimination problems, no sufficient civic education for young people. Additionally, the guidelines argue that although Latvian language skills have improved notably, the state language is still not used enough in the public space, which is blamed on the self-sufficiency of Russian in the public space and Latvians' passivity in communication with non-Latvians as well as the fact that Latvians are often discriminated against on the labour market because of their insufficient proficiency in Russian. Furthermore, this is also seen as being related to teachers and education. First, teachers in ethnic minority schools differ in their understanding and willingness to improve children's Latvian language skills. Second, the school curriculum does not offer anything to non-Latvians which they could use to situate themselves within Latvian culture. Finally, as the guidelines state, some people in Latvia base their interpretation of Latvian history, the Soviet era in particular, on 'false' historical facts. This, in the view of the authors of the guidelines, divides Latvia's social memory and hinders the development of an integrated society. In order to solve these problems, the document offers three action plans, each with its own goals and events to be implemented. "Civic Society and Integration" deals with the immigrants, strengthening Latvian cultural space as a foundation for consolidation of society, enhancing the Latvian identity of Latvians living abroad. "Consolidated Social Memory" deals with promoting such understanding of World War II and the Soviet occupation of Latvia that would be based on true and verified facts and democratic values, promoting Latvian and European history studies in schools. "National Identity: Language and Cultural Space" provides for consolidating the use of Latvian in Latvia's public space, improving Latvian language skills among

These guidelines stimulated much discussion among academics and the non-Latvian political elite. The main focus of the discussion was the idea that the Latvian language, culture and social memory should serve as the basis for the integration and unification of all people living in Latvia. It is hard to believe that ten years have passed between the first and second programmes; nothing appears to have been learned from the 20 years of independence of the Latvian state. The guidelines still embody the idea of Latvia as a single nation-state and Latvians as an ethnic nation (Kreile, 2011).

Elerte (2011), who was Minister of Culture when the guidelines were accepted, argues that the "Latvian nation-state is inclusive. It has a duty to strengthen its own identity, but also to be open to those who are willing to be included. It means that one not only can be born as a Latvian, but one can become a Latvian" (Elerte, 2011). Nevertheless, it is hard to call a single nation-state inclusive if it accepts only those who are effectively Latvian either in ethnic terms or through assimilation. As Kreile argues in her criticism of the guidelines:

*„The idea that Latvian culture and social memory is the base for the unification of the Latvian nation, in my opinion, is quite simplified. It by design excludes from the nation anybody who has a different culture or dissimilar historical memory. And as it happens to be most of these people are ethnic minorities. ... In Elerte's integration plan in the utopian Latvia we are either born into the ethnic group that is set as an example or are trying hard to become one.” (Kreile, 2011)*

Other academics (Hanovs, 2010; Ijabs, 2011) suggest that these guidelines represent, on the one hand, the fear among ethnic Latvians to lose their language and culture and, on the other, the exclusive hierarchical top positions that ethnic Latvians have enjoyed for the last 20 years. They also argue that integration is only possible when all people who live in Latvia can fully and equally participate in the maintenance and construction of Latvian culture, because successful societal integration is brought about by the

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Latvians residing abroad, ethnic minorities, non-citizens, new development of civic education, strengthening traditional and non-traditional forms of civic participation, encouraging social inclusion and preventing discrimination, increasing the role of the mass media in society integration.



integration of two or more groups to form a unified society rather than the integration of one group into a pre-existing society. The Latvian government accepts the latter, whereas ethnic minorities accept the former.

As Juris Rozenvalds explained in his recent (2012) conference presentation, the situation in Latvia is very challenging because of the existence of the two minority groups, rather than a minority and a majority or two equal groups. Latvians still partially feel as a minority and in some urban areas they numerically are, whereas Russians also have adapted a minority status. Both groups fear losing their culture and language and this hinders any further positive development in the ethnic policy and societal cohesion in Latvia.

The question of discrimination based on one's ethnicity and language is one of the most extensively discussed issues in Latvia and is often seen as a consequence of the existence of "ethnic democracy" (Smith et al., 1998; Smooha, 2001; Hughes, 2005) and the revenge of Latvians for the Soviet past (Horowitz, 1998). According to Horowitz (1998), ethnic discrimination is justified by the willingness of the majority to correct historical injustice, such as asymmetric bilingualism during the Soviet era in many Soviet republics and dominance of the Russian language and culture. In addition, however not discussed openly and justified, discriminatory policies are the means by which the majority in the Latvian government tries to protect the socio-economic position of Latvians, by securing for them access to jobs in the public sector (Bardhan, 1997; Horowitz, 1998; Docquier and Rapoport, 2003a, 2003b).

The Citizenship and Language Laws and restrictions on the labour market related to these two documents are often seen as discriminatory policies that are likely to worsen the socio-economic position of Russian-speakers compared with ethnic Latvians. Ethnic minorities are already underrepresented in some of the more stable and secure occupations where proficiency in Latvian is crucial, such as public administration (Pabriks, 2002; Hazans, 2005). Interestingly, in Latvia, where bias would be expected on grounds of ethnicity, the actual survey data from the New Baltic Barometer shows that a majority of both Latvians and Russians expect fair treatment in bureaucratic encounters and insofar as unfair treatment occurs it tends to be distributed randomly

rather than being the typical behaviour towards members of a particular social or ethnic group (Galbreath & Rose, 2008).

However, very few researchers have shown the actual existence of ethnic discrimination and inequality in Latvia. Pabriks (2002) explains the situation as resulting from poor Latvian language knowledge, a lack of citizenship and scepticism among ethnic minorities regarding work in state institutions, rather than discrimination on the labour market. Similarly, Aasland and Flotten (2001) argued that the most important factor to explain social inequality seems to be education, but education levels among Latvians and Slavic minorities in Latvia are very similar.

In assessing Latvian social policy, Rajevska (2010) found no close link between ethnicity and poverty. However, she did show that ethnic Latvians are better informed about their social rights. In addition, in a 2009 ruling, the European Court of Human Rights found that Latvia's pension policy stating that time worked outside of the territory of Latvia is counted in calculating pensions for citizens but not for non-citizens was discriminatory against non-citizens.

Only Hazans (2005), using 2002 Labour Force data, showed that the average net earnings of ethnic Latvians were 10 per cent higher compared with other ethnic groups. Moreover, ethnic non-Latvians were more likely to be unemployed and were overrepresented among the long-term unemployed. In the late 1990s, employment rates among non-Latvians were lower than among Latvians. This was the case both on average and after accounting for other relevant factors (Hazans, 2005). Despite inconsistent policymaking, remarkable progress was achieved between 1997 and 2008 in ethnic equality on the labour market, due to strong economic growth accompanied by a massive outflow of labour after EU enlargement, but as Latvia entered a recession in the second half of 2008, most of these gains in the relative position of minorities in terms of employment rates and earnings were again lost (Hazans, 2010).

Furthermore, drawing on survey data on emigration intentions in Latvia, Ivlevs (2008) showed that, after controlling for other factors such as age, education, income and region, the probability of emigration of a Russian minority individual is higher than that

of a majority individual. In addition, for Russian-speakers, higher education and income levels are associated with a higher probability of emigration compared to ethnic Latvians. These findings, Ivlevs argues, might be explained by linguistic discrimination in the labour market and inefficient minority integration policies, such as minority education reform. Similar conclusions had been reached by Hughes in 2005.

When looking at discrimination and social inequality it is not only the objective indicators that are important but also public perceptions of the situation. These perceptions are important, as they can serve to guide the behaviour of individuals or groups in society. Moreover, subjective evaluations of various disparities are important in acculturation processes and are also related to the formation of identification.

The 'On the Way to a Civic Society' survey in 1997 showed that 67 per cent of non-citizens believed that "to be a non-citizen means discrimination in the labour market". Furthermore, one-third of those with poor Latvian expressed this view compared with a fifth of those who were fluent in Latvian. The number of those non-citizens who perceived "discrimination in the labour market" in 1997 decreased only slightly in 2000 to 63 per cent (BISS, 1997, 2000a).

There was no change in the proportion (around one-quarter) of Latvian inhabitants who thought that in the previous three years they had experienced discrimination based on their language (BISS, 2006b). However, the same study shows a very marked decrease among those who thought that they had been discriminated against in the last three years due to their ethnicity; from 43 per cent in 1996 to 11 per cent in 2006. Thus, issues of ethnicity and of ethnic language in particular, are at the centre of perceived discrimination in Latvia among non-Latvians.

Nationality policy and the status of Russians in Latvia 20 years after Latvia regained its independence is still a very controversial issue. Latvians were traumatised by the violence of Soviet rule: deportations, mass repressions, collectivisation, the loss of independence. Russians, especially those of the older generation, have been traumatised by the change in their status and feel betrayed by Latvians. Ethnic relations in the last

20 years have seen a period of adjustment for both Latvians and Russians and some improvement. Latvians have had to reconcile themselves to the fact that the Russians are in Latvia to stay. Russians, for their part, have had to become accustomed to the fact that Latvia is an independent state and that they should learn the Latvian language.

Nevertheless, the current official guidelines suggest that assimilation is still seen as the only possible solution envisaged by the government for the future of Latvia, making separation or marginalisation more appealing for ethnic minorities.

### ***3.5 Education and ethnicity in Latvia: bilingual education in segregated schools***

Schools provide an important context for secondary ethnic socialisation. They are where adolescents spend a large part of their day during the week, and, in the case of ethnic minorities, encounter the national school standards (values and knowledge) in the form of the formal curriculum and the majority's culture and language.

Moreover, education is an essential means for human development and social cohesion (Smith, 2001; Sommers & Buckland, 2004). The education system is very often seen as an integrative factor in multicultural societies. Schools are seen as places where the new generation, regardless of their ethnic origin, acquires through the formal curriculum the knowledge, attitudes and values that they will need as members of society. Contemporary society still sees schools as institutions that "create social beings" in the Durkheimian sense (Durkheim, 1956, 1961) and solve social problems, by facilitating social inclusion and tolerance (Aboud & Fenwick, 1999). Nevertheless, social researchers have shown limited interest in this function of the schooling system, especially in how schools influence acculturation and the construction of ethnic (and national) identity.

However, research and history suggest that education can also be a powerful device for the reproduction and creation of human stratification and segregation as well as having the potential to generate or intensify conflict (Bush & Salterelli, 2000). This can be illustrated with conflict in segregated education systems, for instance, between Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo or Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland. These examples show that education may let diversity and cultural differences become the basis for separation between groups of people and reproduce this division rather than facilitate the cohesion and integration of a multicultural society.

Whether the end result for ethnic minorities is assimilation, separation or integration depends on both the way the education system is structured and on the content of the curriculum (both hidden and formal). On the one hand, schools may serve as an arena for different ethnic groups to construct a common civic culture within one state. On the other, education systems can be used to promote a particular definition of national and/or ethnic identity that includes certain groups and excludes others. Segregated education may serve to maintain inequality among groups within society and to reproduce societies with two or more separate communities. This study seeks to develop a clearer understanding of one particular dimension of contemporary education: the construction of ethnicity within a segregated education system in ethnic minority schools (Russian-language schools) that implement bilingual education programmes in Latvia. In the literature on 'bilingual education' the term is used to describe a variety of educational programmes involving two or more languages to varying degrees. In this study I limit the definition to the one used in Hamers & Blanc's book describing: "*any system of school education in which, at a given moment in time and for a varying amount of time, simultaneously or consecutively, instruction is planned and given in at least two languages.*" (1995, p. 189)

Ever since the establishment of public education in Latvia by the Baltic Germans during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the school system, at least at the primary level, has been divided according to language/ethnicity. In 1918, the Latvian school education system was for the first time controlled by Latvians, but there was still no unified national schooling and the linguistic dimension of ethnicity was built into the school system as a

fundamental category. Besides Latvian schools there were a number of considerably autonomous minority schools. During Soviet times there was a highly uniform curriculum, but schools were still separated into two linguistic streams and this was even encouraged. The separation of children into different schools during the Soviet period was in line with the idea of national self-determination as one of the basic principles of the multi-national, quasi-federal structured union (Bjorklund, 2004). Separate Russian-language schools were also necessitated by the massive waves of immigration from Russia and other Soviet Republics to Latvia.

Soviet language policy may be described by the term asymmetrical bilingualism or bilingualism for non-native Russian speakers. In Latvia bilingualism referred only to the Latvian population. Latvians were required to be fluent in Russian. Latvian children were taught Russian language in schools, but Russian children were not expected to learn the Latvian language. Although in all three Baltic States the possibility of education in the local language was offered, the national languages were undermined by the political promotion of the Russian language in all official contexts and, in addition, communication with Russian-speakers had to be in Russian, as very few Russian-speakers spoke Latvian. Moreover, because Russian was considered to be of practical use, many Latvian children went to Russian schools.

The segregated education system in Latvia during Soviet times and the continuation of the same schooling system nowadays has resulted not only in a two-community state, but also in poor knowledge of the Latvian language among adolescents from schools with Russian as the main language of instruction. Those adolescents may therefore have a reduced chance of further education at Latvian universities and/or of competing in the labour market (Pisarenko, 2002, 2004). Recent ethnic minority education reform has created even greater tension in Latvian society, making ethnicity in schools a sensitive and politicised issue and putting considerable pressure and responsibility on the education system (Pisarenko & Zepa, 2004). In 1999,<sup>18</sup> all

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<sup>18</sup> In 1995 the Education Law was amended and starting from 1996/1997 academic year two subjects had to be taught in Latvian in grades 5-9 and three in grades 10-12 in ethnic minority schools. Schools in most cases chose music, arts, sports subjects and only in rare cases some other subjects where the linguistic

ethnic minority primary schools in Latvia had to switch to bilingual education, while ethnic minority secondary schools have had to teach at least 60% of class time in Latvian since September 2004. These 'language in education' reforms have created anxiety among ethnic minorities about the psychological well-being of their children, knowledge of school subjects and proficiency in their native language as well as fear of assimilation. Moreover as some limited research on the results of the education reform suggests (Halyavin & Malashonok, 2007) the decrease of the level of knowledge in Mathematics and History, that coincides with the first graduates who were taught according to the principles of the 2004 reform is related to the language the examination work is performed in.

There are many unanswered questions surrounding the education reform. Firstly, why was 2004 chosen for the implementation of the reform if children who started their education bilingually would be in year 10 only in 2008? There is also a lack of clarity about the implementation mechanisms. Bilingual education models were prepared on a theoretical level without any guidelines on how to use them in real life. Similarly, for secondary schools, the Law only states that 60 per cent of study time has to be in Latvian, but there are no clear guidelines on how to implement it.

Many authors (Silova, 2002; Bjorklund, 2004; Galbreath & Galvin, 2006; Hogan-Brun, 2006, 2007) argue that the education reforms in Latvia regarding ethnic minorities used the same strategy as the Soviets did for their educational reforms. These strategies involve a high level of centralisation and bureaucratic control in combination with uniform curricula. Education in the Soviet Union was given a normative and ideological character and there was a separation of schools into two groups, one for Latvian and one for Russian-speaking children. The Russian language also dominated school education. The ethnic character of the current Latvian state strategies and education reforms bears a

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aspect is much more central. From 1999 the Education Law was amended again and schools had to choose from different educational programmes that represented various models and proportion of the Latvian and other languages used as a means of instruction. Ethnic minority schools could continue their work and receive funding from the government only if they implemented one of these models. Schools also could use their own model, but it had to be accredited by the Ministry of Education. Only a few schools used this opportunity.

great resemblance to the strategies used during the Soviet period. This process can be called the 'titularisation' or 'Latvianisation' of schools (Galbreath & Galvin, 2006).

Surveys (Zepa, 2004b) show that overall the attitude of Russian-speakers about their children learning the Latvian language is positive. The great majority of them support bilingual education, yet only about half of Russian-speakers in Latvia supported teaching 60 per cent in Latvian in minority secondary schools before the start of the 2004 reform. It also has to be mentioned here that the lack of research and professional information before the start of the education reform made it a highly politicised issue. As a consequence, Russian-speaking parents and schoolchildren protested against plans to have 60 per cent of school subjects taught in the national language instead of Russian.

My own academic research (Pisarenko, 2002, 2004, 2006; Pisarenko & Zepa, 2004) leads to the conclusion that significant tension exists in Latvia due to the fact that the Latvian language does not serve as a communication tool for all members of Latvian society. That is why the right to make decisions about the education system seems so essential. The fact that the two largest linguistic groups are competing in the area of language hierarchy and education means that this is one of the basic conflicts between Latvian-speaking and Russian-speaking residents in Latvia, because both sides feel that they are threatened. Latvians are afraid that the Russian language will take over Latvian, but Russian-speakers in their turn are afraid of assimilation. Given that education is a key resource in every society, the education reforms in Latvia have caused inter-ethnic relationships to become more hostile thus exacerbating an ethnic split in the country (Zepa, 2004a; 2004b; 2005).

Moreover, while focusing on language, very little attention has been paid to aspects of culture, history, intercultural competence or citizenship studies at schools within these reforms. A segregated education system does not reflect the ethnic or linguistic borders that exist in everyday life outside schools. Reality is much more mixed. Besides, if children in schools are left segregated, it will be almost impossible to solve the issue of societal integration through the improvement of Latvian language knowledge only.



One of the further functions of education as the main agency of secondary socialisation is to transmit culture. However, this has proved problematic in Latvia. In the case of ethnic minority children education is meant to introduce them to the majority culture so they can become full members of society. All schools in Latvia, regardless of the language of instruction, have the same formal curriculum that incorporates civic education, for example, through history or social sciences, with the aim of creating an integrated civic society.

However, the education system in Latvia has failed in its aim of eliminating ethnic tensions through greater integration and identification with the Latvian language and culture. Research shows that there are significant differences between the views of adolescents from Latvian- and Russian-language schools in their perception of civic values and participation (Kangro, 2004; Curika, 2009; Golubeva and Austers, 2011) as well as their perception and knowledge of Latvian history (Makarovs and Boldane, 2009). Moreover, there is still a lack of teaching materials, and in some remote parts of Latvia schoolbooks from the Soviet period are used in Russian schools, presenting completely different views on society and history. Some other schools reported using teaching materials supplied by Russian organisations from Russia (Bjorklund, 2004).

Nevertheless, both Latvians and ethnic minorities continue to support this existing segregated system. Latvians are afraid to lose their own identity. Teachers in Latvian schools also mention lack of experience, lack of teaching materials and other problems that arise if they have Russian children within Latvian schools. Leading Russian organisations and politicians also went along with the separation of schools, but for other reasons; they want to secure high standards of Russian language and culture in Latvia. Silova (2002) argues that these reforms are aimed at the gradual Latvianisation of ethnic minority schools. At the same time by keeping schools separate the government can always argue that multicultural education exists in Latvia in an attempt to refute discrimination claims. The result is that schools are Latvian in their content, but multicultural in their form while the education system in Latvia is multicultural in its form (Silova, 2002), but not in its content, especially when bilingual education is predominantly realised in ethnic minority schools and not in Latvian schools.

As the BISS (2006a) research shows, schools in Latvia overall can be considered quite well integrated culturally and ethnically with regards to the environment within the school. Schools with Russian as the language of instruction seem to be more ethnically diverse, as they are traditionally based on linguistic, not ethnic uniformity. Conflicts in schools are described mostly as short term and non-violent, although the opposite also occurs. There seem to be no explicit ethnic conflicts within the schools. With regards to contacts and relationships between schools, it is interesting to note that contact with people from the neighbouring schools was described as ‘good’ by the school staff, but as indifferent and in some cases even hostile by the students in focus group discussions (BISS, 2006a).

The link between the education system and societal integration, as analysed by Brigita Zepa (2010), is a complex one. Some progress has been made in overcoming the Soviet legacy of two parallel educational sub-systems operating in the Latvian and Russian languages by means of the education reform. However, this progress can be attributed more to the improvement in Latvian language knowledge and less to the integration of society. Moreover, a significant share of Latvian and ethnic minority pupils, parents and teachers still support separate education.

Although the Ministry of Education has developed a formal curriculum that is compulsory for all schools, regardless of their language of instruction, there is also, I argue, a ‘hidden curriculum’ that serves to segregate Latvian- and Russian-speakers. According to Jackson (1968) school education constitutes a broader socialisation process, whereby students learn the hidden norms and values of the larger society or particular groups through interaction with teachers and peers. The hidden curriculum represents a combination of assumptions about the nature of the social world (including ideas about ethnicity and civic society), is a part of secondary socialisation and a significant part of school life. I argue that hidden curricula can pass on ideas that can influence adolescents’ identity formation and choice of acculturation strategies. As Curika (2009) suggests in her research on the influence of Latvia’s segregated education system on the civic socialisation of adolescents, the hidden curricula of ‘Latvian’ and ‘Russian’ schools reproduce segregated society in that adolescents from

different schools have different views about civic participation and historical issues. The influence of school culture - teachers, peers and the hidden curriculum - on acculturation and adolescents' identification with the state and its culture and language is thus an important but under-researched area in Latvia.

Research (Golubeva and Austers, 2011) also suggests that the voluntarily segregated system of schools reproduces (rather than produces) divergent visions of national history and civic attitudes. Moreover, the minority teachers and students see the maintenance of their ethnic identity as a priority in education, to be rated above civic participation in a political community which does not give them a sense of empowerment or does not welcome their equal participation.

The idea of the joint schooling of students from different ethnic groups meets with the resistance of minority teachers and students on the grounds of the need to preserve a separate cultural identity (Golubeva and Austers, 2011). This implies that any moves toward overcoming the barriers among schools and creating a more coherent system of multicultural education that helps to create and encourage a civic nation can take place only via the gradual removal of symbolic barriers between Russians and Latvians. Moreover, these barriers most probably are of a political rather than cultural nature.

### ***3.6 Identifications of Russian-speakers in Soviet and independent Latvia***

Most researchers focus on Russians and/or Russian-speakers (those with Russian as a native language) when discussing the situation of ethnic minorities in Latvia. The size of the Russian minority in Latvia and its 'problematic' behaviour, such as their relatively low knowledge and only occasional use of the Latvian language and the low proportion of Latvian citizens and slow naturalisation rates, as well as the geographical proximity of Russia have contributed to this focus.

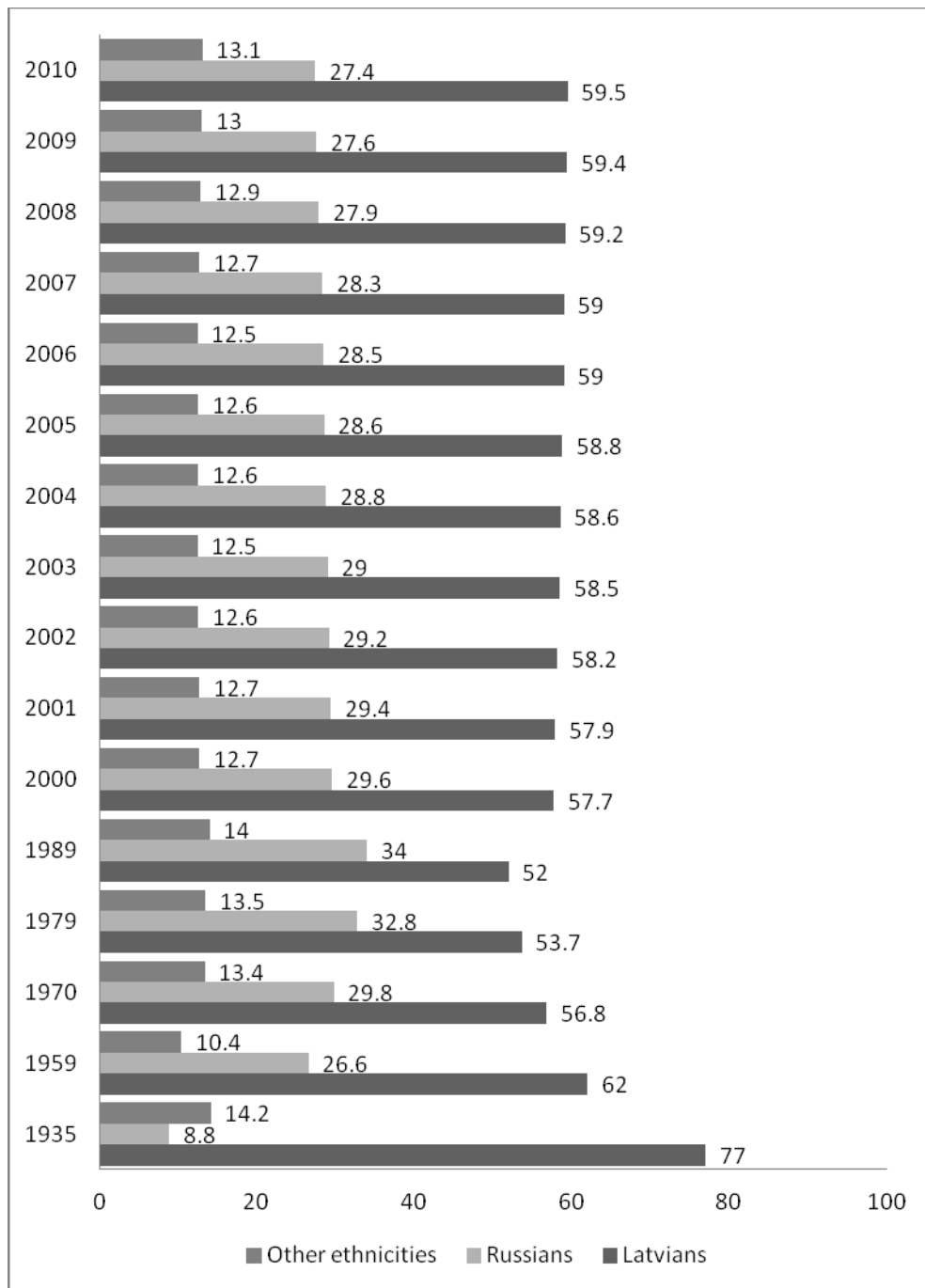
The Russian population in Latvia differs from the Russian Diaspora in Western European countries and in the USA or from modern day Russian immigrants. Many Russians and Russian-speakers did not perceive coming to Latvia as intentional migration; very often they were convinced they had just moved to some other city or town within their big state or were forced to move to border regions during World War II, pursued by Germans. However, a closer examination of Russians in Latvia – their history and socio-demographic profile – suggests caution in using any generalisations, as Russians are not a homogeneous group.

Part of the Russian community has deep roots in Latvian society. By the end of the 18th century, Latvia was fully under Russian control, but the presence of Russians was still relatively low. Nevertheless, just before World War II, Russians, with 8.8 per cent of the population in 1935 (see Figure 3-2), were the largest minority in Latvia. Among the largest subgroups of Russians were the Old Believers, descendants of a group that split off from the Orthodox Church in Russia in the late 17th century, suffered persecution under the tsars' regime and moved to Latvia as religious refugees in the 18th century.

The influx of people from other parts of the Soviet Union started in mid-1941 and peaked in the post-war period (1945 to 1959). During this period, the ethnic balance changed significantly. The Russian proportion of the population in Latvia increased from 168,000 to 556,000, while the number of Latvians decreased by 169,000 as a result of forced deportations, voluntary migration or the relocation of Latvians to other parts of the Soviet Union and additionally a low level of natural demographic growth. Besides, increasingly more children from mixed families now chose to identify their ethnicity as Russian rather than Latvian or any other. Furthermore, for most of the post-war period, Russians and other Slavs continued to come and settle in Latvia. The Latvian group declined from 62 per cent in 1959 to 52 per cent in 1989 (see Figure 3-2). The Russian proportion increased from 27 to 34 per cent.

Thus the majority of Russians arrived in Latvia after World War II during the period when Latvia was occupied by the Soviet Union. They came as workers from Russia and other Soviet Republics. Russians in Latvia are concentrated in urban areas because of their occupations and patterns of migration. In 1935, 63 per cent of the population in

Riga were Latvians and only 9 per cent Russians. By 1989, Russians had become the largest ethnic group (47 per cent) in Riga, while only 36 per cent were Latvians.



**Figure 3-2 Ethnic composition of Latvia, 1935-2010** *Source: Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs. Annual Statistics Reports.*

When Latvia regained its independence in 1991, a small proportion of Russians and other non-Latvians, including military personnel and their families, returned to Russia and other former Soviet Republics. Data from the Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs show that there have been relatively small changes in the ethnic balance in Latvia since then. Thus in January 2010, 60 per cent of the population of Latvia were ethnic Latvians, 27 per cent ethnic Russians and 13 per cent people of another ethnic origin (such as Poles, Ukrainians, and Belarusians).

As we saw, Soviet rule created highly consolidated nations in many Soviet republics. However, the impact on the Russian nation and Russian national identity was mixed. In the early years the Bolsheviks gave privileges to all nationalities, except Russians, as they were afraid of Russian chauvinism and imperialism. Over time, and after World War II in particular, the regime's attitude to Russians changed and Russians became the Big Brother for other Soviet nationalities, while Russian became the lingua franca of the Soviet Union.

However, in Slezkine's (1994) terms, the Soviet Union was similar to a "communal apartment" where each nationality had its own room except for Russians who were everywhere and nowhere, in a rather amorphous space. Russians did not have their own defined territory; effectively they could claim only those lands that were not already claimed by non-Russians. Russians were, as Hosking calls them, "a kind of homeless ruling class in danger of losing their identity" (1999, p. 215). Many things that were Russian in cultural or traditional terms were destroyed or undermined under Soviet rule. Russian pre-1917 identity was based predominantly on identification with the state, the monarchy or the empire, or Orthodoxy and Slavdom (Martin & Suny, 2001, p.50). Language also became important especially in the years just prior to the October Revolution in 1917. Religion and Empire were destroyed by Sovietisation and only language was left as a single but essential aspect. This explains why in modern-day Latvia both Latvians and Russians clash over the maintenance of their languages as they see them as the very core of their identity.

Russian traditional culture based on Orthodoxy and peasant village community was partially demolished and partially conflated with the Soviet culture. The Soviet regime

did a lot to undermine Russian identity (Hosking, 2001, p.432 and p.576), yet it also did a great deal to reinforce Russian national feeling. The Soviet Union embodied Russian patriotism: most of the Communist Party heads were Russian, Russian was its main language and the language of command in the armed forces and of education, even though primary schools in non-Russian areas used other languages for tuition. Russians regarded themselves almost like a supnation chosen to bring together other nations that could keep their culture and language but had to acknowledge Russians' right to rule over them and create one big state.

On the other hand, a common system of new Soviet atheist festivals and public holidays was created and a new popular culture came into being. Many of the markers of Russian identity, related to the village and Orthodoxy, were destroyed by the regime, while others were co-opted to fill the content of Soviet identity. Russian language in the Soviet Union was the bearer of a new Soviet culture, not Russian culture. Thus, the process that is often called 'russification' was rather the 'sovietisation' of all ethnic groups, including Russians. For many Russians that meant a weakening of their national, religious and cultural identities. The Soviet regime raised imperial Russianness (Russians ruling over other nations within the Soviet Union; Big Brother of all nationalities), but weakened ethnic Russianness (Hosking, 1999, p.189).

Thus Soviet rule has not only brought challenges to the national identity of Russians in diaspora, but also to Russian national identity everywhere, including in Russia. Soviet rule destroyed much of Russian national identity and what is left is imperial Russianness, as a feeling of belonging to a supnation that once ruled the world and a belief that it could save the world again (Hosking, 2001). But the once strong Empire is long gone and thus Russian identity has to be reconsidered in a new social, political and cultural context.

Furthermore, these leftovers of the imperial Russian consciousness coupled with the primordial understanding of nationality as a hereditary, exclusive feeling of loyalty to just one particular ethnic group by ethno-nations in newly independent post-Soviet states, including Latvia, make it very difficult for Russians outside Russia to integrate

with other ethnic groups and build a strong common national identity defined in civic terms.

As we can see after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russian-speakers' political and also psychological status in Latvia changed overnight. They became migrants and 'aliens' in the state they saw as their home; many of them could not acquire citizenship automatically, but had to apply for it and pass specific exams. In 2010, only around 60 per cent of Russians are citizens of Latvia and the majority of the rest are without any citizenship, i.e. they are 'non-citizens', while around 5 per cent are citizens of Russia.

Nowadays Latvian passports do not indicate the holder's ethnic origins. Individuals have far greater choice in determining their identification than just one word on the 'fifth line' of their passport. This is an on-going process and can be a challenging task for some people when their familial, historical and geographical positions tell different stories.

Hence, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the political and also psychological status of Russians and Latvians changed. Already in the 1980s, researchers were thinking of possible changes of identity in Russians who lived in different Soviet Republics outside Russia. Some researchers (Kory, 1980) argued that they would keep their own identity and language despite their minority position and distance from Russia, while others proposed that Russian Diaspora identities would differ from homeland Russians and Russians in diaspora would adopt some characteristics of the indigenous population (Pavlovich, 1980; Melvin, 1995).

Payin (1994) argues that Russians in the post-Soviet space have been turning into distinct ethnicities with special interests and values and unique ways of life that differ not only from those of the ethnic majority, but also from those Russians living in Russia. Similarly to Payin, the Norwegian researcher, Kolsto (1995, 1996, 1999), and other researchers (Apine, 2001; Pisarenko, 2002; Simonian, 2003; Pavlenko, 2006; Galbreath, 2006; Cara, 2007, Cara, 2010a) predict the formation of a new integrated Baltic or Latvian-Russian or Russian-Latvian identity because of the negative net migration from



Russia, the closeness of the two cultures and the acceptance by Russians of Baltic values.

Yet, Kolsto (1999) shows that the high proportion of Russians in Latvia and the low degree of rootedness in combination with continued strong links to Russia could also imply the retention of a traditional Russian identity which could change into a new identity by converging the various Russian-speaking groups. Pavlenko (2006) suggests that the construction of a general diasporic Russian identity is just one of the possible options together with bilingual or bicultural identity, a Russian-speaking population identity or a unique ethnic Russian identity blended with local civic identity, resulting in Latvian Russians or Russian citizens of Latvia.

As can be seen there are a variety of different Russian identities (Aasland, 1994; Aasland & Flotten, 2001; Chinn & Kaiser, 1996; Barrington et al, 2003) rather than one identity. Drawing on large-scale surveys and focus groups in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Belarus and Ukraine, Barrington et al. (2003) challenged the notion of ethnic Russians as a potential 'fifth column' or even that they are positively disposed toward Russian political intervention in the near abroad. The research shows the heterogeneity of personal histories and attitudes of Diaspora Russians, but there is no strong identification with Russia as a homeland among ethnic Russians in the four post-Soviet countries participating in the study.

Moreover, as some of the researchers argue (Ginkel, 2002) most studies of ethno-national identity falsely “assume the solidarity of ethnic groups” and thereby overlook the motivations and independent actions of individuals within these groups. Since individual understandings of identity are far less rigid than traditional studies of nationalism suggest, and the Latvian case clearly demonstrates the malleability of individual identity and complexity of “individualist nationalist actions” (2002, p. 404). Nevertheless, there were very few studies in Latvia that looked at this issues and this study will aim to fill the gap in this knowledge.

While some researchers (Hughes, 2005) argue that exclusivist citizenship and language policies have allowed the reproduction of titular ethnic hegemony creating some key

push factors for a Russophone 'exit', others (Commercio, 2004) show how Russians remain in Latvia because they have established an independent business community that enables them to survive economically in the private sector. Additionally, other researchers (Aasland and Flotten, 2001; Pabriks, 2002) show that ethnicity is not a decisive factor explaining income inequalities in Latvia. The socio-economic status of Russians and Latvians is rather similar. There are disproportions between natives and minorities in certain institutions and branches of industry, but these disproportions do not appear to derive from discrimination, but rather from segregation tendencies.

Contrary to the prognosis that Russian-speakers will be and are integrated or separated, David Laitin in his book (1998) argued that there are strong assimilationist incentives in Latvia. In his view, Russians in Latvia have taken steps toward assimilation by choosing to learn the Latvian language and by encouraging their children to learn Latvian. Nevertheless, none of the studies by other researchers on linguistic aspects of acculturation (Zepa & Karklins, 1995; Apine, 2001) in Latvia provides evidence of the possible assimilation of Russian speakers. As Ponarin (2000) suggests, the choice to learn Latvian can lead to bilingualism rather than assimilation. Moreover, there is also no evidence that ethnic Latvians are ready to accept bilingual Russians into an ethnic nation. Overall, there is definite evidence that the majority of Russians in Latvia are beginning to identify with the Latvian state while remaining culturally distinct from ethnic Latvians (Kronenfeld, 2005), but also distancing themselves from Russia.

This study looks at ethnocultural identity formation and development in Russian-speaking adolescents using a bidimensional model.<sup>19</sup> Based on research available (Pavlovich, 1980; Melvin, 1995; Payin, 1994; Apine, 2001; Pisarenko, 2002; Simonian, 2003; Pavlenko, 2006; Cara, 2007) I argue that Russian-speaking adolescents have a bicultural identity in that they identify with both Russian and Latvian cultures and languages. I suggest that even if the primordial understanding of the Latvian nation and respective nationality policy in Latvia facilitates separation

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<sup>19</sup> See chapter on ethnocultural identity.

tendencies in young Russians, these adolescents still do not have any strong identification with Russia and see Latvia as their homeland.

It is interesting to look at the results of this study in the context of these research findings. To summarise, possible Russian-speaking identities in Latvia might be reduced to three main options: (i) assimilation into the Latvian cultural group; (ii) separation, maintaining a distinct Russian identity; and (iii) integration, forming a new identity combining strong identifications with both the Russian and Latvian groups and cultures. A fourth (and secondary) option might be marginalisation in terms of not feeling accepted by Latvians, but at the same time feeling alienated from the Russian ethnic group.

The following chapter will look more closely at the responses of Russian-speaking adolescents from Russian schools in Riga and how they negotiate their identities in the context of these various social, political and historical influences and which is the preferred option from the three mentioned above.

### ***3.7 Conclusions***

In this chapter I have shown how various historical, political and social legacies have created two largely separate linguistic communities in Latvia: Latvian- and Russian-speakers. I have also suggested that while attempts were made to integrate the two communities, only some were successful so these two groups remain segregated to a certain extent. Both communities played a role in these processes.

Ethnic Russians in the post-Soviet countries have to be viewed as a number of ethnic or national minorities in unique socio-historical contexts rather than a united Diaspora. Research shows a tendency towards the establishment of distinct Baltic-Russian cultures, some separation tendencies and a certain resilience of traditional Soviet and Russian traditions and attitudes.

On the one hand, the demographic situation and fear among Latvians that they might lose their language and culture and become a minority in their own state, coupled with the ethnic rather than civic understanding of the nation, proved to be problematic when trying to accommodate Russian-speakers as part of Latvian society. On the other, the imperial identity of Russian-speakers, the sudden change in their political and social status, the fear of assimilation as well as feelings of betrayal and hurt created barriers for a successful dialogue between the two groups in Latvian society.

The Soviet legacy of thinking of nationality in primordial terms and the conceptualisation of the Latvian nation as an ethnic entity, as well as treating Russian-speakers as an enemy of the Latvian nation, could have a negative influence on the successful integration of Russian adolescents in Latvia and could encourage the choice of separation.

Moreover, the chapter demonstrated that Soviet rule did much to undermine the components of Russian national identity but did a great deal to reinforce Russian national feeling and focus on language as the core of both Latvian and Russian identity. I hypothesise that fears of assimilation due to the Latvian government's language, citizenship and education policies might also have a negative influence on the choice of acculturation strategies and identification.

At this point the acculturation attitudes and behaviours of young Russian-speakers as well as the resultant identifications are focal. Although the Soviet legacy has a negative influence on the attitudes of the older generation, many younger people have a positive stance and choose to identify with Latvia.

Moreover, a current segregated education system does not reflect the ethnic or linguistic borders that exist in everyday life outside schools. Besides, if children in schools are left segregated, it will be almost impossible to solve the issue of societal integration through the improvement of Latvian language knowledge only. Latvia's segregated education system has a negative impact on the integration prospects as the hidden curricula of 'Latvian' and 'Russian' schools continue to reproduce a segregated society. The influence of school culture – teachers and peers - on acculturation and

adolescents' identification with the state and its culture and language is thus an important but under-researched area in Latvia. This will be the main focus of the next three chapters.

## **4 ACCULTURATION STRATEGIES OF RUSSIAN-SPEAKING ADOLESCENTS**

### ***4.1 Introduction***

This chapter presents the results of an exploratory analysis that describe the acculturation strategies, both attitudinal and behavioural, of Russian-speaking adolescents in Latvia using the quantitative and qualitative data collected in this study. It also links these results to previous research and to further inferential statistical analysis presented in the next chapters. Therefore, this chapter serves as a first step towards the later bivariate and multivariate analysis of acculturation strategies and profiles by building a more complex picture and by explaining the relationships between the different factors involved in acculturation processes and the formation of ethno-national identification. I will focus on acculturation attitudes, Latvian language knowledge and use, as well as social contacts with Latvians and perceived discrimination. The acculturation behaviours represent the sociocultural acculturation outcomes and can be called the actual degree of acculturation<sup>20</sup>. The behaviours and attitudes together form the different acculturation strategies of young Russian-speakers in Latvia in their relationships with the majority, the ethnic Latvians.

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<sup>20</sup> Degree of acculturation represents how much of the national culture, including language and social contacts, individuals have incorporated into their behaviour. It therefore consists of separate acculturation behaviours that are oriented towards national group and their culture.

These acculturation strategies are extremely important because they may influence other areas of the daily social life of young ethnic minority people, such as their well-being and academic achievement and later position on the labour market. It is imperative to describe and explore these strategies in order to predict further developments in the attitudes and behaviours of ethnic minorities in such multicultural societies as Latvia. Furthermore, much of the research in Latvia with few exceptions (for example, Zepa, 2004b; BISS, 2010) has involved policy analysis and represented the views of the adult population rather than those of young adults or adolescents and children. This thesis endeavours to give a voice to adolescents, with policy analysis serving only as a context for the exploration of the psychological and sociological mechanisms behind ethnic identification and acculturation.

## ***4.2 Acculturation attitudes***

This chapter provides an introduction to and descriptive information about the acculturation attitudes of Russian-speaking adolescents. All the analysis is based on the survey of Russian-speaking adolescents and their teachers, unless stated otherwise. I use Berry's acculturation model, seeking to generalise and group ethnic minority or immigrant attitudes involved in the acculturation process into four separate broader strategies: assimilation, integration, separation, marginalisation (Berry, 1980). Acculturation is defined as the individual learning processes that represent people's views, attitudes and behaviours and reflect dealing with other culture/s while also taking into account relationships with one's own culture. Therefore, acculturation attitudes are part of the larger acculturation process and strategies.

Table 4-1 provides descriptive statistics of the main summative measurements of acculturation attitudes. Pupils' and teachers' responses with regards to their

acculturation attitudes in the four domains<sup>21</sup> were summed up (see Section 2.3.3 for the discussion of the measurements used), following the methodology used in previous research (e.g. Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003; Neto, 2002; Berry et al., 2006), to create aggregated measures that assess four acculturation attitudes: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation.

**Table 4-1 Acculturation attitudes. Descriptive statistics of measurements used**

ATTITUDE	Range	2002 Pupils Year 7		2007 Pupils Year 12		2009 Pupils Year 7		2009 Teachers	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<b>Integration</b>	0-12	8.7	2.7	8.8	2.5	8.7	2.6	10.1	2.3
<b>Separation</b>	0-12	6.4	3.1	5.9	2.7	7.4	2.6	4.1	2.2
<b>Assimilation</b>	0-12	2.0	1.9	1.7	1.7	1.9	1.7	1.8	1.5
<b>Marginalisation</b>	0-12	1.6	1.8	1.4	1.7	1.9	1.9	0.7	1.1

*NOTE: Higher mean values stand for stronger agreement with a particular attitude*

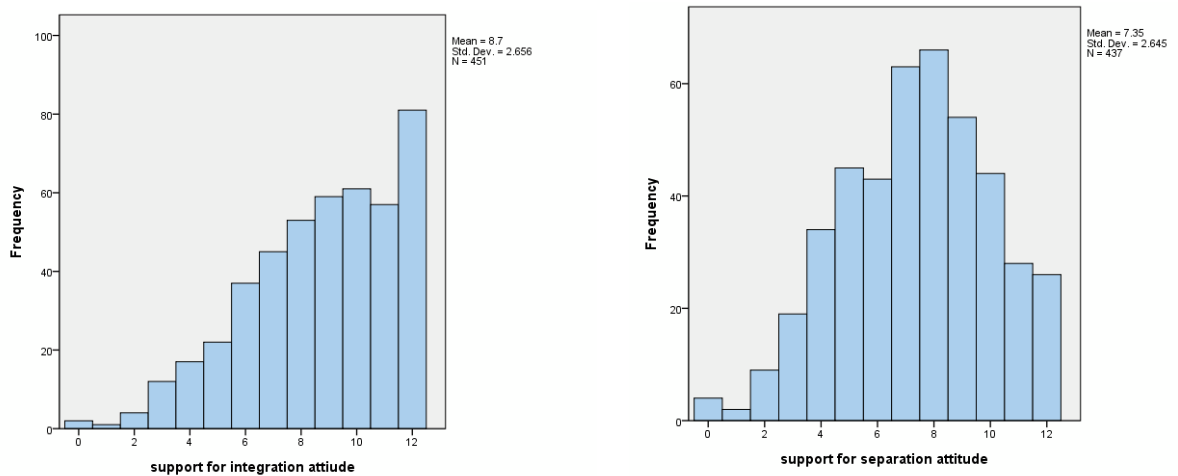
The analysis of aggregate measures suggests that integration is the most preferred attitude, separation is the second most popular choice and assimilation and marginalisation have very low popularity levels. The support for integration among young Russian-speakers has not changed between 2002 and 2009. There is also no difference between the responses of pupils in Year 7 and Year 12. However, there are some changes in the support for the separation attitude, with an increase between 2002 and 2009. This change means that separation attitudes among Russian-speaking pupils in 'Russian' schools are getting closer to the level of integration attitudes. It is hard to tell the reasons for these changes, but it could be partially explained by an unsuccessful implementation of education reform both in secondary and primary schools (see section 3.5 for discussion) and subsequent general changes in the attitudes of the Russian-speaking population in Latvia towards separation.

Teachers are much less likely to prefer separation and more likely to express their full support for integration compared with their pupils. Nevertheless one has to be

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<sup>21</sup> Domains included here are: language, traditions, friends and wider social contacts.

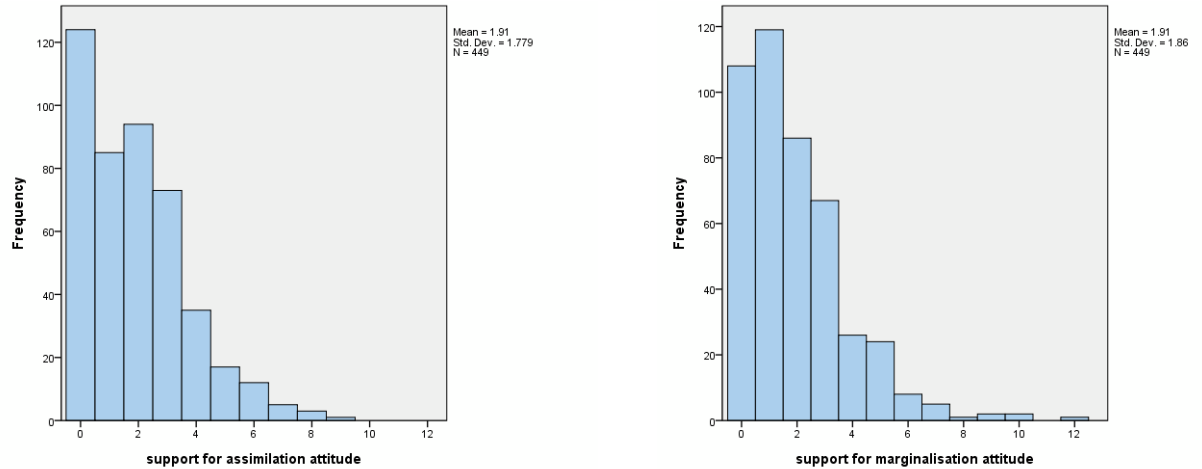
careful not to draw the conclusion that teachers are more willing and ready to integrate because it is possible that teachers report what is expected from them rather than their true attitudinal and, even more so, behavioural preferences. Teachers as professionals are part of the public sphere and as Tabuns (2010) notes, the support of non-Latvians for integration is generally higher in the public arena than the actual individual preparedness to identify with such practices, let alone pursuing them in real life.



**Figure 4-1 Distribution of the support for separation and integration attitudes, 2009**

In addition to the average support for the acculturation attitudes, it is important to look at the overall distribution of these preferences. As histograms illustrating distributions of the integration and separation attitudinal indices (see Figure 4-1) show, few Russian-speaking adolescents support the attitude fully or not support it at all. However, it is also clear that high support for separation is much more frequent than very low support. Agreement with the integration attitude expressed by young Russian-speakers is even more negatively skewed; that is, a much higher proportion of adolescents expressed their full support than almost no or no support at all. Here again even though a higher proportion of the adolescents express their agreement with integration on the attitudinal level, there are still a large number of youngsters who at least partially support separation.





**Figure 4-2 Distribution of the support for assimilation and marginalisation attitude, 2009**

Overall preference for assimilation and marginalisation among Russian-speaking adolescents (see Figure 4-2) is quite positively skewed with very few adolescents fully supporting these attitudes and with most of the youngsters not agreeing with these acculturation attitudes at all.

There is slightly more variation in the preference for marginalisation, but the number of those who fully support marginalisation is still very low. In this particular sample assimilation and marginalisation attitudes are not substantive and represent quite a small number of adolescents. While this is an interesting finding on its own, this will be further tested through cluster analysis when a decision will be made about the possibilities for path analysis models.

**Table 4-2 Correlations between preferred acculturation strategies, adolescents with Russian as their first language, 2009**

	<b>Integration</b>	<b>Separation</b>	<b>Assimilation</b>
<b>Separation</b>	-.458**		
<b>Assimilation</b>	.319**	-.333**	
<b>Marginalisation</b>	-.256**	.154**	.125**

\*\**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).*

With regards to associations between different acculturation attitudes (see Table 4-2), there is a positive correlation between integration and assimilation as well as positive, but weak, correlations between assimilation and marginalisation and between separation and marginalisation. The strongest negative correlation is between integration and separation. There are also weaker negative associations between separation and assimilation as well as between integration and marginalisation. As would be expected the data show medium strength negative (Rudmin, 2003, 2009) relationships between the opposite acculturation attitudes, such as separation and integration or separation and assimilation and a positive association between more similar acculturation stances, such as marginalisation and separation, and integration and assimilation.

These findings are in agreement with expectations that integration and separation would be the most prominent attitudes among young Russian-speakers in Latvia (Zepa et al, 2006; Pisarenko, 2006) and with research conducted in other countries (Berry & Krishnan, 1992; Sayegh & Lasry, 1993; Kwak & Berry, 2001; Kasatkina, 2000, 2004, 2006; Lebedeva, 2003; Berry et al, 2006; Nimmerfeldt, 2009; Kruusvall et al., 2009; Nimmerfeldt et al., 2011; Valk et al., 2011). It is important to point out that, even though the integration is revealed to be the attitudinal preference and it is important to investigate how it is associated with the actual behaviours. Moreover, this analysis does not suggest that those who choose integration now cannot change their mind because of specific social, economic or historical factors and choose separation in the future. On the contrary, only a moderate negative correlation<sup>22</sup> shows a tendency for an overlap between the two acculturation attitudes demonstrating the fluid nature of acculturation and non-existence of clear cut borders between various attitudes.

Overall, a range from quite low to medium correlation coefficients suggests that there is some overlap between the acculturation attitudes. Although some acculturation researchers (e.g. Rudmin, 2003, 2009) suggest that it should be impossible for individuals to endorse more than one acculturation type simultaneously and that the four types at the construct level have to be mutually exclusive, I here argue that an overlap is

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<sup>22</sup> The relationship was also checked using crosstabs between the two measurements (integration and separation) of acculturation attitudes.

possible because of two reasons. Firstly, some adolescents indeed can support both attitudes, for example one can believe that for them both languages are important when presented with the statement: *'I feel that it is of the same importance for me to know Latvian and Russian'*. However, when later they have to evaluate the statement that represents separation (*'I feel that it is more important for me to know Russian language than Latvian'*) in this context they feel that Russian is more important for them.

Secondly, the multiple dimensions of acculturation attitudes can also produce numerically overlapping measurements for different attitudes. Acculturation attitudes can be measured across different areas of life or domains. Individuals can have different preferences in each domain and therefore their overall acculturation attitude scores may overlap. This finding not only demonstrates the complexity of acculturation phenomenon, but also suggests there is a need for the development of better measurements that would capture this multidimensionality better and make the acculturation attitude scores into more clear cut categories as it has already been suggested by some researchers (Rudmin, 2003, 2009; Schwartz et al, 2010).

I concentrate on four main ones that are relevant to adolescents: language, cultural traditions, friends and wider social contacts. The distribution of the acculturation attitudes or preferences in different domains among Russian-speaking adolescents in Latvia is presented in Table 4-3.

**Table 4-3 Support for acculturation attitudes, 2002-2009, % strongly agree and (% strongly agree + somewhat agree)**

	Integration			Separation			Assimilation			Marginalisation		
	2002	2007	2009	2002	2007	2009	2002	2007	2009	2002	2007	2009
<b>Language</b>	61.9 (79.7)	24.1 (85.3)	<b>60.5</b> <b>(85.7)</b>	35.7 (52.9)	27.3 (59.9)	45.0 (72.5)	10.1 (19.5)	9.5 (12.8)	2.3 (11.2)	1.3 (3.7)	2.1 (3.7)	2.1 (5.1)
<b>Friends</b>	52.9 (73.8)	23.0 (81.6)	<b>50.0</b> <b>(74.1)</b>	21.6 (44.1)	21.3 (29.7)	23.0 (56.9)	1.8 (4.3)	2.6 (3.4)	2.9 (5.2)	2.7 (3.8)	0.7 (0.7)	2.3 (5.0)
<b>Social contacts</b>	39.7 (64.2)	37.4 (66.9)	34.8 (67.3)	41.9 (59.3)	29.7 (55.5)	<b>47.3</b> <b>(73.1)</b>	1.6 (5.3)	5.8 (7.0)	1.3 (6.4)	7.2 (13.6)	8.7 (12.2)	6.9 (17.0)
<b>Traditions</b>	55.8 (78.1)	39.7 (73.1)	<b>48.8</b> <b>(75.0)</b>	21.7 (36.7)	15.0 (33.2)	20.8 (41.2)	5.0 (10.5)	2.8 (7.2)	4.2 (11.9)	6.0 (11.6)	3.4 (11.5)	6.9 (19.9)

NOTE: Most popular attitudes as reported by pupils in 2009 are in bold. Full statements for each attitude and dimensions are given in section 2.3.3.

Similarly to the analysis of overall aggregate acculturation attitudes (Table 4-1), the analysis of measures in each of the four domains suggests that integration in general is preferred by the adolescents. The data provide evidence that integration clearly is and was the most favoured choice for the adolescents across all three years in most of domains. However, it lost its popularity to the separation attitude in the wider social contacts domain in 2009 and the level of strong agreement was very similar with regards to language and friendships between integration and separation in 2007.

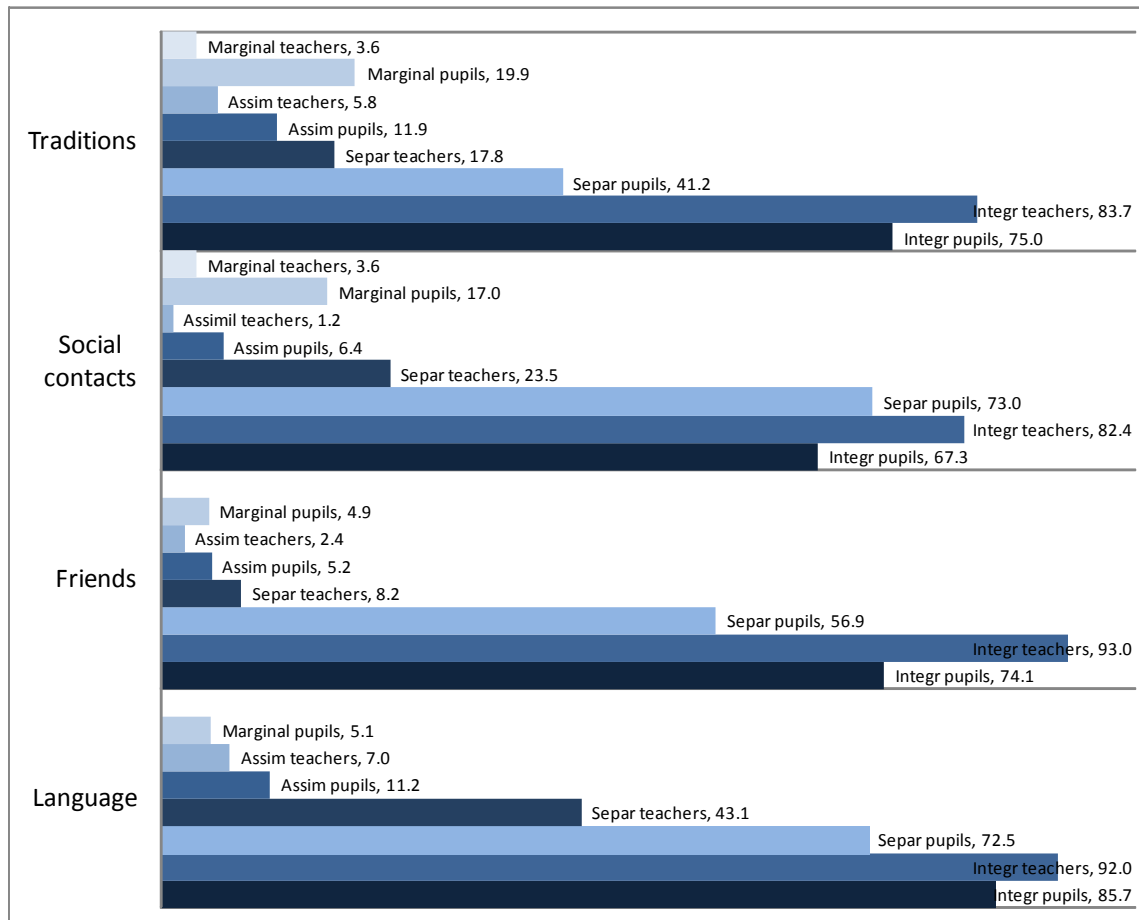
Assimilation receives the lowest support in the sphere of social contacts, with marginalisation being the least supported by adolescents in the area of language. Very few adolescents agree with either assimilation or marginalisation in the area of friendship. While these findings are not surprising, taking into account the Latvian context, the relatively high support, just below one-fifth, for marginalisation in the areas of social contacts and traditions requires further thought and research.

Marginalisation is characterised by a rejection and/or lack of involvement in one's traditional culture as well as that of the larger society. As research shows (Berry, 1980; Young Yun, 1995; Berry, 1997; Ward, 1996; Phinney et al., 2001b; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003, Berry et al., 2006) it is very hard to define and measure marginalisation as such and it is more likely to be related to some specific psychological traits and some pathologies and symptomatic behaviours. This strategy on both attitudinal and behavioural levels has been associated with negative health and psychological outcomes for adolescents in previous research (e.g. Jasinskaja-Lahti et al, 2003). It is even more important to investigate this attitudinal choice among Russian-speaking adolescents because some of the ethnic policy in Latvia could indeed reinforce this preference (Vebers, 2000). Unfortunately, this study cannot provide an in-depth analysis of the marginalisation because of the low number of adolescents who stated their preference for this attitude. Further research would require a specifically designed sample or a more in-depth qualitative approach.

Additionally, there is a slight drop in the preference for assimilation and an increase in support for separation in the language domain. This could be explained by a reaction

against the 'titularization' (Galbreath & Galvin, 2005) or 'latvianization' of 'Russian' schools and other assimilationist aspects of ethnic policy and the overall politicisation of ethnicity in Latvia (see section 3.4 and 3.5 for discussion). I will investigate how these linguistic attitudes are related to actual behaviours, such as language knowledge and use, in subsequent chapters.

Similarly to their general acculturation attitudes (see Table 4-1), teachers score highest on integration and score lower than students for all other attitudes across all four domains. In particular, they score much lower for separation compared with their pupils (Figure 4-3).



**Figure 4-3 Acculturation strategies across four domains, pupils and teachers, 2009 (only those with Russian as a first language included), % of those who strongly agree + somewhat agree**

Other research (BISS, 2010) also shows that integration and separation are the most prevalent and often compete in adolescents' minds. BISS research demonstrates how

young Russian-speakers feel more comfortable in the Russian language and cultural environment. Just over two-thirds of adolescents surveyed in 2004 and 2010 agreed that they would like to work in a solely Russian-language environment and that they feel best among Russians and Russian-speakers. Nevertheless, only 15 per cent of adolescents in 2010 tried to avoid contact with Latvians altogether. Besides, around two-thirds liked seeing people of different ethnicities and hearing Latvian and Russian languages around them and even more stated that they did not have problems in communicating with Latvians (75 per cent in 2004 and 84 per cent in 2010).

While the previous research suggests that integration is the most adaptive acculturation mode and has a positive influence on an individual's well-being (Berry, 1997; Ward, 1996; Phinney et al., 2001b), other research (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003) has provided evidence that separation can be as adaptive as integration. Indeed, separation can be seen as a successful mode for an individual's outcomes and, as some researchers (Berdnikov, 2012) argue, a two-community society reflects the actual social situation in Latvia and is just one of the features of postmodern society.

However, social and nationality policy in Latvia and the attitudes and expectations of Latvians towards Russian-speakers also have to be taken into account when evaluating the acculturation attitudes of Russian-speakers. The balance or gap between the attitudes of the two groups and its reflection in policy can be crucial for the social cohesion and ethnic relationships, as well as the subsequent behaviour and ethnic identification, of immigrants or ethnic minorities themselves (Berry, 1997; Bourhis et al., 1997; Piontkowski et al., 2000; Navas et al., 2005).

On the one hand, while most ethnic Latvians support the idea of integration and official ethnic policy also may encourage such attitudes and behaviours, a high proportion of Latvians support the idea that non-Latvians should select assimilation (81 per cent), while only 29 per cent of Russians prefer assimilation (Zepa et al., 2006). On the other hand, separation is supported by only 9 per cent of ethnic Latvians, while one-fifth of Latvia's Russian-speaking residents feel that they can largely or completely identify themselves with this attitude. The same study (Zepa et al., 2006) also came to an

important conclusion that is consistent with this study; young Russian-speakers preferred separation more often than Russian-speaking population on average.

This preference for integration and its competition with separation among Russian-speakers is consistent with expectations based on previous research in Latvia (Zepa et al., 2006) and other countries looking both at Russian-speakers in other post-Soviet countries (Kasatkina, 2000, 2004, 2006; Lebedeva, 2003; Nimmerfeldt, 2009; Kruusvall et al., 2009; Nimmerfeldt et al., 2011; Valk et al., 2011) and other migrants groups across the world (Berry, 1980; Berry et al., 1987; Berry & Krishnan, 1992; Sayegh & Lasry, 1993; Kwak & Berry, 2001; Berry et al., 2006). Overall, as already mentioned, assimilation and marginalisation seem to be less attractive options among Russian-speaking adolescents and Russian-speakers in general.

To conclude, though integration – at least at the attitudinal level – is supported by both Latvians and Russian-speakers, the second preferred acculturation mode among Russian-speakers continues to be separation. Moreover, while integration as an attitude stays almost at the same level of agreement across different years and cohorts, there is a growing popularity of the separation attitude across all four domains. While many Russian-speaking adolescents are eager to come into contact with both Russians and Latvians and have a positive attitude towards being bilingual and bicultural, there are also some evident separation tendencies, especially in the areas of wider social contacts and language. This could be explained partially by a reaction against the 'titularization' (Galbreath & Galvin, 2005) of 'Russian' schools and the politicisation of ethnic and language issues in Latvia. Yet to fully understand this phenomenon it is important to explore not only their attitudes but also adolescents' reported behaviour and the relationship between their attitudes and behaviours.

Furthermore, an individual can hold a certain acculturation attitude, but not behave in accordance with the attitude (Brady, 1990). As Navas et al. (2005) and Tabuns (2010) suggest there is a difference between acculturation attitudes preferred (ideal situation) and behaviours finally adopted (real situation). Attitudes have to be treated as relatively separate from behaviour (Gentry et al., 1995), but influencing each other. In subsequent

sections and chapter I look at behaviour, for example language proficiency and usage and social contacts, as well as how individual attitudes and behaviours are related.

### ***4.3 Acculturation and other related behaviours and attitudes***

#### **4.3.1 Latvian language knowledge**

Language proficiency and use is central to research on acculturation and adaptation. It also helps to create a link between attitudes and behaviours. On the one hand proficiency in the language of the host society can help to maintain contacts with the majority cultural group and participation in social and political institutions. On the other hand, language is also one of the means by which boundaries of certain groups can be regulated; if you do not know the language, you cannot build social contacts with the other group and participate in certain activities. Earlier research could not show a clear positive link between language and successful acculturation (Ekstrand, 1976; Taft, 1979; Bhatnagar, 1980; Aronowitz, 1984), demonstrating that national language knowledge might help in some aspects, but there was no evidence that it was a major factor of successful adaptation. Some explanation of this can lie in the fact that language can be linked to both practical behaviours and rational choices and also can involve symbols and emotions and be central to the identities of some groups.

The complex nature of linguistic behaviour also means that the knowledge of the national language per se cannot be linked directly to successful acculturation processes and outcomes and cannot guarantee membership of a specific group. However, as more recent research (Young & Gardner, 1990; Lanca, Alksnes, Roese & Gardner, 1994; Neto, 2002; Berry et al., 2006) shows, ethnic (minority) and national (majority)



language knowledge is associated with some specific acculturation behaviours and attitudes, such as actual language use, social contacts or perceived discrimination.

The main focus of the three following sections is to analyse the descriptive data from the survey of pupils and teachers as well as the data from interviews and observations to explore Latvian language knowledge and language use in different circumstances. These findings will also be compared with previous research and general social survey data in Latvia. In this section I will look at Latvian language knowledge and in the next two sections I will analyse in more detail the issues surrounding the use of Latvian by young Russian-speakers.

Previous research shows the importance of ethnic concentration in a country in relation to the knowledge and use of the majority and minority languages (e.g. Espinosa & Massey, 1997; Lazear, 1999; Chiswick & Miller, 2001, 2005). These studies were conducted predominantly in the United States, but those few (e.g. Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2007; Van Tubergen & Kalmijn, 2009) carried out in Europe also confirmed that the higher the concentration of immigrants or co-ethnics the lower their knowledge and use of the majority language.

The main mechanisms that are suggested to explain this are derived from the language model of Stevens (1992) and Chiswick and Miller (2001). This approach argues that where there are high ethnic concentrations, there is less exposure to the majority language, as there are fewer opportunities to have contact with the national group and to hear and speak the majority language. Additionally, there are fewer incentives to learn and use the majority language because there are greater opportunities to rely on one's ethnic language by living and working in an ethnic community. Moreover, also in an economic sense, it could be expected that when migrants have the possibility to live and work in areas surrounded by their own ethnic group and use their first language, the investment costs to learn the majority language will increase while the expected economic benefits will decrease (Chiswick & Miller, 1996).

Finally, as suggested by Stevens (1992), due to the symbolic value of language use, issues of group identification and the maintenance of intergenerational ties can also be

important for language proficiency and usage. These mechanisms are in existence in Latvia because of the very high concentration of Russian speakers in urban areas and the historical, practical and symbolic legacies of the Soviet past.

There was asymmetric bilingualism during the Soviet era in that almost all Latvians spoke fluent Russian, with very few non-Latvians having fluent Latvian. The Russian language dominated in all public spheres, such as administration, economy and science. Latvian was left to be used almost solely in the private realm; only in culture, family and to some extent in education at school-level. Therefore Latvians were greatly motivated to become skilled at Russian, but Russian-speakers had very little motivation to gain knowledge of and use Latvian because of low exposure and incentives.

After Latvia regained independence and Latvian became the only official language of the Latvian state, both Latvian- and Russian-speaking groups had to adapt linguistically and psychologically. Yet, while Latvian is the only official state language, de facto use of Russian, is very widespread. Because of the large Russian-speaking population, state and private Russian-language TV, radio, books, newspapers and magazines are readily available, as well as partial education in Russian language at schools and Russian-language instruction at private universities. Moreover, many middle aged and older Latvians still continue to use Russian in their communication with Russian-speakers quite often. Although the language factor is an issue of critical importance to the identity of both Russians and Latvians and has always been at the centre of inter-cultural relationships, speaking the language is not enough to be accepted as a legitimate member of either ethnic group. All this limits both exposure to Latvian and incentives to be fluent and use it for those with Russian as their first or dominant language.

Nevertheless, annual 'Language' survey (BISS, 2008a) of the general population in Latvia suggest that the Latvian language skills of non-Latvians have improved

considerably in the period 1996-2008, if slowly<sup>23</sup>. This and other studies (BISS, 2010) have shown that the biggest improvement has been among young people.

**Table 4-4 Latvian language knowledge, pupils and teachers, 2002-2009**

	Scale Range	2002 Year 7		2007 Year 12		2009 Year 7	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<b>Adolescents</b>	0-9	5.88	1.55	6.60	1.56	6.03	1.62
<b>Teachers</b>	0-9	-	-	-	-	6.32	1.58

Table 4-4 compares the overall Latvian language knowledge<sup>24</sup> of adolescents across three years as well as with their teachers in 2009. There was only a very slight increase in the self-reported knowledge among Year 7 pupils between 2002 and 2009, but the self-reported knowledge of Year 12 pupils is definitely higher. Additionally, the variation in subjective skill levels is greater in 2009; meaning that whereas a higher proportion of pupils reported themselves as fluent in Latvian, the gap between them and those with self-reported poor Latvian is growing. As would be expected, teachers report slightly better general Latvian language skills than their pupils in 2009. The more interesting observation though is that the self-reported level of fluency in Latvian of teachers in 2009 is lower than that of Year 12 pupils in the same schools in 2007.

To test the effect of ethnic concentration on language proficiency, I looked at the relationship between fluency in Latvian and the locality of the school. The data did not support any effect of the school's locality on language knowledge among teachers and among adolescents. This aspect will be explored further when I look at language use and social contacts.

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<sup>23</sup> The results show that in 2008 57 per cent of non-Latvians reported good Latvian language skills, up from 36 per cent in 1996.

<sup>24</sup> As was mentioned in the methodology section the knowledge of the Latvian language was measured using three items for separate subjective assessment of speaking, writing, and reading skills. A four-point scale was used ranging from 1 (no knowledge or almost no knowledge) to 4 (fluent). Then the responses given were summed up to provide a scale 'overall knowledge of the Latvian language' ranging from 0 to 9 where a higher overall score indicates a better knowledge of the language. This scale will be used in all further analyses.

Contrary to previous findings (BISS, 2008a, 2010) there was no statistically significant difference in Latvian skills between boys and girls. Similarly, the data suggest that the place of birth of pupils or their parents has no effect on the knowledge of Latvian. However, there is little variation in the birthplace of pupils since most of them were born in Latvia. The nonexistence of these differences suggests that contextual, socioeconomic, motivational and attitudinal aspects seem to be more important than demographic characteristics, for younger people in particular.

Teachers' self-reported fluency in Latvian was associated with years of overall teaching experience ( $r(91) = .24, p = .01$ ) and, as an analysis of variance showed, with the subject they taught ( $F(5, 87) = 4.11, p = .002$ ). As would be expected, the average level of language knowledge was significantly lower among teachers teaching Russian language and literature ( $M = 5.53, SD = 1.26$ )<sup>25</sup> than among teachers of Latvian language ( $M = 9.00, SD = 0$ ). Interestingly, the Latvian language knowledge among natural sciences teachers was also lower ( $M = 5.91, SD = 1.31$ ) than that of the Latvian language teachers. The teacher's place of birth ( $F(2, 89) = 8.20, p = .001$ ) influenced their self-reported knowledge of Latvian, as teachers who were born in Latvia reported better skills ( $M = 6.80, SD = 1.41$ ) than those born in Russia ( $M = 5.35, SD = 1.47$ ).

With regards to the motivational and attitudinal aspects of learning Latvian, BISS research (2010) using Baker's second language acquisition motivation theory (1992) showed an increase in the integrative motivation among young Russian-speakers in 2010 compared to 2004. By the integrative motivation I understand the individual's wish to establish close relationships with the members of the other linguistic group because of the primary focus on the communication and the construction of common collective identity. Instrumental motivation appears when individuals are driven by practical aims in the language acquisition process, such as – to find a job, to participate in education, to acquire citizenship etc. Although there was a definite increase in the number of those who thought they needed to learn Latvian in order to communicate with Latvians and to build a closer relationship with Latvians,

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<sup>25</sup> The results of post hoc analyses using the Scheffé post hoc criterion for significance.

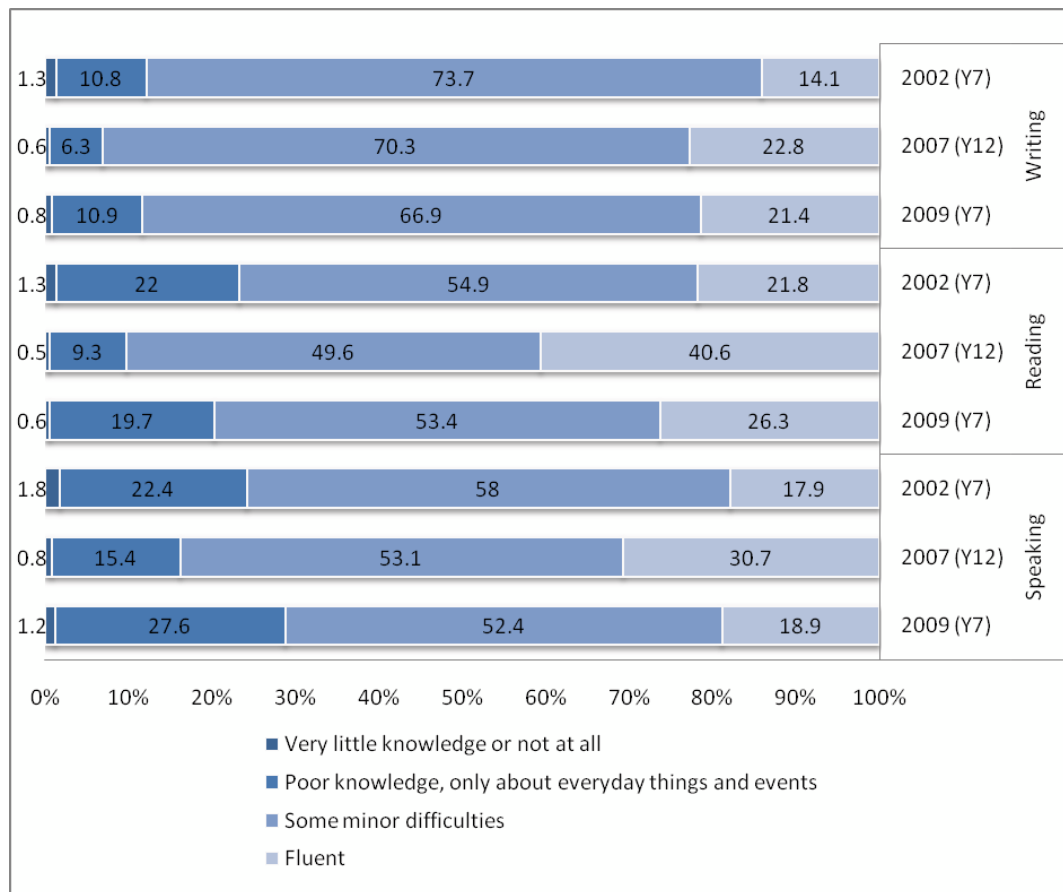
the instrumental motivation to learn Latvian is still very much dominant among adolescents.

My data show adolescents combining integrative and instrumental motivations. 86 per cent of adolescents agreed feeling it was of the same importance for Russians in Latvia to know Latvian and Russian. Nearly all adolescents and teachers taking part in focus groups agreed one had to learn Latvian if they lived in Latvia. Different arguments were put forward to substantiate this claim. For example, one of the boys said, *“In Latvia Latvians should not adjust to Russians and learn Russian language. Russians have to learn Latvian”*. One of the girls also argued, *“In Latvia there are Latvians who live here. What if you have to speak to them, how are you going to do it if you do not know the language?”* One of the other boys described his motivation in the following way: *“I have this need to learn the Latvian language. I feel pleased with my skill. I live in this country and I have this inner need to know this language.”* Most adolescents agreed that they had to know Latvian to speak with Latvians; their motivation was related to exposure and emotional incentives. Many children also mentioned instrumental incentives or motivators such as education and job opportunities.

The exposure aspect was also mentioned as a factor that decreases motivation for learning Latvian since the use of the language is limited to Latvia and Latvians only. Some adolescents explained that they or their families were planning to leave Latvia in the future and therefore did not see the need to learn Latvian. This not only demonstrates the importance of familial and parental views and plans for this age pupils, but also very instrumental and pragmatic approach to language learning. However, the decisions about leaving Latvia are not always related to negative views towards Latvia and Latvian. For example, as some pupils who were planning to move abroad explained, they needed Latvian to get a good education in Latvia before they left. Moreover, while 94 per cent said that their parents wanted them to know Russian and 86 per cent that their parents wanted them to know Latvian, there is no evidence from the data of a link between fluency in Latvian among adolescents and their parents' linguistic attitudes or plans to relocate from Latvia.

As a more detailed analysis of the school survey data show (see Figure 4-4), few Russian-speaking adolescents have poor Latvian skills: in 2009 only around 1 per cent of pupils reported very poor knowledge or no knowledge at all across three different competences – reading, writing and speaking. Around one-fifth of all adolescents rate their Latvian as fluent, with the highest proportion reporting fluent reading skills (26 per cent) and the lowest (18 per cent) speaking skills.

If we compare Latvian language knowledge between Year 7 pupils in 2002 and 2009 (Figure 4-4), we can see that there are minor improvements in writing and reading skills but no change in speaking fluency. However, if we compare Year 7 (2002 and 2009) and Year 12 (2007) pupils’ self-reported skills, the data suggest a definite improvement in their reading and speaking competence as they progress in the education system.



**Figure 4-4 Latvian language knowledge, pupils 2002 (Y7), 2007 (Y12) and 2009 (Y7), % of those with Russian as their first language**

It is interesting to note that generally non-Latvians report poor writing proficiency more often than reading or speaking skills (BISS, 2008a). These data suggest this is different for adolescents: they do indeed report better reading skills, but their writing and speaking seems to be almost at the same level in 2009. This could be because in schools adolescents are prepared for exams and further university studies that focus more on writing and reading. Also my observations of bilingual classes and everyday school life suggest that more emphasis is placed on the development of reading and writing. In contrast, older generations finished their schooling prior to education reforms or during Soviet times and acquired Latvian often through informal learning – primarily through the spoken word rather than writing or reading. Older people continue encountering Latvian more often in reading or speaking rather than writing in their everyday life.

In focus groups, adolescents said that writing was probably the hardest part and they made more mistakes in writing than speaking. Nevertheless, many pupils were certain that their Latvian language skills overall were quite good; they mentioned that they were fluent in Latvian and the only things they were not as good at were scientific concepts. However, the levels of fluency in Latvian are very diverse in the ‘Russian’ school environment, as teachers and adolescents described. For example, one of the girls said, *“Some articles I read are quite difficult. When I read those I can understand the thought, but I cannot understand each word”*. At the same time one of the boys stated, *“I can read everything. The other night I read an article in Latvian about the World Bank and financial markets”*. There were also some pupils that declared they could understand what they were told in Latvian, but could not speak it and used only very simple words or resorted to nonverbal communication.

Teachers also confirmed that the level of proficiency in Latvian among pupils varied markedly; some did not have any problems during Latvian language classes or any other classes where Latvian was used, while others struggled with the language, bringing down their attainment in other subjects. As one of the Latvian language teachers explained, this often reflects the situation and views surrounding language in the family and the very limited exposure to Latvian outside school,

*“Many books are not appropriate for some children. Latvian language books are good for grammar and communication development, but some children need very basic things. They need basic vocabulary. If they do not use Latvian at home or did not go to Latvian nursery, they do not know any Latvian at all when they start school. Later some parents are willing and able to help. For some their own Latvian is quite poor. In addition, attitude is important and many things come from families here. Small children reproduce what they hear from their parents.”*

Nevertheless, the quantitative data, as has already been mentioned, did not provide evidence of a link between fluency in Latvian among adolescents and their parents’ linguistic attitudes or plans to relocate from Latvia. It is still possible that some other unobserved parental attitudes are linked to knowledge of Latvian in their children or that there is an indirect link that is mediated or moderated through other attitudes or behaviours. This will be explored further in subsequent sections and chapters.

Adolescents also distinguished between proficiency in academic and everyday spoken Latvian. Most believed that, although in general they can speak and understand the Latvian that they need for everyday life outside the education system, their knowledge of the academic language that they use at school and would need for their future should they go to university is much lower. I will discuss the use of Latvian in an educational setting in more detail in section 4.3.3.

Finally, while this survey and the BISS survey (2010) show that Year 12 pupils report better knowledge of Latvian compared to their younger schoolmates, the conclusion that the education system clearly improves fluency in Latvian among ethnic minority pupils cannot be reached based on these data. The comparisons between Year 7 and Year 12 using cohort data rather than individualised panel data does not allow for a robust longitudinal analysis. Most of the pupils who continue into high school (transition between Year 9 and 10) have higher academic attainment and most probably have better Latvian language knowledge than those adolescents who leave after Year 9 and either do not continue their education altogether or study for vocational qualifications in further education colleges. For example, Kuzmina (2010) and Aunina et al. (2010) show that teachers in the further education sector, the teaching of which should mostly



be in Latvian, resort to speaking Russian because the level of Latvian knowledge among pupils is not sufficient for studying in Latvian.

Since improving knowledge of the Latvian language was one of the main forces driving the education reform, it is important to look not only at self-reported fluency in Latvian, but also at the Latvian language exam results as an objective centralised measurement in the context of bilingual education. Concerns have been raised about the exam results in Latvian as the second language for Year 9 pupils in ethnic minority schools (Kuzmina, 2010, 2011). In the period 2007-10 exam results have slightly worsened, falling from close to 70 percentage points on average in 2008 to slightly below 60 percentage points on average in 2010. In 2011, the results slightly improved, rising to almost 65 points.

Although the BISS survey (2010) of Year 10-12 pupils in ethnic minority schools showed a slight increase in the self-reported knowledge of the Latvian language in the period from 2004 to 2010, there were no significant changes in the results of the Latvian language exams for Year 12 from 2004 to 2010. Moreover as limited research looking at the effect of the education reform on the attainment in 'Russian' schools suggests (Halyavin & Malashonok, 2007) there is the decrease of the level of knowledge in Mathematics and History recorded as a gap between the exam results from Latvian and Russian schools and related to the language the exams taken in Russian schools. The lower results are produced when pupils in Russian schools take Mathematics and History exams in Latvian.

Officials (Kuzmina, 2010) suggest that the cohort change and changes in the characteristics of pupils and schools, not a change in the actual level of language knowledge, might explain some of the exam results. Additionally, both Latvian and ethnic minority pupils read less nowadays and this leads to worse exam results in both their native and second languages. Yet there is no longitudinal panel research on Latvian language skills and exams that would provide robust evidence to explain any changes in language skills if at all.

Since there is no consistent improvement in the Latvian language exam results among pupils from 'Russian' schools, the question arises about the quality of teaching and

the implementation of bilingual education (Kuzmina, 2011). Since I am looking at acculturation and identifications of young Russian-speakers in an educational context, it is important to investigate the implementation of bilingual education further. I will come back to the use of Russian and Latvian in the school environment in section 4.3.3.

Overall the self-reported data show that, in general, Russian-speaking adolescents are quite fluent in Latvian and their skills have improved. The exam results are less conclusive and clear, but might be explained by the lack of longitudinal research controlling for other variables rather than just a descriptive comparison of mean attainment across cohorts. Whereas during the Soviet era there was very limited exposure to the Latvian language, and no incentives or motivation to learn the language, in the current context young Russian-speakers show both instrumental and integrative or more emotional and symbolic motivations (Baker, 1992) or incentives (Stevens, 1992; Chiswick & Miller, 2001).

However, it is essential not only to scrutinise language proficiency, but also to explore how the language is used and how this has changed over time. The next subchapter looks at the actual use of Latvian in everyday situations as reported by Russian-speaking adolescents and will investigate in more depth aspects of linguistic exposure.

#### **4.3.2 Latvian and Russian language use**

As argued above, knowledge of Latvian among Russian-speakers, in the younger generation in particular, has been improving for the last 20 years. At the same time it is also crucial to explore the language use and its relationship to language proficiency as well as to other acculturative attitudes and behaviours and identifications.

The use of Latvian amongst pupils was measured in six domains: the home, friends, school, broader society (shops, streets), TV and printed mass media. For teachers five

were measured<sup>26</sup>: home, friends, broader society (shops, streets) and school environment outside class time. The language use in each domain was measured on a scale from 0 (mainly Russian) to 3 (mainly Latvian). The responses for teachers and pupils to the questions about the use of Latvian over Russian in their everyday life were summed<sup>27</sup> to provide the overall extent to which respondents used both languages, where low scores indicate greater use of Russian and high scores indicate greater use of Latvian (see Table 4-5).

**Table 4-5 Latvian/Russian language use, teachers and pupils, 2009**

Scale	Range	Mean	SD
<b>Latvian/Russian language use -adolescents</b>	0-18	2.62	2.19
<b>Latvian/Russian language use -teachers</b>	0-12	2.45	2.77

As the data show (Table 4-5) both pupils' and teachers' language use is highly skewed variables, as the use of Russian is predominant in everyday life<sup>28</sup>. Again like with the language knowledge, neither the pupils' gender nor their or their parents' country of birth had any significant effect on the use of Russian over Latvian in their everyday lives.

The pupils were asked about their parents' attitudes towards language knowledge. Interestingly, perceptions of these parental attitudes did not have a significant effect on the reported Latvian skills, but did have a statistically significant effect on the use of Russian rather than Latvian in their everyday lives. Pupils whose parents wanted them to know Russian reported more frequent use of the Russian language ( $M = 2.6$ ,  $SD = 2.1$ ;  $F(1, 453) = 5.37$ ,  $p = .02$ ) compared to those whose parents were neutral or did not want them to know Russian ( $M = 3.6$ ,  $SD = 2.9$ ). Similarly, those who said their parents wanted them to know Latvian reported more frequent use of the language ( $M = 2.7$ ,  $SD = 2.2$ ;  $F(1, 409) = 5.58$ ,  $p = .02$ ) compared to those whose parents were neutral or did not want their children to know Latvian ( $M = 1.9$ ,  $SD = 1.9$ ). Therefore,

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<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately due to limited spaces and other priorities use of mass-media was not included in the teachers' questionnaire.

<sup>27</sup> Responses indicating the use of any other language than Russian or Latvian were excluded.

<sup>28</sup> School context is explored in section 4.3.3.

active positive encouragement from parents influences the Latvian and Russian language use of adolescents in their everyday lives.

Instrumental motivation behind linguistic behaviour can be studied by looking at the relationship between future education plans and self-reported knowledge and use of Latvian. In 2009 32 per cent of adolescents said that if they went to university they would study in Latvian<sup>29</sup>. More frequent use of Latvian over Russian was reported amongst those who planned to study at a Latvian university ( $F(1, 410) = 4.32, p = .04$ ). It is hard to speculate about causality here since both directions are possible. On the one hand those who plan to study in Latvian have greater motivation to learn and use the language; on the other hand, those who use Latvian more can be more fluent and consequently plan to continue their education in Latvian.

However, there was no statistically significant association between proficiency in Latvian or use of Latvian in everyday life and educational plans for the future. Hence, it might not be the language knowledge that explains that plays an important role, but the overall linguistic acculturation attitude. Indeed those who plan to study at university in Latvia score higher on integration ( $t(449) = 2.76, p = .006$ ) and assimilation ( $t(447) = 2.99, p = .004$ ) and lower on separation ( $t(435) = -2.89, p = .003$ ). Therefore, it is not the actual language knowledge, but the acceptance of Latvian and Latvians and a readiness to come into frequent contact with them that may influence the educational decisions of young Russian-speakers.

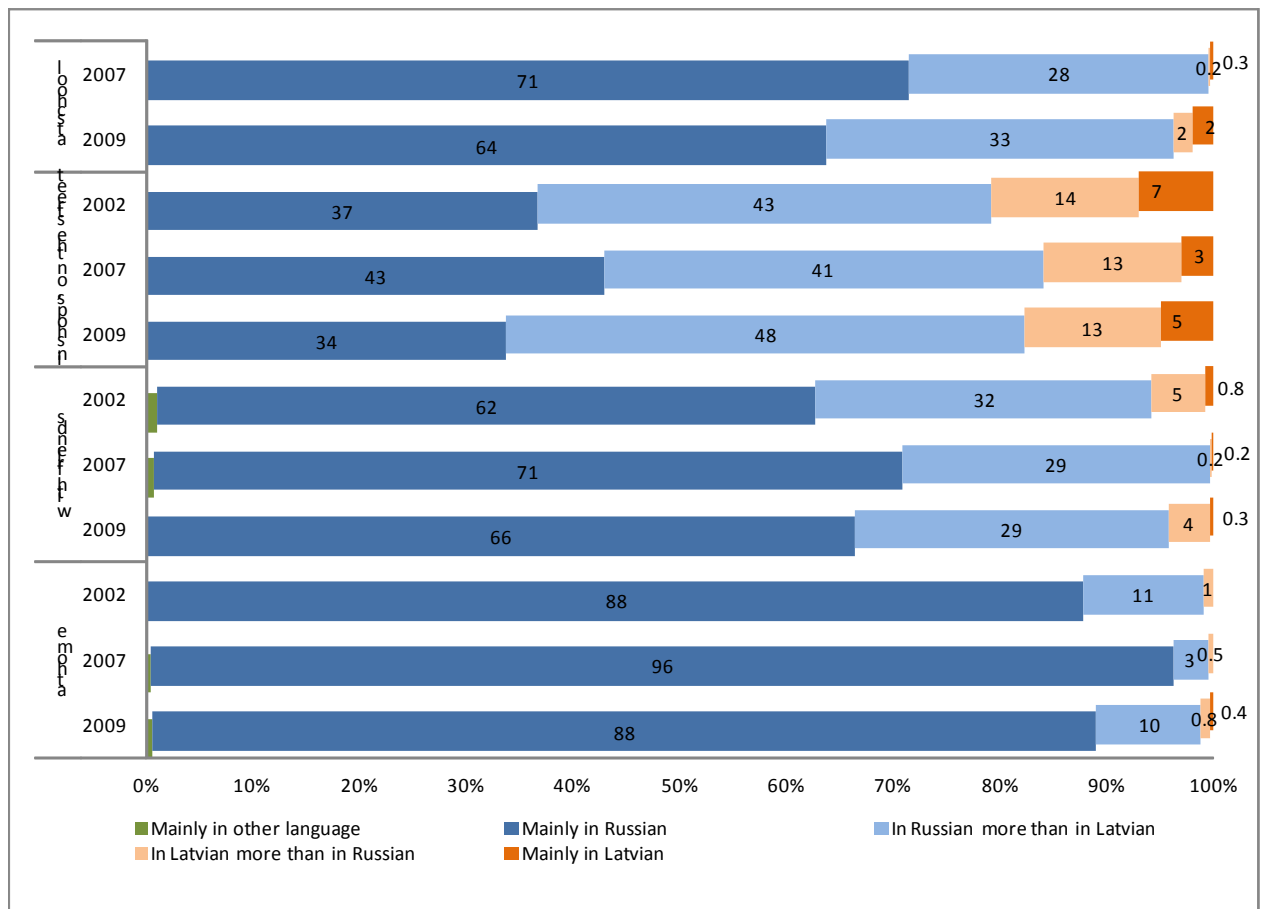
Figure 4-5 compares the use of Latvian and Russian in 2009 with 2002 and 2007. What is of greater interest is how languages are used outside the home environment where the chance of exposure to Latvian is higher. Unsurprisingly, at home, Russian-speaking adolescents use mainly Russian, that corresponds to their rejection of assimilation and marginalisation attitudes. Moreover, the use of Russian dominates over Latvian in all spheres of adolescents' lives. Only 4 per cent of adolescents in Year 7 used more Latvian than Russian when speaking with their friends and 18 per cent used mainly

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<sup>29</sup> Alternatives being leaving Latvia to study abroad or private universities when education is in Russian or other languages in Latvia.

Latvian or more Latvian than Russian in shops and on the street in 2009. Latvian is most frequently used during wider social contacts is in shops and on the street, as even in schools the use of Latvia is very limited.

There are almost no changes when comparing Year 7 pupils in 2002 and 2009; if at all the use of Latvian has actually decreased over time. There is only a slight increase in the use of Latvian in schools. Moreover, the use of Latvian seems to decrease with age; Year 12 pupils report a lower use of Latvian across all spheres compared to Year 7 pupils from the same schools. It is quite hard to interpret this finding in light of a higher actual self-reported fluency in Latvian among older pupils. It could be due to age-specific changes in linguistic behaviours, for example, a tightening of adolescents' social circles and their being more selective in the people they talk to. It also could be that Year 12 are more "Russian" as the more integrated and/or assimilated pupils move to Latvian high schools. This aspect needs further research, but it is outside the area of this study.



**Figure 4-5 Latvian and Russian language use among Russian-speaking adolescents, 2002 (Y7), 2007 (Y12) and 2009(Y7), % of those with Russian as their first language**

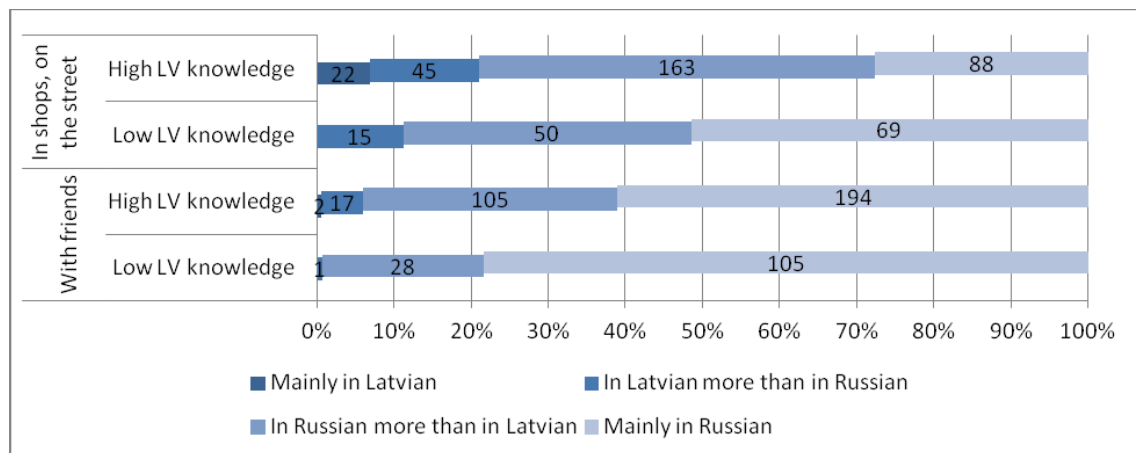
The general population surveys (SKDS, 2004, 2009; BISS, 2008a) also demonstrate that while there is a definite improvement in the knowledge of Latvian, the use of it has not changed greatly, if at all, since 2004 particularly in Riga and the Riga region as well as in some of the other big Latvian cities and the Latgale region. Moreover, some earlier studies (BISS, 2008a) showed that in 2004 more than two-thirds of Russian-speaking respondents reported relatively frequent use of the Latvian language outside their home, but in 2009 this proportion decreased to 59 per cent (SKDS, 2009).

As research suggests (SKDS, 2004, 2009; BISS, 2008a, 2010) some of these negative tendencies in the motivation to use Latvian are related not only to the competition between Latvian on the one hand, and English and Russian on the other, but also to increased economic hardship since 2007. For example, the BISS (2010) study showed that in the wake of the economic crisis the motivation for ethnic minority adolescents to learn and use Latvian has decreased. Together with an inconsistency in the requirements for the use of Latvian in the public sphere, economic decline not only directly reduces the opportunities to use the language, but also weakens trust in the Latvian state and this in its turn could encourage the learning and use of English rather than Latvian.

Similarly to findings from other studies (Zepa, 2004b; BISS, 2010), adolescents and teachers that took part in focus groups, mentioned that they use Latvian when they come into contact with Latvians, for example, with their Latvian friends or in public places such as shops or just on the street. Moreover, most of them also agreed that they have to learn Latvian if they live in Latvia and want to communicate with Latvians. However, as this survey data show, actual use of the Latvian language is very limited and infrequent. The BISS (Zepa, 2004b; BISS, 2010) survey of Year 10-12 adolescents from ethnic minority schools also showed that only one-quarter of pupils use Latvian every day outside school and there were no changes between 2004 and 2010. To explore this further it is important to link language knowledge and use.

As Figure 4-6 shows, even though adolescents with better speaking skills use Latvian with their friends and outside school more often than their classmates with lower

language competency, a large number of those with good fluency in Latvian use it very little. Similarly to previous research (van Tuburgen & Kalmijn, 2009) these data also show that there is a relationship between language knowledge and use, but the association is quite modest, therefore there are other factors that are involved in the process when adolescents decide on language use.

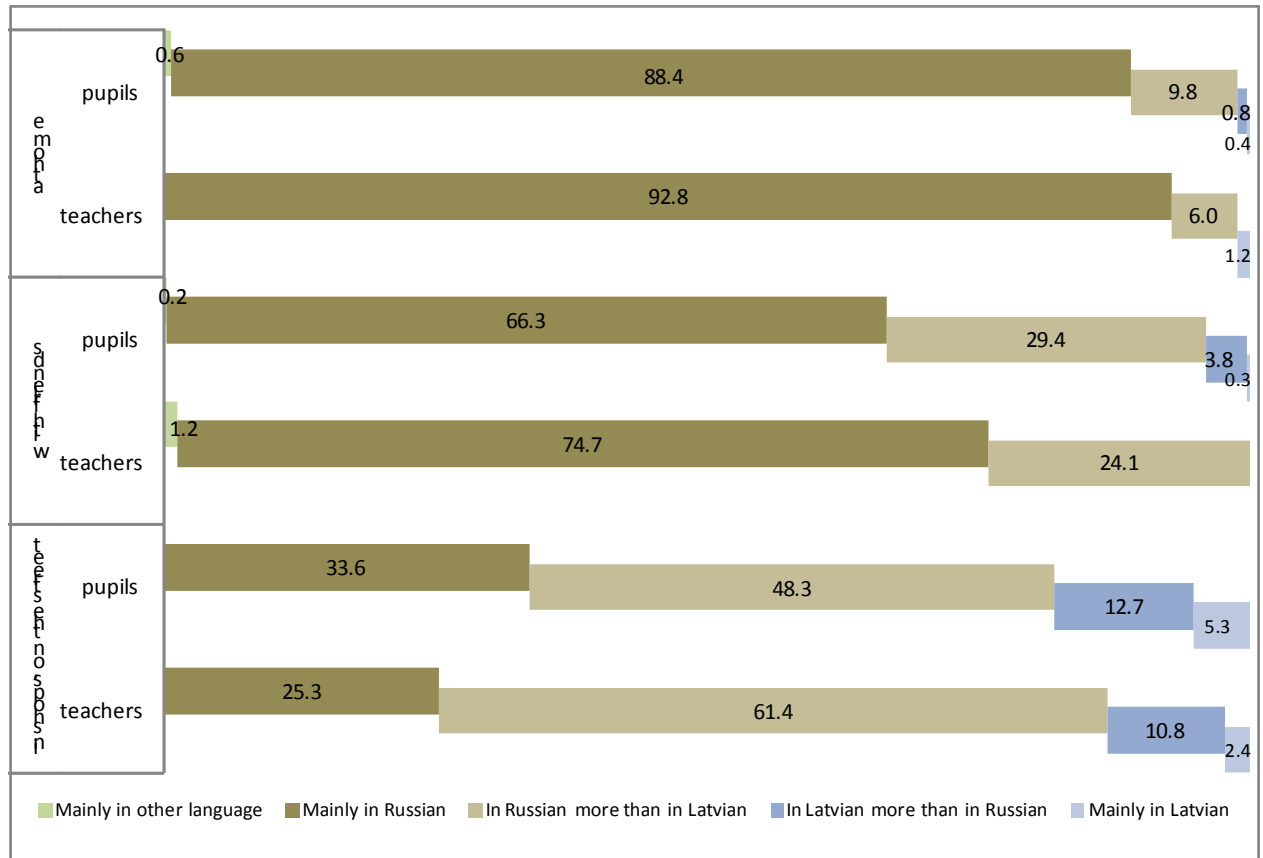


**Figure 4-6 Level of Latvian speaking skills and its use, Russian-speaking adolescents (in absolute numbers) 2009**

As adolescents explained in the discussions, there are different factors that influence their choice of language. As they explained, they rarely use Latvian not always because their skills are insufficient, but because speaking in Russian is more convenient and they are used to it. They described it as more of a habit rather than a conscious choice and said that they do not think about language as anything more than a communication tool. One of the boys said, *“I want people to look at my personality and not the language I speak.”* However, some other pupils argued that since their mother tongue is Russian, they are entitled to use it, demonstrating the link between identity and language. These adolescents use a separation strategy in their linguistic behaviour and rely on Latvians speaking Russian. The large proportion of Russian-speakers in Latvia was mentioned as an argument that *‘even shop assistants have to speak Russian’* (boy, 13).

Alternatively other pupils felt offended and puzzled when Latvians addressed them in Russian. Thus, one of the boys said, *“There are some Latvians that see or think that I am a Russian and they start speaking with me with huge accent in Russian. I usually tell them straight away that I can speak Latvian. I also have some friends like that.”*

*They try speaking Russian with me, but I always stop them.” However, another boy mentioned that even though he has many Latvian friends he speaks mostly Russian with them. He could not explain this choice clearly, simply saying, “All nationalities have their 'likes' and 'dislikes'. Russians like Russian language and Latvian like Latvian language. But we can still be friends.”*



**Figure 4-7 Language use, pupils and their teachers, 2009, % of those with Russian as their first language**

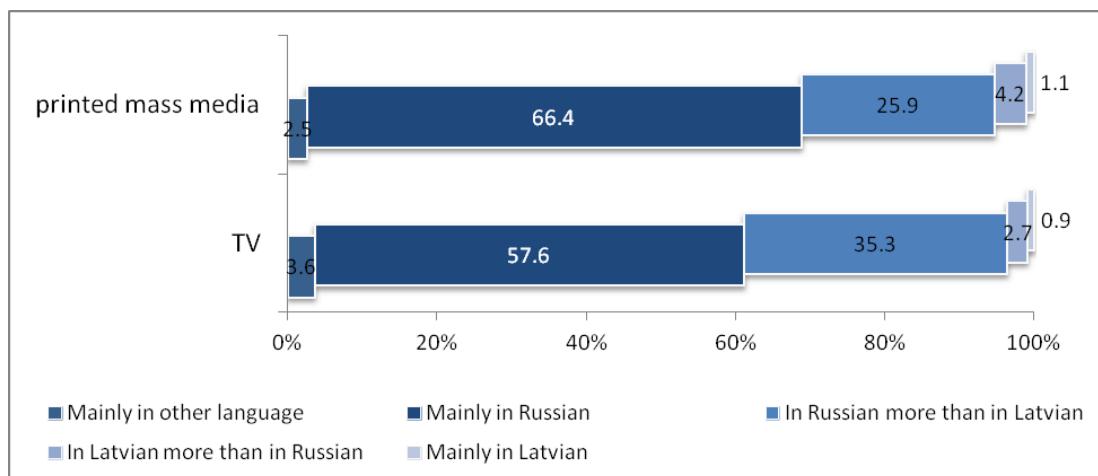
Figure 4-7 illustrates the use of Russian over Latvian among Russian-speaking teachers in Riga in 2009 comparing it with the language use of their pupils. As with adolescents, teachers mainly use Russian at home. It is interesting that teachers use even less Latvian and more Russian in their everyday life compared with their pupils. None of the teachers use Latvian more than Russian with their friends. This of course can be related to the frequency of social contacts between Russians and Latvians among teachers and their pupils.



Another important area of interest regarding the balance between the use of Russian and Latvian is the mass media, where, similarly to education, private and public spheres overlap. Mass media together with family, peer groups, and school is an important socialisation agent for children and adolescents. The mass media introduces worldwide cultures and norms that the child often would otherwise not become aware of. The other agents of socialization for ethnic minorities, such as family and peer groups, and in the Latvian case also school, are a part of one culture, but the mass media has great potential to extend one's exposure to the larger society and world. The use of Russian or Latvian mass media is central not only to the improvement of Latvian language knowledge and use, but also as a source of Latvian and other cultural values, symbols and behaviours.

As some research suggests (Sulmane, 2006), Latvia has two stable, self-sufficient media sub-systems based on the Latvian and Russian languages, using different sources and featuring sometimes contradictory content and stances towards important aspects of socio-political life, such as history and international affairs. While there are some exceptions, the general rule is coexistence in parallel worlds. Russian-speakers in Latvia have wide access to local Russian-language media outlets in addition to the vast assortment of media originating in Russia.

As Figure 4-8 illustrates, among young Russian-speakers Russian-language media dominates over Latvian media. While these quantitative survey data do not allow us to draw conclusions about changing patterns of media consumption and how media is chosen, the qualitative data from my interviews and focus groups can help us understand these processes.



**Figure 4-8 Language and mass media consumption among adolescents**

Qualitative data confirmed that Russian-language TV and printed mass media dominates over Latvian-language mass media in the everyday life of Russian-speaking adolescent. The opinions about Latvian-language mass media varied, but all pupils stated that Russian-language mass media was their first choice.

An analysis of my focus groups and survey data demonstrate that, if we take into account Latvian language proficiency and the frequency of the use of Latvian-language mass media, we can distinguish three broad groups:

- Those who do not use Latvian-language mass media because their Latvian language knowledge is not sufficient (31 per cent based on the survey data).
- Those whose Latvian language knowledge is good and they use Latvian-language mass media quite often (6 per cent based on the survey data).
- Those whose Latvian language knowledge is good, but they do not use Latvian-language mass media at all or use it rarely (61 per cent based on the survey data).

In line with research (Devitt, 1986; Oxford & Crookall, 1989; Wharton, 2000; Griffiths, 2003; Grineva, 2010) which shows that exposure to foreign/second language media increases knowledge of that language, Russian-speaking adolescents in my study who did access Latvian media found that it improved their Latvian language skills. As one of the girls said, *“I sometimes read newspapers in Latvian to improve my*

*Latvian, to be more fluent and to improve my writing skills.*” One of the boys also added that he quite often learns Latvian with the help of subtitles, *“if I hear a word and do not understand it, I quickly look into subtitles”*.

However, even if adolescents reported that their Latvian language skills were quite good, some still felt more comfortable using Russian-language media. As one of the girls explained, *“it is easier to read in Russian. I do not have to think and translate all the time. I seem to understand everything if I watch TV, but I still have to translate everything in my head and while I do it half of the programme is gone. I cannot relax”*.

The quantitative analysis revealed that those who use mass media mostly in Latvian or only in Latvian have slightly lower fluency in Latvian compared to those who do not use Latvian language media often or not at all ( $t(303) = -2.37, p=0.02$ ). This also suggests that some adolescents might use mass media to improve their language skills, while those already with sufficient fluency in Latvian choose to consume specific mass media based on other criteria. Similarly to the case of language use with friends and on the street, only when the knowledge of Latvian is poor one could see a direct relationship between choice of mass media and language knowledge, but even then mass media can be used to improve the fluency. Therefore, it is important to look at other factors that might influence the choice of mass media.

In focus groups, as adolescents tried to explain their choices, broader behavioural patterns emerged. For example, mass media can be used if it is interesting and entertaining and then the language is of less importance. Thus one of the girls said, *“It’s important that the programme is interesting and the language does not matter.”* The same motivation was mentioned when adolescents argued why they do not watch TV in Latvian or do not read Latvian newspapers. They said that in their opinion Latvian mass media is just not attractive and interactive enough. As one of the boys said, *“News in Latvian channels is not interesting. I can get the same information from the Russian media and even more. But everything is presented in a different way”*. Similarly one of the girls said. *“I watch TV mainly in Russian, because there is such a wide choice available and they are much better quality and much more interesting than those in Latvian.”*

In other cases mass media can be used in Latvian if the same information or programmes are not available in Russian. As one of the boys said, *“I usually read in Russian, but if there is no such magazine in Russian, I read in Latvian.”* One other boy argued in a very similar way. *“I only watch those movies in Latvian, when they are not available in Russian.”* Similarly, Latvian-language media is used when Russian-language media is not available. For example, one of the boys said, *“I watch Latvian TV when I visit my grandmother in the countryside. She does not have digital or cable TV. I watch everything in Latvian and understand all of it.”*

Furthermore, as focus groups showed, friends and family play a role in the choice of which language mass media to use. As one of the girls said, *“I have many Latvian friends and they showed me these Latvian magazines. We talk about them. Now when I go shopping, I usually look at both Latvian and Russian magazines. I buy and read both quite often. I do not have any problems with it.”* Some adolescents mentioned that their parents influence their choice through exposure to Russian or Latvian mass media; for example, if parents buy only Russian or Latvian newspapers.

Overall, the survey and focus group results showed that Russian-speaking adolescents use Russian-language mass media more often than the Latvian-language one. Although this preference is related to the proficiency in Latvian, especially if it is very low, in many other cases factors such as content, attractiveness and entertainment are more important. Russian-language media is not only more interesting in the eyes of these adolescents, but it is also easier to get hold of because Russian-speaking families in general consume Russian-language media.

As can be seen, often mass media choice is practical rather than emotional, if Russian-language media are widely available and, in the eyes of adolescents, provide the same information but in a more attractive way, why choose Latvian language media? None of the adolescents linked mass media consumption to their Russian or Latvian identity or gave it any symbolic meaning or emotional attachment.

As I have shown in this section that both the number of those who have good Latvian language skills and who use Latvian in different life situations has increased in the

period 1996-2008 (BISS, 2008a). This is particularly the case in the public sphere such as work or dealing with bureaucracy. As regards speaking Latvian in situations where the choice of language depends on the individual, e.g. on the street, in shops, with friends, Russian language is still spoken more often and this has even been on the increase since 2008 (SKDS, 2009).

Overall teachers and pupils expressed that the use of the Latvian language outside school is often limited for Russian-speakers. This very limited exposure to Latvian outside the school environment hinders any positive effects of bilingual education by inhibiting practice opportunities and makes it more artificial: young Russian-speakers learn Latvian at school and practise it with their teachers and their Russian-speaking peers rather than native Latvian-speakers. This decreases the motivation of adolescents to learn Latvian if they do not have to use it in their everyday lives.

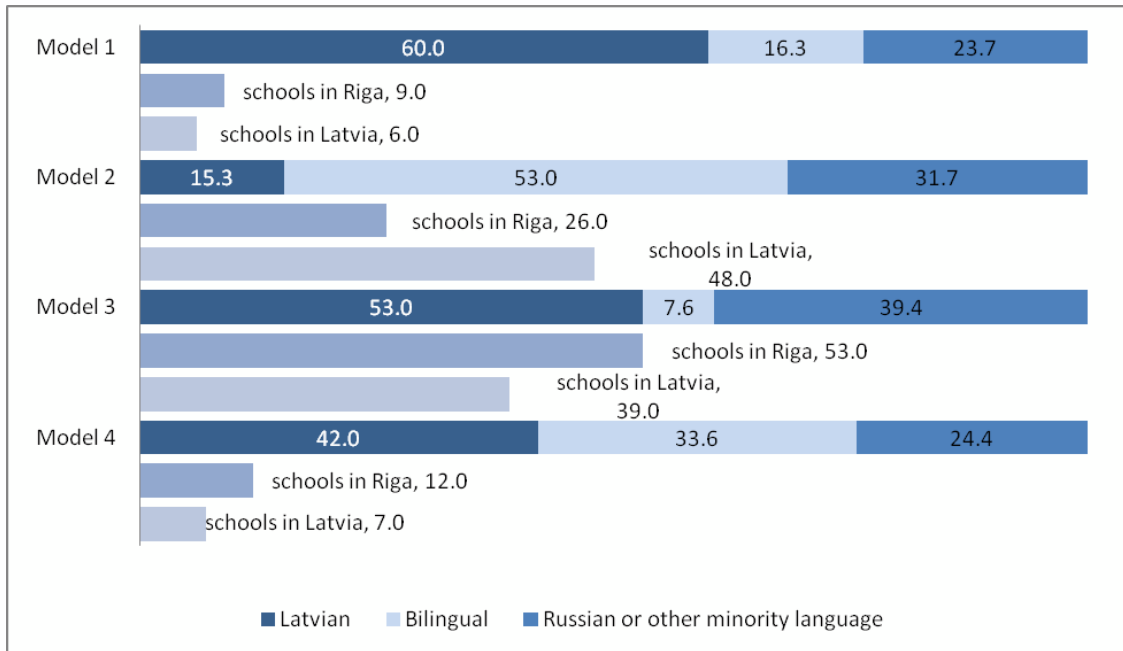
Such tendencies do not suggest a greater integration of Russian and Latvian speakers. Moreover, most Russian-speaking adolescents remain in Russian-speaking schools that does not facilitate their integration and social contacts with their Latvian peers. Furthermore, the separate school cultures or 'hidden curricula' might provide different value systems for adolescents divided by the school language. In the next chapter I will look more closely at Latvian-language use in schools.

### **4.3.3 Use of Latvian and Russian in teaching and learning**

The school is one of the essential sites for acculturation processes and ethno-national identity development and is the main focus of this study. It is the main place where people learn Latvian. More than half (54 per cent) of the respondents in the annual general population survey reported that they had learned Latvian at school (BISS, 2008a). The data suggest that the education system has ensured Latvian language learning to a far greater degree since the restoration of Latvia's independence in 1991 than was the

case during the Soviet era. 72 per cent of young people mentioned school, compared with a smaller proportion of respondents from other age groups (49 per cent of those in the 35-49 age group and 44 per cent among those aged 50 to 74).

Furthermore, education in Latvia is seen as one of the main tools for societal cohesion and the integration of ethnic minorities with particular emphasis on language in education, but also cultural values (Zepa, 2010; Elerte, 2011). Since 1999 all ethnic minority schools in Latvia have implemented one of the five bilingual education models. According to the data from the Ministry of Education (see Figure 4-9) 9 per cent of ethnic minority schools in Riga chose the first model (Model 1) that only use Latvian, with the minority language only taught as a subject until Year 6. 26 per cent of ethnic minority schools in Riga chose Model 2, where Latvian and the minority language are both used as languages of instruction and as teaching subjects throughout the primary school (Year 1-9). By far the most popular (53 per cent in Riga) is Model 3, which includes one subject in Latvian in Year 1 and then adds an extra subject in Latvian every year up to Year 9. Finally, Model 4, which was introduced in 12 per cent of ethnic minority schools in Riga, teaches all subjects in the minority language from Year 1 to Year 4 and then from Year 5 teaches half of all subjects in Latvian and half in the minority language.



**Figure 4-9 Bilingual education models in primary schools in Latvia. % of languages for full model (Y9) and % of schools implementing each model.** *Source: Latvian Ministry of Education and Science, Republic of Latvia*

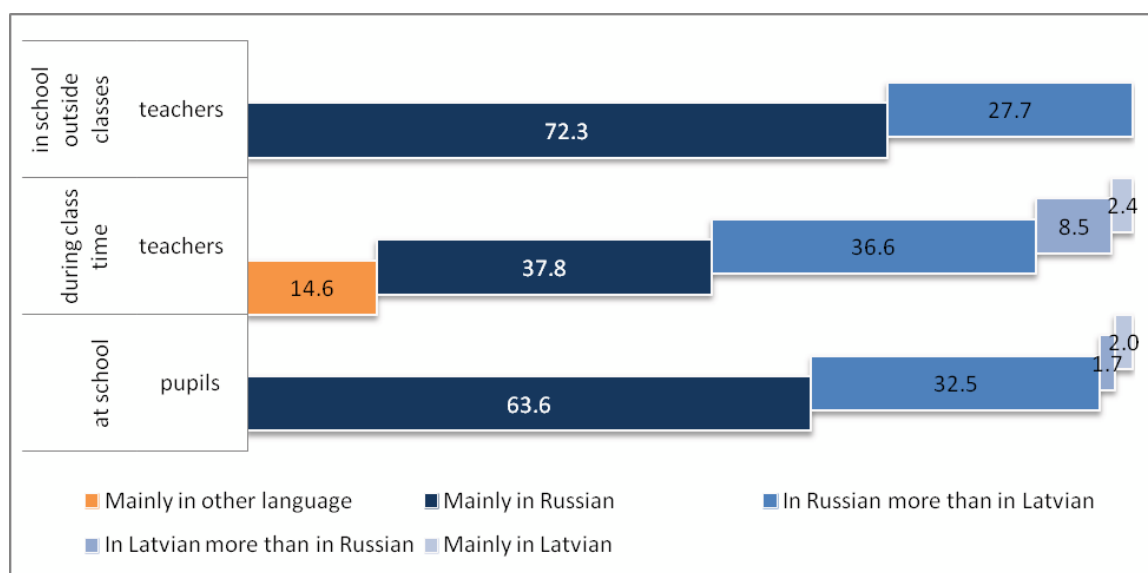
As the previous chapter showed, the use of the Latvian language is very limited outside school so that very often school is the only place where adolescents can learn and use Latvian, a fact that is recognised by the Latvian government and teachers. This was also used as the main argument for the education reform. Nevertheless, there has been almost no research on the actual situation of Latvian language use in schools since the education reforms were implemented.

Although, as shown above, on paper bilingual education looks quite successful and the education inspection results proved to be satisfying to the Ministry of Education, some researchers (Silova, 2002; Galbreath & Galvin, 2005) suggest that some schools may follow Soviet double standards and ‘stage’ bilingual education in primary schools for inspections.

As shown above, the self-reported knowledge of Latvian has increased slightly, but its use has stayed the same or even decreased in some areas outside the school. The Latvian language school exam results also do not provide support for the success of the

education reform (Zepa, 2010). This chapter looks in more detail at Latvian and Russian language use in school settings.

In general programme plans submitted to the Ministry of Education and specifying the proportion of subjects taught in Latvian language and bilingually in all models is quite high on average (see Figure 4-9) and by Year 7 around half of the subjects or more should be in Latvian. Nevertheless ten years after the introduction of the bilingual education both teachers and pupils report quite low use of Latvian in school settings (see Figure 4-10). Only 2 per cent of pupils and 2 per cent of teachers report that they mainly use Latvian, with a further 9 per cent of teachers and 2 per cent of adolescents using Latvian more than Russian in the school environment.

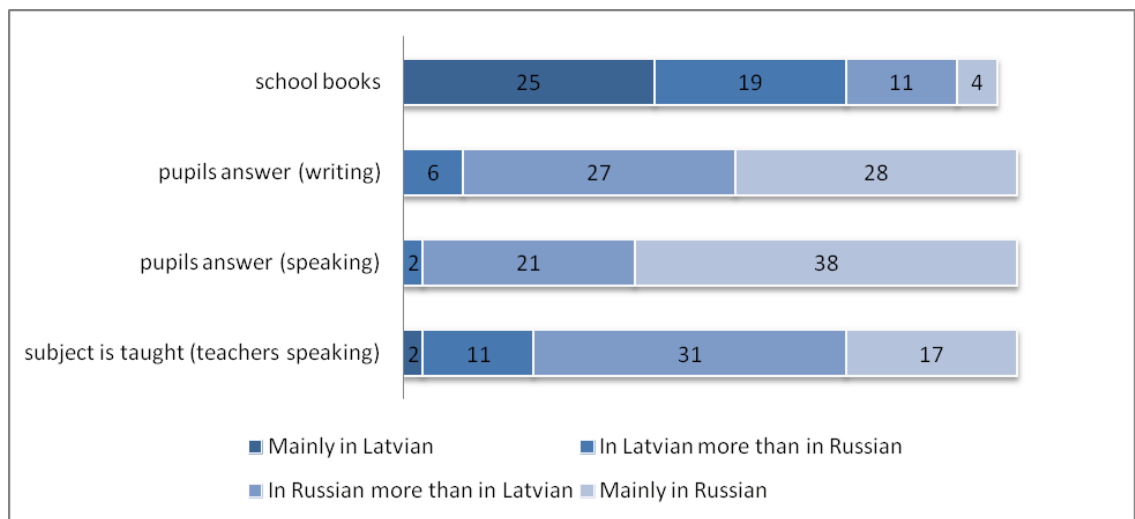


**Figure 4-10 Language use in schools**

The data show no significant changes in the use of Latvian in school settings between 2002 and 2009. More adolescents in Year 12 (2009) said that they mainly used Russian while at school compared with the responses of pupils in Year 7 (2002 and 2009). Yet, the use of Latvian should be more rather than less frequent in high school because Year 7 should have bilingual programmes established and during Year 12 at least 60 per cent of teaching time has to be in Latvian. Additionally, while half of the pupils in 'Russian' schools reported the school environment as the place where they used Latvian language most frequently in 2010, the proportion of adolescents that



chose school as the place where they use Latvian most often has decreased to 50 from 60 per cent in 2004 (BISS 2010).



**Figure 4-11 Language use in schools: teachers' reports (excluding language teachers), 2009, in absolute numbers (N=61)**

More detailed information on the use of language in teaching and learning was gathered from teachers. Figure 4-11 illustrates the use of Latvian and Russian by teachers in Russian-language schools in Riga. Latvian is most often used for reading, whereas pupils and teachers prefer Russian for written and verbal communication. The four items (reading, speaking and writing and the language of schoolbooks) were summarized into an index of general language use in classes. The aggregated measure was skewed with most teachers reporting a low use of Latvian.

Bivariate analysis suggests that teachers' Latvian language knowledge ( $r(74) = .46, p = .00$ ) and use in everyday life ( $r(74) = .36, p = .00$ )<sup>30</sup> was associated with more frequent use of the Latvian language in school settings. The subject taught also influenced the use of Latvian ( $F(5, 78) = 55.7, p = .00$ ). Unsurprisingly, it is used most frequently by teachers who taught Latvian language and literature ( $M = 14.7, SD = 0.7$ ). This was followed by teachers of other subjects, such as IT, sports, home economics ( $M = 7.0, SD = 3.3$ ), arts and humanities ( $M = 6.0, SD = 2.7$ ), social sciences including history ( $M =$

<sup>30</sup> Latvian language teachers were excluded from this analysis.

5.4, SD = 2.2) and finally natural sciences (M = 4.2, SD = 2.8). These results reflect the tendency to use Latvian for arts and humanities or sport and IT subjects rather than social or exact sciences because the former are perceived to be easier to learn in non-native language (BISS, 2010).

One of the findings is that teachers seem to project their own abilities onto pupils and their needs. Thus teachers with lower knowledge of Latvian language and frequency of its use in everyday life were more likely to say that their subject should be taught in Russian and pupils in 'Russian' schools should not be taught in Latvian. This can be interpreted as a fear amongst teachers with poorer Latvian skills of being fired if they have to use increasingly more Latvian in teaching. As mentioned above, such teachers were also using more Russian in their classes. This shows a link between the acculturation attitudes of teachers and their actual linguistic behaviour. How this relates to the attitudes and behaviours of their pupils and any causality will be explored in further chapters.

Pupils expressed mixed views about bilingual education and its practice in their school. Some adolescents said that during some lessons they have to help teachers to translate things. Others agreed saying that bilingual education is more of a problem for their teachers and not for them: *“Not all our teachers know the Latvian language well enough. Not every teacher can teach their subject in Latvian and give us full knowledge of that subject.”* Some also mentioned that their parents are no longer able to help them with their homework because of their low knowledge of Latvian.

In focus groups, the Russian-speaking adolescents expressed general support for bilingual education. As one of the boys said, *“It is hard at first, but it is good. It will be easier later. When we finish school and will have to find a job, everything is in Latvian. Therefore, it is better to start at an early age.”* Another pupil linked language and identity: *“It has to be in both Russian and Latvian in order for everybody to understand that we are Russians who live in Latvia.”*

Although most of the pupils agreed that bilingual education gives them many advantages, some with poorer Latvian skills were worried: *“Instead of studying a*

*specific subject or a particular mathematical law, we learn what this specific term means in Latvian or Russian. We manage to do much less in the same amount of time.”*

Some pupils argued that the segregated education system has to stay and 'Latvian' schools are there for Latvians and 'Russian' schools for Russians because children have to study in their home language. One of the girls was anxious about her identity, *“In Russian school everything has to be in Russian. It cannot be mixed - some things in Russian and some in Latvian. I have this fear that I will not know who we are.”* Another pupil was apprehensive that, being Russian, he will not be able to explain some things that he learnt in school in his mother tongue. Another boy was quite angry saying, *“We are not going to speak Latvian at school to each other, are we? Nobody can force us to do it. We can speak Latvian to each other only in Latvian language class. In other classes or in break times nobody can force us to do it.”* As we can see, adolescents were worried not so much about their actual language skills, but more about their teachers' and parents' proficiency in Latvian and also about their own linguistic acculturation and identity. In support to some theories about the link between identity and language (Giles et al, 1977; Giles & Johnson, 1981; Heller, 1987; Fishman, 1989, 1996; Phinney et al., 2001a; Vedder and Virta, 2005; Chiswick & Miller, 2008; Van Tubergen & Kalmijn, 2009) Russian-speaking adolescents clearly linked their linguistic behaviour to their identity, to who they are. This will be explored further in Chapter 5.

Data analysis and previous research show that students and teachers have a positive attitude toward bilingual education, believing that it represents a compromise in terms of minority education reforms (Zepa, 2004; BISS, 2010)<sup>31</sup>. This survey data suggest a very similar picture. Regarding the overall language of education in ethnic minority schools, only 2 per cent of teachers agreed with the statement that 'Russian children in schools have to learn in Latvian language'. However, 14 per cent of adolescents in 2009 and 10 per cent in 2007 agreed with the statement. In the 2002 survey, two

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<sup>31</sup> The BISS study on ethnic minority adolescents' views on education shows that with regards to the language of instruction 58 per cent of pupils wanted to study bilingually, 35 per cent only in Russian and 2 per cent only in Latvian. There was an increase in those who favoured education in two languages

years before the reform, pupils were asked what they thought about studying solely in Latvian starting from Year 10. In response, 10 per cent were happy with the prospect and felt that they could do it<sup>32</sup>.

As regards attitudes towards bilingual education, 64 per cent of pupils were in favour and 82 per cent reported that their parents were also supporting it in 2009. In contrast only 29 per cent of adolescents were positive about education in two languages in 2002.

Although adolescents who are in favour of bilingual education report more frequent use of Latvian over Russian ( $F(1, 407) = 4.13, p = .04$ ), the data do not suggest any statistical association between proficiency in Latvian and attitudes towards bilingual education. Nevertheless, pupils who are both in favour of bilingual education and use Latvian frequently support integration or assimilation attitudes in general. Therefore, their attitudes towards education and language use have to be viewed as a part of the general acculturation strategy rather than directly linked to the language knowledge.

To summarise, this survey and other studies (e.g. BISS, 2008a) show some improvement in self-reported Latvian language knowledge, which was used as one of the main arguments in favour of the education reform. However, Latvian language exam results from minority ethnic schools show little increase.

In addition, there has been no broader research on what is actually happening in schools and how the bilingual programmes are put into practice. The data from this study show that the actual use of Latvian in the school environment as reported by pupils and their teachers has not increased and stays at quite a low level, despite the fact that on paper all schools implement bilingual education programmes with a high proportion of teaching and learning declared to be in Latvian.

According to Silova (2002) and Galbreath & Galvin (2005) there is the legacy of the Soviet mentality of following instructions that results in double standards, which is not

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from 41 per cent in 2004 (BISS, 2010).

<sup>32</sup> In addition 21 per cent liked the idea, but did not know if they were ready. 32 per cent responded that they would understand the subject better studying in Russian and 36 per cent were strongly against this change.

unique to the implementation of the minority education reform. On the one hand, school administrators put all regulations in place as they report on paper to the Latvian Ministry of Education. Yet, on the other little changes in the actual everyday life of school and teaching methods. So, this ‘staging’ of the bilingual education as Silova (2002) calls it would explain why the situation in 'Russian' schools contradicts to a certain extent BISS survey (2008a) conclusions about the increase of Latvian use in formal context as regulated by formal rules and laws. School can be viewed as a combination of private and public spaces. On the one hand, the Education Law regulates language use in the classroom in the same way as it does in other formal public environments. On the other hand, schools represent quite monolingual environments compared with other workplaces, which makes the use of the Latvian language quite artificial. Besides, adolescents and teachers are still free to choose their unofficial language of teaching and learning, outside of Ministry inspections, and as data show their preference stays with Russian.

As we can conclude neither the school environment nor the wider social environment outside of school provide sufficient exposure to the Latvian language for Russian-speaking adolescents. Of course, it has to be taken into account that in many urban settings in Latvia, including Riga, Russian language is very often sufficient and thus separation into two language communities is much more likely to happen.

Some studies (BISS, 2008a) also reveal that Russian knowledge among ethnic Latvians has been diminishing year by year<sup>33</sup>. The asymmetry of language skills between young Russian-speakers and Latvians has already changed: 73 per cent of non-Latvian young people have good Latvian language skills and 54 per cent of young Latvians speak Russian well. This, coupled with the segregated education system might increase the tendency for further separation along linguistic and cultural lines. While the decrease in Russian language knowledge amongst ethnic Latvians might actually widen exposure to Latvian, this can only happen if there were frequent social contacts

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<sup>33</sup> In 1996 84 per cent of ethnic Latvians rated their Russian language skills as good, in 2008 that figure had dropped notably to 69 per cent. Furthermore, Russian skills are also poorer among younger Latvians: in the 15-34 age group only 54 per cent speak Russian language well.

between the two groups. The next sections look in greater depth at in- and out-group social contacts to create a more detailed picture of the acculturation and identity formation context of Russian-speaking adolescents in Riga.

#### **4.3.4 Social contacts**

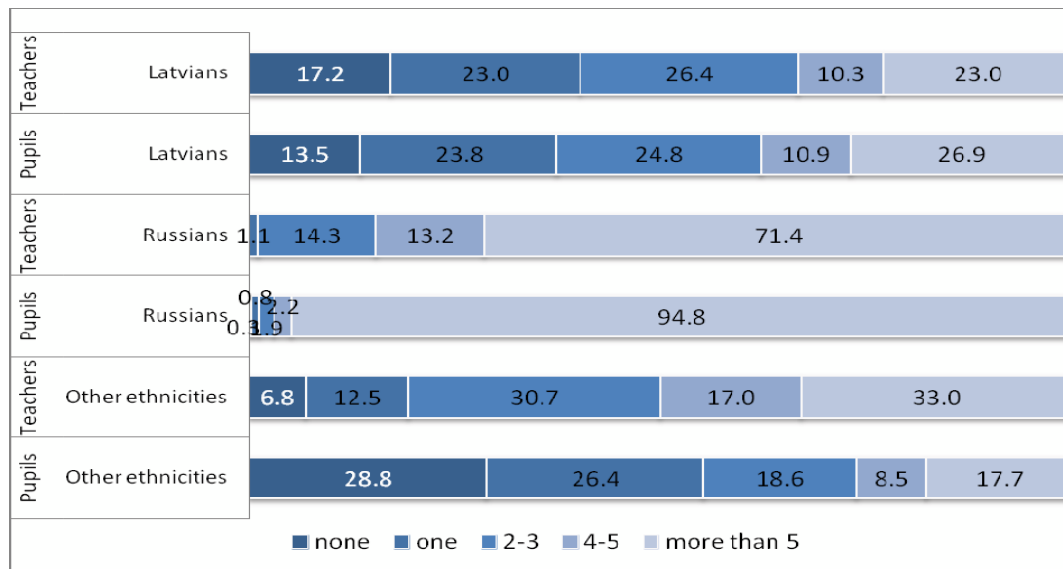
Social contacts with individuals from one's own ethnic group and from the larger society are a fundamental dimension of acculturation and identification. Wider personal contact with other groups is known to be related to less conflict, fewer prejudices and less perceived discrimination as well as better national language knowledge and more successful adaptation outcomes (see section 1.3.3). A recent overview of over 200 studies testing the "Allport contact hypothesis" (Allport, 1954) found strong confirmation that intergroup contact does relate negatively to prejudice, that the largest effects were achieved in work and other more structured contexts, and that majority participants revealed much larger mean effects than minority participants (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000). Therefore, it is important to investigate the in- and out-group social contacts of young Russian-speakers and link these to other attitudes and behaviours.

There have been few cases of ethnic violence in Latvia and quite a high proportion of mixed marriages with every fifth Latvian entering marriage with a non-Latvian partner and every fourth Russian with a non-Russian-origin partner. Since independence, intermarriage between Russians and Latvians has increased substantially. In 2010 27 per cent of adolescents from Russian schools (who are mainly of non-Latvian origin) said there were Latvians in the household and 36 per cent reported having Latvians among their close relatives (BISS, 2010). Part of this increase can be explained by selective emigration, but at least half of it may be due to integration (Monden & Smits, 2005; Kronenfeld, 2005). The geographical dispersion of ethnic minorities also helps to maintain quite frequent contacts between Latvians and non-Latvians.

Nevertheless, in many cities, Riga in particular, there is noticeable segregation at the workplace. Furthermore, the segregated 'Latvian' and 'Russian' schooling system also facilitates the creation of two separate communities within one larger society. A recent survey of adolescents (BISS, 2010) showed that 42 per cent of adolescents from

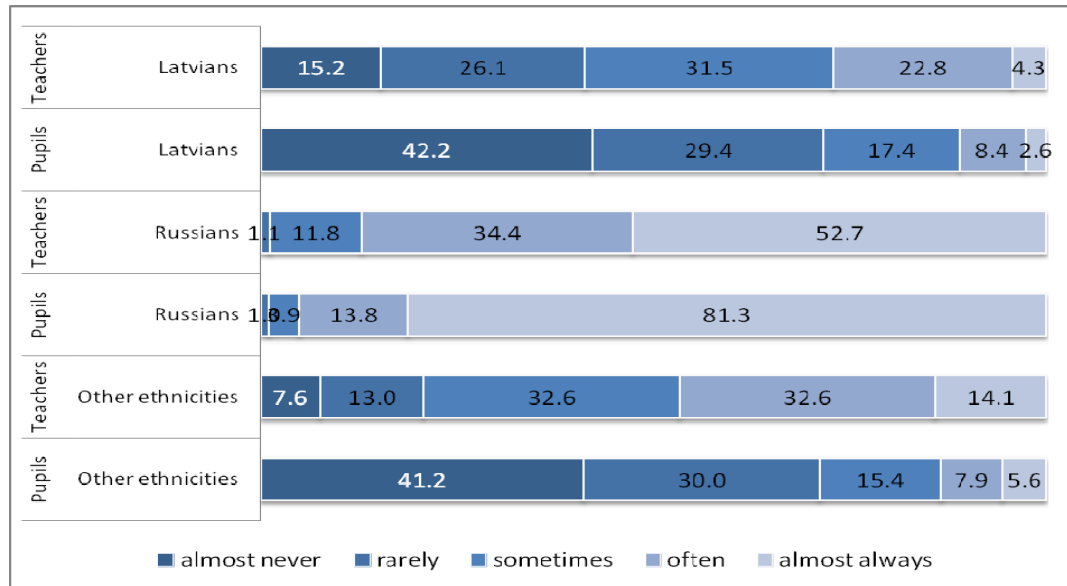
'Latvian' schools did not want to study with Russian-speakers and 56 per cent of pupils from 'Russian' schools did not want to be in a school with Latvians. Nevertheless, 72 per cent of young Russian-speakers said that they had friends and acquaintances who were of Latvian origin.

Both teachers and pupils in this study were asked questions about friends and also about the frequency of contacts outside schools with people of a different ethnic background. Figure 4-12 and Figure 4-13 summarise the results of the survey.



**Figure 4-12 Friends among different ethnicities, 2009, % (N=93 teachers, N=456 pupils)**

Overall results of this study are comparable to the BISS survey of adolescents in 'Russian' schools in 2010 (BISS, 2010). 86 per cent of adolescents in this survey had at least one friend of Latvian origin. Teachers have slightly fewer friends among Latvians, thus 17 per cent of teachers and 13 per cent of adolescents have no Latvian friends (see Figure 4-12). This can also be interpreted as having different notions of friendship at different ages since teachers overall also report fewer friends among Russians.



**Figure 4-13 Contacts outside school with different ethnicities, 2009, % (N=93 teachers, N=456 pupils)**

At the same time, only 15 per cent of teachers and 42 per cent of pupils almost never come into a contact with Latvians outside the school environment (see Figure 4-13). As the general population survey (Zepa, 2004a) shows, 43 per cent of ethnic minorities did not have frequent social contacts and a further 4 per cent had practically no contact with other ethnicities. To interpret and compare the results of this survey with the study of general population two factors have to be acknowledged. First, this study is based in Riga where the proportion of Latvians is smaller than on average in Latvia. Second, the context of this study is ‘Russian’ schools that limits any extensive social contacts outside school environment (as any school does) and this particular case with Latvian youngsters. These factors could explain the quite high proportion of pupils and their teachers who do not have contact with Latvians on an everyday basis or almost at all since they spend most of their time in school.

To reduce the number of variables for further analysis the pupils’ and teachers’ answers (friends and frequency of contacts) were summed to create two scales: contacts with Latvians and contacts with Russians. The table below (see Table 4-6) provides descriptive information about the scales created.

**Table 4-6 Descriptive statistics of measurements of social contacts with Russians and Latvians**



Scale	Range	No. of items	Mean	SD
Contacts with Latvians -adolescents	0-8	2	3.2	2.1
Contacts with Latvians -teachers	0-8	2	4.0	2.4
Contacts with Russians -adolescents	0-8	2	7.7	0.7
Contacts with Russians -teachers	0-8	2	6.8	1.4

Both teachers and adolescents reported quite weak contacts with Latvians and a high frequency and intensity contacts with Russians, as we already saw from an item-based analysis (see Figure 4-12 and Figure 4-13). Almost all Russian-speaking adolescents have many friends who are Russian and they also have frequent social contacts with them outside the school environment. This reinforces the earlier finding that only very few pupils support assimilation in the closer and wider social contacts area. Thus, even though around one-fifth of Russian-speaking adolescents support marginalisation on the attitudinal level, it does not correspond to their actual behaviour. Since the variable that contains information about social contacts with Russians is highly skewed and has low variance it will not be used in any further analysis and I will focus on contacts with Latvians and how the intensity of those is linked to other acculturation attitudes, behaviours and identifications. To conclude, the pupils from 'Russian' schools embrace integration on an attitudinal level, but their actual behaviour indicates separation.

The focus group discussion results also support this argument and help to explore it further. When pupils describe their existing Latvian friends or contacts in an abstract way then they use integration rhetoric. Whereas when they talk about wider social contacts with Latvians as an ethnic group and who they have encountered in everyday situations they use many expressions that show separation. This is revealed in this statement by a 13 year old boy: *“Latvians overall are people like people, only they speak Latvian. All my Latvian friends are normal, but all other Latvians are not.”* Furthermore, although the BISS (2010) study shows that most pupils (92 per cent) describe their relationships with Latvians as “friendly” or “mostly friendly”, at the same time 72 per cent of students feel better in the Russian linguistic and cultural environment. However, only 15 per cent avoid contacts with Latvians as they do not like them because of the cultural differences.

Language was mentioned as one of the main reasons for conflicting views and a lack of communication between Russians and Latvians in the BISS study (2010). 38 per cent of pupils from 'Russian' schools agreed that Latvians are arrogant and only communicate with people who speak Latvian. Many adolescents in focus groups also mentioned language knowledge and use as a barrier to more contacts between Russians and Latvians. As one of the girls said, *“They (Latvians) accept me because I can speak Latvian with them, but other children cannot and they (Latvians) do not like it. It is important for Latvians if people speak their language. In our locality we have very few Russians. Most children on our street are Latvians. If you do not speak the language you cannot go out, join them and play and talk to Latvians.”*

As adolescents explained, language plays an important role in their choice of friends; therefore, in their view, ethnic origin per se does not matter that much for social contacts, but the language you speak does. As one of the boys said, *“You cannot divide your friends by ethnicity. You have to be friends with everybody. There is no difference if they are Russians or Latvians. If I like that person and can talk (know the language) to him or her than the rest does not matter”*. Language appears to be the main signifier of the border between the two ethnic groups and has both an emotional or symbolic role and also a more pragmatic role as a mean or an obstacle to communication between the two (Barth, 1969; Fishman, 1989).

Nevertheless there were some children that expressed clear separation attitudes: *“All my friends are Russians and I do not want to come into contact with Latvians. They will start talking about ethnicity again, asking questions who I am and what I do in Latvia. I do not like those questions.”* So clearly for some adolescents, not ethnicity itself, but its interactional nature (Bourdieu, 1990; Brubaker, 2002; Hitlin et al., 2006; Wimmer, 2008, Helbling, 2009; McDonnell and de Lourenco, 2009; Burton et al., 2010) and where borders are drawn (Barth, 1969), makes a difference and influences relationships; that is, if Russian ethnicity is significant in communication and if interaction is guided by ethnic or other terms. Paradoxically for some adolescents ethnicity is important to the extent that they want others not to take notice of it.

When adolescents were asked about existing friends, good Latvian friends were identified as those who you can trust and who never discuss ethnicity. As one of the girls said, *"I have almost only Latvian friends. I feel better among them. I know I can trust them."* The concept of trust here relates to openness in relationships and the insignificance of ethnicity or language to these relationships. As one of the girls explained, *"Trust that they do not talk behind your back about you and that you are Russian"*. And yet, there were other Russian-speaking adolescents who insisted that it is easier to be friends with Russians because of a common language and culture and therefore understanding and trust that comes prior to any communication and makes you feel more confident and comfortable when any interaction starts. As one other girl said, *"I do not like Latvians. Somehow they are not close to me. I better keep contact with Russians."*

Further discussions showed that when talking about abstract attitudes Latvians were seen as 'normal' as anybody else, it is only when asked about particular behaviours and closer friends that most adolescents said that they felt better surrounded by Russians because of a common language and the knowledge that they will be understood and accepted. Adolescents even spoke about different night clubs and social youth clubs where predominantly Russians or Latvians go. This shows that the further separation and maintenance of two distinct communities that is a real threat to Latvia's society is already happening.

Discussions with adolescents showed that there are certain stereotypes and perceptions about Latvians that exist in their own community. So the separation on the attitudinal level is also reflected in different social mores, such as appropriate dress, accessories and humour. For example, some adolescents talked about different fashion among young Latvians: *"They have very different style. Both girls and boys dress differently. Girls put on a red skirt and colourful tights, but Russian girls would not dress like that. Russians are more modest. Latvians put these things on and decorate their schoolbags with small soft toys."* Similarly one of the girls said, *"They dress funny. They walk around Old Town; you can distinguish them straight away. If you see somebody dressed*

*in ultraviolet trousers, ultra green jacket with their face covered in piercings, you know who it is...”*

I have also heard very similar views about colourful outfits that are put together inappropriately from Latvian pupils about their Russian counterparts. Dress and fashion are used for the creation of boundaries and as Barth (1969) argued, the actual content of the distinction does not matter, as we can see here the same fashion style is used by both groups to distinguish between members and non-members. It is the meaning attached to this difference that matters; it is how adolescents talk about it that creates those boundaries. Furthermore, the actual differences within both groups are probably much larger than between groups, and subcultures that cross the borders are more important than ethnicity for choosing fashion statements among all adolescents in Latvia and worldwide. So, ethnicity as a system of categories (Comaroff, 1991, 1992) involves creation and maintenance of identities through the marking of the group borders in opposition to each other and not focusing on the actual substance of those differences, but using ‘ethnic myths’ (Steinberg, 1981) to sustain these imagined differences.

Adolescents also spoke about sense of humour and jokes. One of the boys for example said, *“I think the greatest difference between Latvians and Russians is in their sense of humour. When you are in a mixed company and you tell a joke that is closer to Russian culture all Russians laugh and Latvians do not understand why and the other way around.”* Some adolescents and teachers also mentioned specific qualities that were typical of Latvians and Russians, with Latvians being much calmer and introvert and Russians being more open and active.

As we can see some of these stereotypes are there because of the lack of contact between the two groups and thus lack of any deeper knowledge, for example fashion. But there are also some that can be known only after a close frequent contact, for example jokes and humour. To conclude, although there are positive contacts between Latvian and Russian adolescents, separate communities still very much exist. While on an attitudinal level most adolescents choose integration, fewer of them showed integration in their behaviour. Adolescents identified language and different cultures and

behaviours as the largest barriers for social contacts. Here, a segregated school system limits any close everyday contact between the two groups and often boundaries between the two groups are artificially created by relying on stereotypes and not actual differences.

These findings also demonstrate the more affective, primordial nature of ethnicity (Geertz, 1963; Isaacs, 1975) and also show that often ethnicity is experienced through ‘imagined community’ (Anderson, 1983; Fishman, 1989). Adolescents talked about their trust in Russians and not being close to Latvians or the lack of understanding between the two groups. However, these ideas were rarely based on actual experiences, but on the idea of common ties between all Russians and all Latvians and specific subjectively constructed boundaries between the two groups (Barth, 1969). This also illustrates how ethnicity is used (Cohen, 1978) to assign people to groupings in order to know what to expect and how to react. However, as I demonstrated these reactions are stereotypical and are often set before any real meaningful communication takes place and that is why sometimes it can prevent the actual interaction.

In the case of Russian-speaking adolescents we can see how limited social contacts produce more stereotypes and maintain prejudices between the groups (Allport, 1954). Furthermore, as Allport hypothesized that intergroup contact would lead to reduced intergroup prejudice if only four conditions were obtained:

- the contact participants were of equal status,
- they shared common goals,
- there was no competition between the groups,
- there was authority sanction for the contact.

Moreover, even if all of Allport’s conditions obtain, intergroup contact can still result in misunderstanding and even conflict if the contact parties lack what is increasingly called “intercultural competence.” “Intercultural competence” has been defined in various ways. Green has argued that it involves “learning how to perceive others through their

own cultural lens, knowledge of certain cultural beliefs, personal comfort with differences, willingness to change one's ideas, the ability to be flexible" (Green, 1998). The education system in this context is of great importance, but as described earlier, the education system is segregated and contacts between the two groups are also therefore quite limited starting from a very young age. In addition, separate media environments and political space impedes the development of shared goals and facilitates conflicts between the two groups. Equal status and competition in this context become even more important. That is why the next subchapter will look in more depth at social equality and perceived discrimination issues.

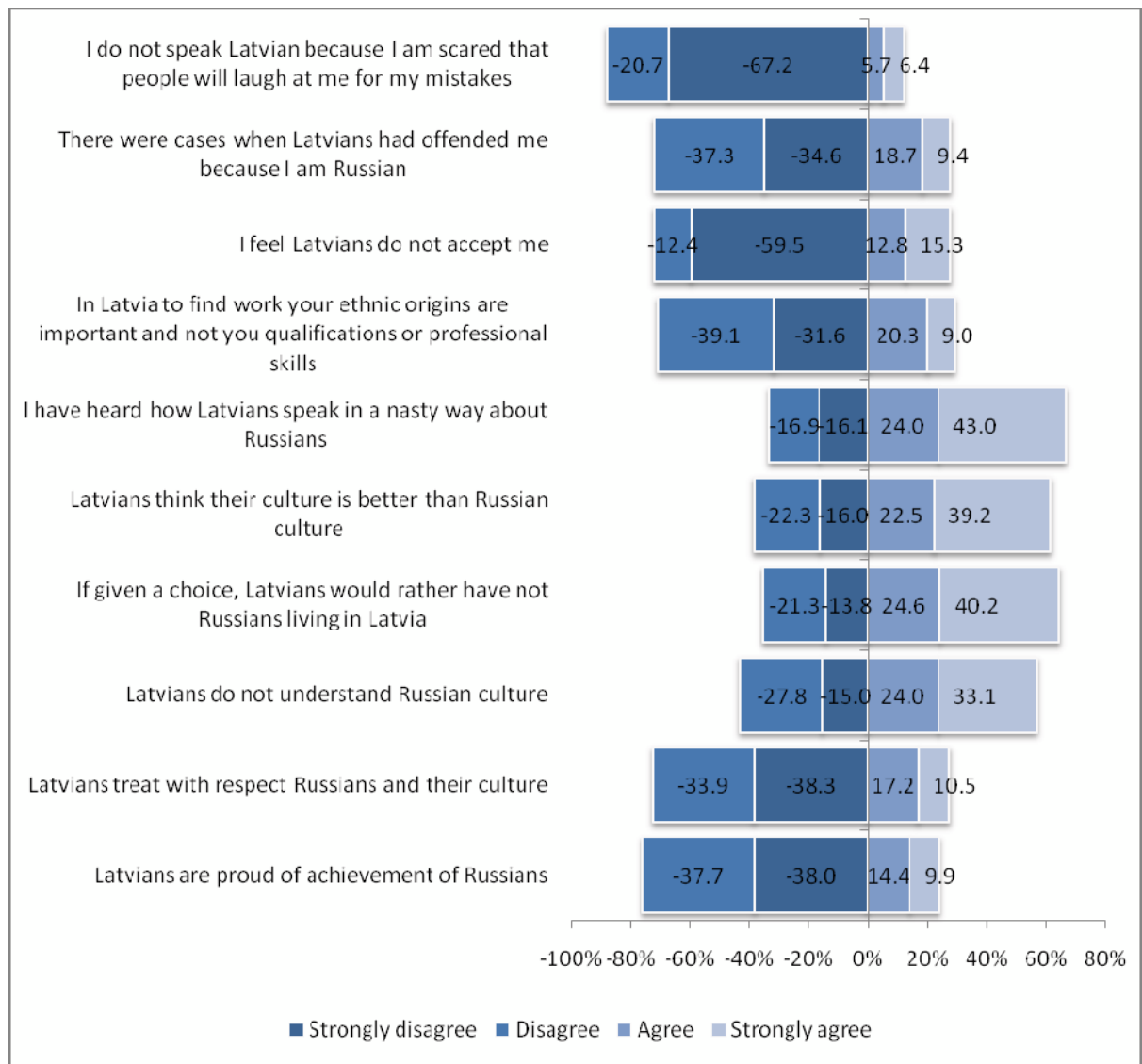
#### **4.3.5 Perceived discrimination**

Perceived discrimination is an important factor in the process of acculturation and can be associated with language knowledge and use, close and wider social contacts and one's acculturation attitudes and identification. Discrimination can be an obstacle not only to successful individual adaptation, but also to social integration in society and positive intergroup relationships. This section presents a descriptive analysis of the perception of discrimination and which will be linked to acculturation strategies and identifications in the following chapters.

The question of discrimination based on one's ethnicity and language is one of the most extensively discussed issues in Latvia and is often seen as a consequence of the existence of "ethnic democracy" (Smith et al., 1998; Smooha, 2001; Hughes, 2005) and the revenge of Latvians for the Soviet past (Horowitz, 1998). However, very few researchers have shown the actual existence of ethnic discrimination and inequality in Latvia (see section 3.4 for discussion).

In this survey adolescents and teachers were asked questions regarding their perceptions of how Latvians see Russians and how important ethnicity is in different situations as well as in their own individual experiences. Figure 4-14 illustrates adolescents'

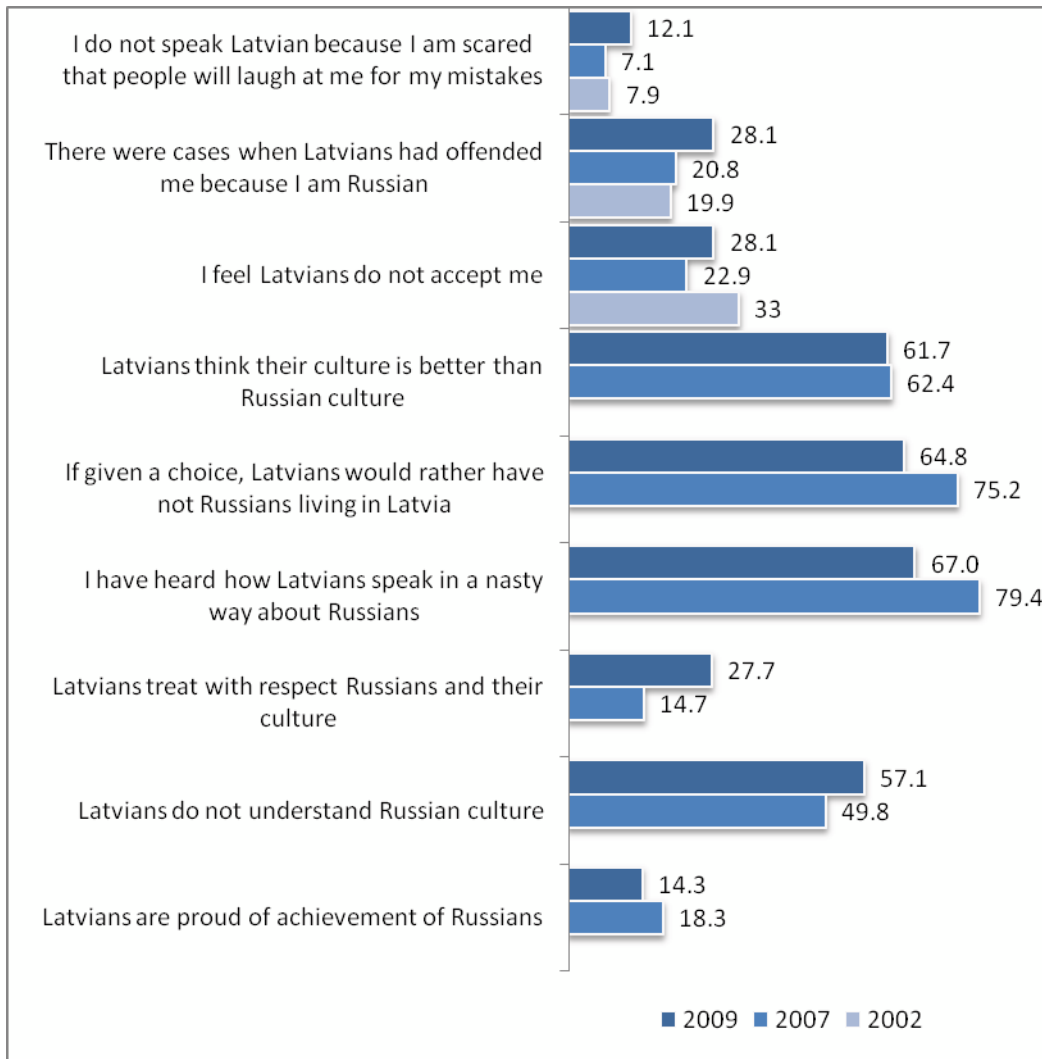
responses in 2009. A higher proportion of adolescents agree with general statements about discriminating situations and attitudes rather than with regards to their own personal discriminating or humiliating experiences.



**Figure 4-14 Forms of perceived discrimination 2009**

29 per cent of adolescents agree with the statement ‘In Latvia to find work your ethnic origins are important and not your qualifications or professional skills’ and this finding is in line with results from the BISS surveys of pupils in 2004 (39 per cent) and 2010 (31 per cent). A very similar proportion of pupils report other discriminating and humiliating experiences, such as being offended because of their ethnicity or not feeling

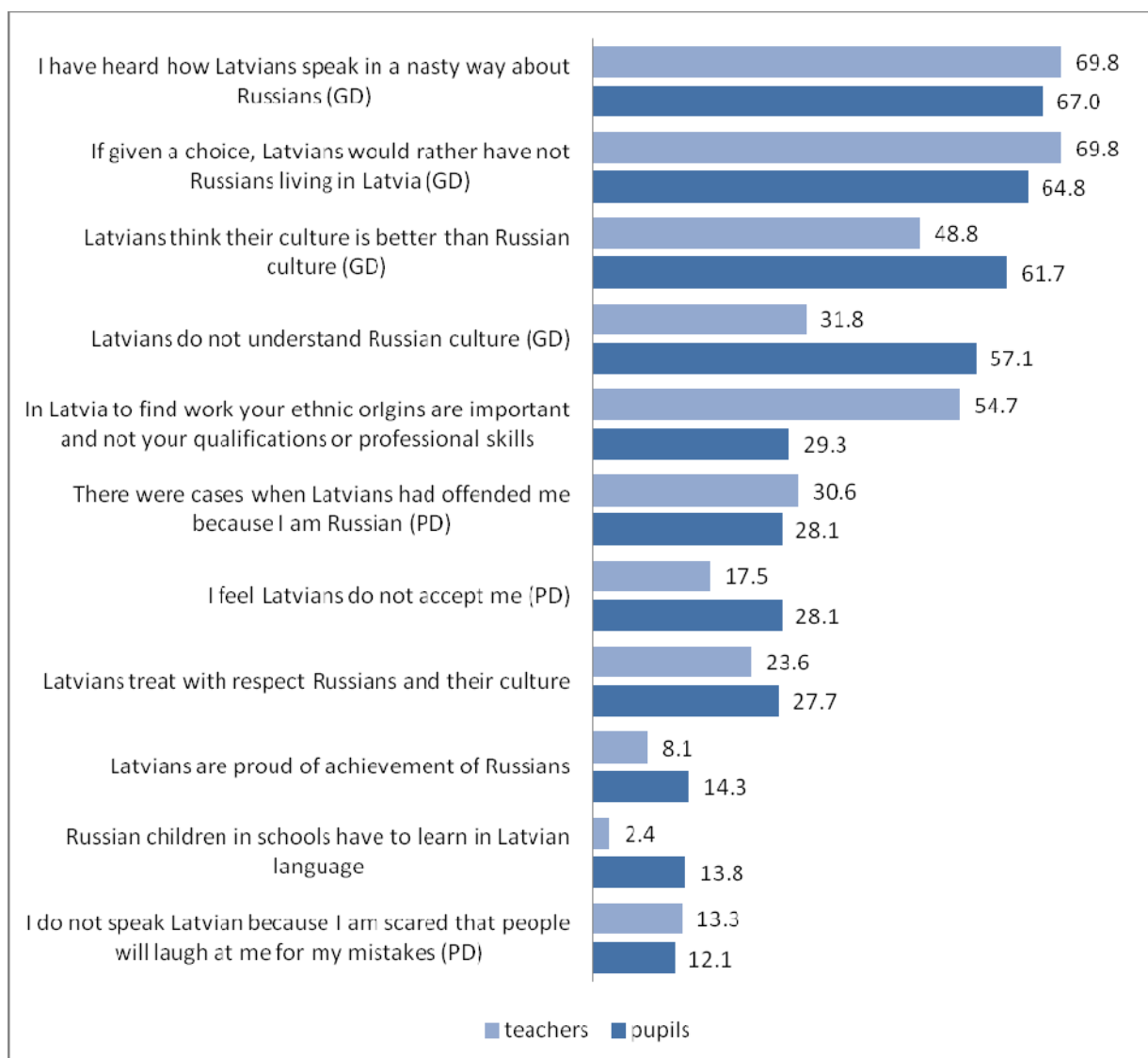
accepted. Less than half this number of adolescents (12 per cent) said that they do not speak Latvian because of a fear of being laughed at.



**Figure 4-15 Perceived discrimination, 2002, 2007 and 2009**

As Figure 4-15 illustrates, there are no big differences in pupils’ responses over the years. Overall in 2009 a slightly lower proportion of adolescents agreed with the statements about group-level discrimination, but at the same time slightly more adolescents reported perceived discrimination at an individual level.





**Figure 4-16 Forms of Perceived discrimination: adolescents and teachers, 2009**

The comparison of teachers' and pupils' responses about perceived discrimination is shown in Figure 4-16. The Figure suggests that teachers are also more likely to agree with the group-level discrimination statements than with those at a personal level. However, there are some differences between the views of adolescents and teachers. On the one hand, a higher proportion of teachers (55 per cent) agree that there is discrimination on the labour market compared with pupils (29 per cent). On the other, more adolescents think that Latvians do not understand Russian culture (57 per cent compared with 32 per cent) and that Latvians think their culture is better than Russian culture (62 per cent compared to 49 per cent). Moreover, 28 per cent of adolescents feel

that Latvians do not accept them compared with 18 per cent of teachers who agree with the same statement. It is interesting that at the same time fewer teachers (8 per cent) agree that Latvians are proud of the achievements of Russians compared with 24 per cent of adolescents.

The ten items assessing perceptions of discrimination were reduced to two scales using factor analysis. Unfortunately not all of the ten items fitted into the model and produced reliable scales and three items had to be taken out of the model. From the seven items used in the final analysis, three items assessed appraisals of personal discrimination (PD in Figure 4-16) and four items assessed appraisals of group discrimination (GD in Figure 4-16). Further analysis of the two scales suggests that boys perceive more discrimination at an individual level than girls do ( $t = -2.39, p = .02$ ).

Given the ethno-national discourse in Latvia, a number of adolescents and teachers reported being treated as second-class citizens by Latvians. In focus group discussions adolescents accentuated that there are various views within the Latvian group, but among them there are also those *“whose principle is that they are above everybody else (non-Latvians), they live here and they are the masters.”* (girl, 13)

However, when asked about personal instances of discrimination adolescents mainly mentioned prejudiced attitudes rather than social inequality. Most often pupils mentioned that there have been situations when they felt uneasy because of their ethnicity, in particular because of their language, which is an obvious distinguishable characteristic of Russian-speakers. However, as adolescents said, it was mostly older people who embarrassed them. For example, as one boy said, *“Older people, some of retirement age, when they hear us speaking in Russian they look at you as to say: ‘Look those Russians speak so loudly!’ I think ethnicity and language is of less importance for younger people.”* As already mentioned, Latvian language and its use were also distinguished as essential criteria for how Latvians look at other individuals and whether they accept them.

Most of the adolescents were proud that they belonged to the Russian ethnic group and did not want to change this. However, interestingly when they evaluated how they felt

about themselves and their ethnic origins, they spoke predominantly about their knowledge of the Latvian language, their Latvian friends and the general views of Latvians about Russians. As one of the girls said, *“I am Russian, but I am also a citizen of Latvia. Rarely anybody offends me because I speak Latvian well and Latvians know this. I have many Latvian friends.”* One of the boys continued, *“I never felt any negative attitude towards myself because I am Russian. My Latvian is very good, I have only small accent.”* We can see here that ethnicity and identity are formed in an interactive process with another ethnic group; it is as if there were no Russians without Latvians. ‘Us’ and ‘Me’ is always talked about with a reference or comparison to ‘Them’. Both positive and negative views of Latvians about Russian-speakers appear to be significant for the attitudes and behaviours as well as the self perception of Russian-speaking adolescents.

The perception of discrimination or negative views about in-group by out-group, not only demonstrates situational and experiential, rather than innate nature of ethnicity (Barth, 1969; Cohen, 1978), but also helps to understand the ethnic identifications processes. As some researchers argue ethnicity is very much related to how one is perceived by others (Suárez-Orozco, 2000; Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004). The analysis of the perceived discrimination of the young Russian-speakers illustrates the social nature of ethnicity in which one’s ethnic membership is affected by not only an individual’s own views (‘I am a member of this and not that group.’), but also by the out-group (‘You are a member of that group and not our group.’). It is through these influences of out-group members that individuals come to construct their self-identity. As Erikson explained:

*“Identity formation [is] a process ... by which the individual judges himself in the light of what he perceives to be the way in which others judge him in comparison to themselves and to typology significant to them; while he judges their way of judging him in the light of how he perceives himself in comparison to them and to types that have become relevant to him.” (Erikson, 1968, p. 22-23)*

To conclude, the survey of pupils and teachers shows that both pupils and their teachers are more likely to agree with general statements about discriminatory situations and

attitudes than about their own individual experiences or views. As with other research, quite a low proportion of pupils and teachers reported personal experiences of discrimination. In addition, there was no change over time or between cohorts with regards to the perception of discrimination. However, the qualitative data provided evidence that although perceived discrimination is not a prominent topic among adolescents, the general views of Latvians about Russians and the ethno-political ethos in society are significant contributors to the formation of the identifications of Russian-speaking adolescents. This will be explored further in subsequent chapters.

To return to the Allport hypothesis (1954) about successful intergroup contact that leads to reduced prejudices and facilitates social cohesion, in the case of Latvia not only are contacts between Russian-speakers and Latvians quite infrequent, but the Russian-speakers also do not experience being of an equal status with Latvians and perceive some competition between the two groups. These relationships between social contacts, and perceived discrimination and their association with the actual degree of acculturation will be explored further in the chapter that explains acculturation attitudes and behaviours.

#### ***4.4 Conclusions***

The survey of Russian-speaking adolescents showed their preference for integration and its competition with separation on the attitudinal level. Overall, assimilation and marginalisation are less attractive options for Russian-speaking adolescents. This finding is consistent with expectations based on previous research in Latvia (Zepa et al., 2006; BISS, 2008a) and other countries (Berry 1980; Berry et al., 1987; Berry & Krishnan, 1992; Sayegh & Lasry, 1993; Kwak & Berry, 2001; Kasatkina, 2000, 2004, 2006; Lebedeva, 2003; Nimmerfeldt, 2009; Kruusvall et al., 2009; Nimmerfeldt et al., 2011; Valk et al., 2011).

Additionally, the data provided evidence not only the complexity of acculturation phenomenon, but also a need for the development of better measurements that would capture this multidimensionality better and make the acculturation attitude scores into more clear cut categories.

Although integration – at least at the attitudinal level – is strongly supported by both adolescents and their teachers, the second preferred acculturation mode continues to be separation. Moreover, while integration attitudes stay at the same level across different years and cohorts, there is a definite change in the popularity of the separation attitude across all four domains. While many Russian-speaking adolescents are eager to come into contact with both Russians and Latvians and have a positive attitude towards being bilingual and bicultural, there are also some evident separation tendencies, especially in the area of wider social contacts and language. This could be explained partially by a reaction against the 'titularization' (Galbreath & Galvin, 2005) of 'Russian' schools and the politicisation of ethnic and language issues in Latvia.

With regard to actual behaviour, most adolescents reported being fluent in Latvian or having good language skills. They also showed understanding of having to learn Latvian by demonstrating both integrative and instrumental motivations to do so. However, the actual use of Latvian is at a very low level. This corresponds to quite infrequent contacts with Latvians and a self-sufficient community of Russian-speakers. The use of the Latvian language outside school is limited for both teachers and their pupils. This very limited exposure to Latvian outside the school environment hinders any positive effects of bilingual education by inhibiting practice opportunities and makes it more artificial. Young Russian-speakers learn Latvian at school and practise it with their teachers and their Russian-speaking peers in a monolingual environment rather than with native Latvian-speakers. This decreases the motivation of adolescents to learn or use Latvian if they do not have to use it in their everyday life.

Moreover, there is also a discrepancy between the official recorded proportion of Latvian language use and its actual use in 'Russian' schools. Adolescents and teachers are still free to choose their unofficial language of teaching and learning, outside of Ministry inspections, and as data show their preference stays with the Russian language.

So, in all situations where the choice of language depends on the individual, e.g. on the street, in shops, with friends and even in schools, Russian is still spoken more often and this has even been on the increase in recent years since 2008.

Although ethnic Latvians do not openly demand assimilation and the prohibition of Russian, the formulation of quite harsh linguistic demands (for example, bilingual education in ethnic minority schools and no compulsory Russian in 'Latvian' schools or regulation of language use in the private sphere) in addition to political slogans that sometimes are reduced to 'name calling' (Romanov, 2000), create barriers for the integration of the Russian-speaking population and decrease their motivation to learn and use Latvian thus facilitating their separation.

All these tendencies do not suggest the greater integration of Russian and Latvian speakers. Moreover, most Russian-speaking adolescents remain in Russian-speaking schools and this does not facilitate their integration and social contacts with their Latvian peers.

The findings clearly support the theories that link identity and language (Giles et al, 1977; Giles & Johnson, 1981; Heller, 1987; Fishman, 1989, 1996; Phinney et al., 2001a; Vedder and Virta, 2005; Chiswick & Miller, 2008; Van Tubergen & Kalmijn, 2009) by demonstrating how Russian-speaking adolescents associated their linguistic attitudes and behaviour to their identity, to who they are.

With regard to perceived discrimination, the survey suggests that adolescents are more likely to agree with general statements about discriminatory situations and attitudes than report any specific personal experiences. Although perceived discrimination is not a prominent topic among adolescents, the way how Russians are perceived by Latvians and the ethno-political ethos in society are significant contributors to the formation of identifications of Russian-speaking adolescents and their acculturation.

This chapter helped to demonstrate interactional and situational nature of ethnicity (Cohen, 1978; Bourdieu, 1990; Brubaker, 2002; Hitlin et al., 2006; Wimmer, 2008, Helbling, 2009; McDonnell and de Lourenco, 2009; Burton et al., 2010) and the creation of borders (Barth, 1969) and identities. The analysis of the perception of discrimination

in particular helps to understand the ethnic identifications processes and provide evidence for the social nature of ethnicity (Suárez-Orozco, 2000; Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004). It is only through the interaction between different groups that individuals come to construct their self-identity. (Erikson, 1968)

The findings also reveal the more affective, primordial nature of ethnicity (Geertz, 1963; Isaacs, 1975) and how Russian-speaking adolescents experience it through ‘imagined community’ (Anderson, 1983; Fishman, 1989) and their perceived common ties between all Russians and all Latvians and specific subjectively constructed boundaries between the two groups (Barth, 1969). This also helps understanding how ethnicity is used (Cohen, 1978) to assign people to groupings in order to know what to expect and how to react. The next chapter will continue exploring ethnicity and identity of Russian-speaking adolescents in a more depth.

## **5 ETHNO-NATIONAL IDENTITY OF RUSSIAN-SPEAKING ADOLESCENTS**

### ***5.1 Introduction***

For young Russian-speakers in Latvia, as for many other adolescents across the world with a migrant and/or ethnic minority background, the question of identity is not only of great importance, but also often a challenge. They have to keep a balance between their own views, those of their family and those of the larger society, the latter very often differing from those of their parents. Although this issue is of interest to many social scientists, this type of research represents a challenge for empirically studying the very complex concept of ethnicity and ethnic identity.

Identity is a dynamic and multidimensional concept and to capture this, in the case of ethnic minorities or migrants in particular, we have to talk about the degree of identification with different ethnic groups rather than one static identity. Moreover, identification with a particular ethnic group and the larger society are two separate concepts, as an individual can identify with both groups, one group or even with neither of the two ethnic groups. Creating a coherent identity entails individuals living with two ethnic groups and negotiating their own identity in such a way that they maintain their links with their family and ethnic group (ethnic identification) and integrate into the larger society and majority's national culture (national identification) (Hutnik, 1986,

1991; Berry, 1997). For most of the Latvian ethnic minority population the formation of ethno-national identity involves a balance of identification with the (a) Latvian and (b) Russian ethnic groups, languages and cultures.

194In this study I use the term 'ethno-national' identity when talking about the broader identity that includes ethnic and national identifications.<sup>34</sup> This term is used to reflect the multiple dimensions of one's identity and in the case of ethnic minorities or migrants this allows ethnic and national identity to be measured and presented not as two ends of a continuum, but two simultaneous parts of a coherent ethno-national identity. The concept of ethno-national identity allows for greater flexibility and dynamism since the strength and meaning of these identifications can change over time (across generations and even within the lifespan of an individual) and can depend on the context. I refer to ethno-national identity as one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group or groups and the part of one's thoughts, perceptions, emotions, and behaviour that emerge from these group memberships (Phinney, 1996).

The main aim of this study is to look at how adolescents construct and reconstruct their ethno-national identities and choose acculturation strategies at school and how their teachers and peers might influence these processes. This is one of the focal chapters of the study that looks at ethno-national identity and its formation among Russian-speaking

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<sup>34</sup> See chapter on ethno-national identity.



adolescents in Russian-language schools in Riga. In the next chapter I will include the analysis of factors that influence their ethnic and national identifications, focusing on different acculturation and behaviours and peer and teacher effects in particular.

As already mentioned, the empirical study and operationalisation of ethno-national identity poses challenges to researchers. Ethno-national identity can be operationalised in many different ways: researchers (Sinnott, 2005, Abdelal et al., 2005) often study the affinitive proximity of respondents to a state or a group and the degree of identification with groups. I will use, as suggested by Phinney (1992), measurements for self-identification based on open-ended questions, the degree of identification with the Latvian and Russian groups and overall ethno-national identity strength as well as belonging/commitment to Latvia.

There has been a great deal of research on Russians in the post-Soviet space, particularly in Latvia (see for example Melvin, 1995; Shlapentokh et al., 1994; Chinn & Kaiser, 1996; Kolsto, 1995, 1996, 1999; Laitin, 1998; Karklins, 1986, 1994; Ponarin, 2000; Poppe & Hagendoorn, 2001; Pisarenko, 2006, Galbreath, 2006; Cara, 2010a). These studies explore the different identities of Russians and Russian-speakers and suggest possible developments. However, adolescents have not been the main focus in any of these studies. Furthermore, the main questions the researchers usually have asked are ‘what identities’ and not how these identities are created and what factors influence this process.

In this chapter, the following questions were addressed in particular: What are the specific ethno-national identifications of Russian-speaking adolescents in Latvia? What is the structure and content of their ethno-national identity? Above all, what is the degree of identification with the Latvian and Russian ethnic groups and how are these identifications combined or related to one another to create a coherent identity? Do the different self-identifications of adolescents also reflect some differences between them in the degree of their identification with the Russian and Latvian ethnic groups? In the next chapter I will look into how these identities are formed and the relationship between them and acculturation attitudes and behaviours.

## ***5.2 Structure and content of ethno-national identity of Russian-speaking adolescents***

### **5.2.1 Ethno-national self-identification**

Self-identification is considered to be a basic element of any identity (Ashmore et al., 2004), and research on ethno-national identity must therefore begin with an exploration of how individuals self-identify as members of a particular group or groups and what labels they use. This can be done either with open-ended questions or with lists that are sufficiently comprehensive (Phinney, 1992). In this study I used open-ended questions asking about the ethnicity and mother tongue of adolescents from Russian-language schools in Riga.

Before I continue with the analysis since the survey and all the interviews were carried in Russian I have to explain and distinguish between different terms I used in my survey and adolescents and their teachers used in focus group discussions and interviews. It is important to differentiate between *latyshskii* (ethnic Latvian) and *latviiskii* (who lives in Latvia) and *russkii* (ethnic Russian) and *rossiiskii* (who lives in Russia). Whereas both first two labels for Latvian and Russian identification emphasise the ethnic and cultural dimension, the two second labels focus on the belonging to the state and land.

In all my questionnaires I applied ethnic terms *latyshskii* and *russkii* to focus on ethnic and cultural dimensions of identity and asked questions about belonging to the state separately (see section 5.2.4). Another reasons for the drawing on these terms was that the term *latviiskii* is a relatively new concept and has not been widely adopted for use in Latvia within Russian-speaking community, among adolescents in particular. Moreover, in their own descriptions during interviews and discussions and in open ended questions in the survey adolescents used ethnic terms *latyshskii* and *russkii* rather than civic *latviiskii* and *rossiiskii*.

The ethno-national self-identification of 74 per cent of adolescents in the sample was Russian; Latvian for 17 per cent and 9 per cent identified themselves as belonging to some other ethnicity. It is interesting that only five respondents (1 per cent) chose a bicultural Russian/Latvian ethno-national self-identification. However, 96 per cent of the whole sample reported Russian as their linguistic self-identification (i.e. in terms of their first language), only 2 per cent reported Latvian as their first language and seven adolescents (1.5 per cent) stated that they were bilingual in Russian and Latvian. Finally four (less than 1 per cent) adolescents reported some other linguistic self-identification.

**Table 5-1 The relationship between ethno-national and linguistic self-identification**

<b>Ethno-national self-identification</b>		<b>Linguistic self-identification</b>			
		<b>Russian</b>	<b>Latvian</b>	<b>Russian/Latvian</b>	<b>Other</b>
<b>Russian</b>	<b>Count</b>	329	1	3	-
	<b>% within ethno-national</b>	98.8	0.3	0.9	-
	<b>% within linguistic</b>	73.6	10.0	42.9	-
<b>Latvian</b>	<b>Count</b>	75	9	3	-
	<b>% within ethno-national</b>	86.2	10.3	3.4	-
	<b>% within linguistic</b>	16.8	90.0	42.9	-
<b>Russian/ Latvian</b>	<b>Count</b>	5	-	1	-
	<b>% within ethno-national</b>	83.3	-	16.7	-
	<b>% within linguistic</b>	1.1	-	14.3	-
<b>Other</b>	<b>Count</b>	38	-	-	3
	<b>% within ethno-national</b>	92.7	-	-	7.3
	<b>% within linguistic</b>	8.5	-	-	100
<b>Total</b>	<b>Count</b>	447	10	7	3
	<b>% within ethno-national</b>	95.7	2.1	1.5	0.6
	<b>% within linguistic</b>	100	100	100	100

It is interesting to look at the relationship between ethno-national and linguistic self-identification (see Table 5-1). Although there is a very strong association between the two, they do not overlap completely. On the one hand, 74 per cent of those who specified Russian as their first language identified themselves as Russian. On the other

hand, 86 per cent of those who identified as Latvian had Russian as their mother tongue.

Other research (Zepa, 2004b; BISS, 2010) showed similar patterns of ethno-national and linguistic self-identification when exploring the attitudes and views of Year 9-12 pupils from ethnic minority schools.<sup>35</sup>

The discrepancy between the ethno-national and linguistic self-identifications can be explained by the context of the research, Russian-language schools, where you would expect to find mainly Russian-speaking children even if they have different ethnic origins. Thus, most of the adolescents in Russian schools in modern Latvia are either of Russian ethnic origin, are other ethnic minorities who are russified linguistically or are children from ethnically mixed marriages. This pattern provides evidence therefore not only for the linguistic assimilation of other groups into the Russian-speaking group, but also related to it, the variation of ethno-national identities within the linguistically homogenous group of Russian-speakers. It also demonstrates that the ethno-national self-identification does not overlap fully with the linguistic identity and language is only one of the possible dimensions of identity (De Vos, 1980; Giles, 1978; Giles & Johnson, 1981; Ethier and Deaux, 1990; Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000).

The other trend that is obvious from the data is that some Russian-speakers come to identify increasingly with the Latvian ethnic group or Latvian state and territory (see Table 5-2). Thus, more adolescents who specified Russian as their first language identified as 'Latvian' in 2009 (17 per cent) than in 2007 (11 per cent) and 2002 (7 per cent). This can be explained partly by the actual difference between the groups of adolescents who participated in the surveys; but it is also probable that more adolescents chose the label that reflects their civic/country rather than ethnic membership. This provides some evidence, in addition to prior research (Pavlovich, 1980; Melvin, 1995;

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<sup>35</sup> Thus, in 2004 among the students who identified themselves as having a Latvian ethnic origin, only 13 per cent reported that their mother tongue was Latvian, while for 82 per cent the mother tongue was Russian and another 3 per cent reported that both Latvian and Russian were their native languages. In 2010 again only 24 per cent of adolescents from ethnic minority schools whose ethnic self-identification was Latvian reported Latvian language as their mother tongue.

Payin, 1994; Apine, 2001; Pisarenko, 2002; Simonian, 2003; Pavlenko, 2006; Cara, 2007), that Russian-speakers, in this particular case, adolescents in ‘Russian’ schools identify to some degree with the Latvian state and possibly the Latvian ethnic group. This will be explored further in this and following sections as well as the next chapter.

This indicates a change in the identification of Russian-speaking adolescents. Moreover, not only does it show the dynamic nature of their identity, but also illustrates its multidimensional structure. This trend could also suggest the gradual replacement of an ethnic understanding of the Latvian nation by a civic and inclusive one, as more non-Latvians identify with the Latvian nation and incorporate this into their ethno-national identification together with their identification with the Russian language and group.

The ethno-national self-identification of 64 per cent of teachers in the sample was Russian; Latvian for 17 per cent and 19 per cent identified themselves as belonging to some other ethnicity. Similarly to adolescents there is also a discrepancy between ethno-national and linguistic identities: 85 per cent of teachers from the same schools chose Russian as their linguistic self-identification and only 10 per cent reported Latvian as their first language. The number of teachers who identified as Latvian is higher than in the adolescents’ sample because the teachers’ sample includes teachers of Latvian who in most cases are of Latvian origin.

Table 5-2 presents the ethno-national self-identification of adolescents and their teachers who chose Russian as their linguistic self-identification, since these linguistic groups are the main focus of this study. As we can see, the proportion of pupils who chose Latvian as their self-identification is higher than that among teachers. As previous research suggests (e.g. BISS, 2008a; 2010; Zepa & Klave, 2011), the younger generation is more likely to be better integrated into Latvian society and therefore are more likely to identify with Latvia and Latvians. Furthermore, a larger proportion of teachers were born outside Latvia compared to the adolescents, most of who were born in Latvia.

**Table 5-2 Ethno-national self-identification chosen, Russian speaking adolescents and teachers 2002-2009, those who specified Russian as their first language**

Ethno-national self-identification	2002 (children born in 1988/89) Year 7		2007 (children born in 1988/89) Year 12		2009 (children born in 1995/96) Year 7		2009 teachers	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Russian</b>	332	80.1	339	78.7	329	73.5	64	75.3
<b>Latvian</b>	28	6.8	47	10.9	75	16.8	7	8.2
<b>Russian/Latvian</b>	5	1.2	-	-	5	1.1	-	-
<b>Other</b>	50	11.9	44	10.4	38	8.6	14	16.6

For further analysis I will restrict my sample to those who have Russian as their first language. This will help to focus the research to investigate the identification and acculturation of a group with a common linguistic self-identification. Moreover, the greatest divide in Latvia is very often along linguistic rather than purely ethnic lines. The tendencies for separation are between Russian- and Latvian-speakers and their social worlds rather than a clear partition between ethnic Russians and Latvians.

Furthermore, as Apine and Volkovs (2007) have argued, many Russian-speakers and Russians in Latvia link their identity to the preservation of the social functions of the Russian language in a similar way to Latvians who base their identity very much on the symbolism of the Latvian language. Therefore for a certain part of the Russian-speakers, this collective linguistic identity has become the only basis and source of social self-organisation and self-identification. However, the collective linguistic identity of Russian-speakers might negatively influence their identification with Latvian civic society because of their quite strong linguistic self-sufficiency and tendencies toward linguistic self-segregation.

As linguistic identity is an essential component in Russian-speakers' ethno-national identification, many perceive the linguistic aspects of Latvian integration and education policies as discriminatory and potentially threatening. This is also one of the reasons, as shown in the chapter about linguistic behaviour and attitudes, why between 1996 and 2010 the linguistic behaviour of Russian-speakers changed rather slowly or not at all, although their Latvian language skills improved considerably. In subsequent chapters I will explore the relationship between ethno-national identity and its two main components and linguistic attitudes and behaviours.

Since self-identification is context-dependent and a single label rarely encompasses the multidimensionality of one's ethno-national identity, particularly in the case of ethnic minorities and immigrants, it is useful to ask individuals about their degree of identification with different groups. That allows for the measurement and identification of different dimensions of ethno-national identity.

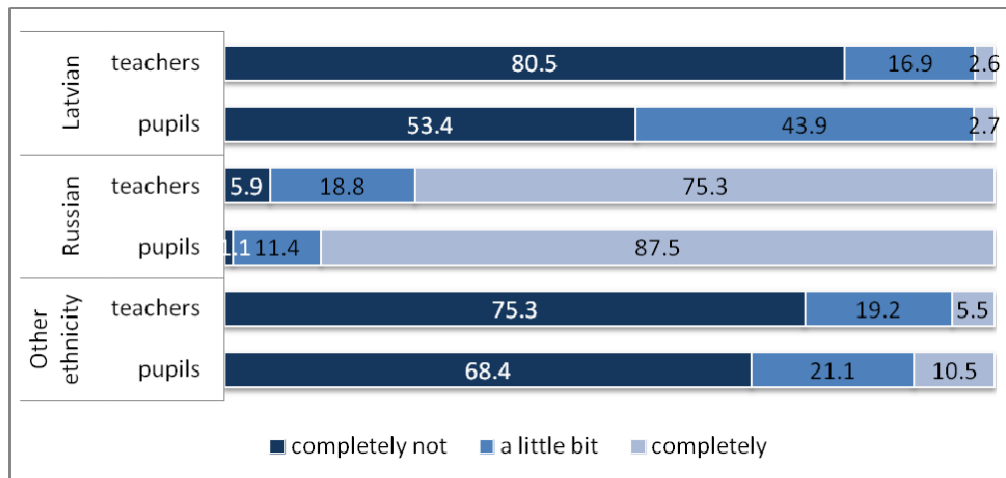
Furthermore the category or label itself is of less importance psychologically and socially than its meaning for an individual. For example, research has shown that the strength of ethno-national identification has a greater influence on academic achievement than the ethno-national categories used among adolescents from diverse ethnic backgrounds (Fuligni, Witkow, & Garcia, 2005). That is why in this study I also use measurements that try to capture other aspects of the identity of the Russian-speaking adolescents, such as their degree of identification with the Latvian and Russian groups and cultures as well as the strength and commitment of their overall ethno-national identity.

### **5.2.2 Degree of identification with the Russian and Latvian groups and cultures**

As has been well documented, individuals can at different times use different labels for their ethno-national self-identifications (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), the latter changing according to either the social context or through their life-stages. Moreover, the label one uses is also restricted by how one is seen by others, which means that individuals cannot easily use labels that are inconsistent with their appearance, behaviour or language. That is why it is useful to ask individuals how they feel being part of both their own ethnic and national group to measure their degree of identification with the two.

As shown in the previous section, for Russian-speaking adolescents in Latvia the main components of ethno-national identity are usually their identifications with the Latvian and Russian groups. As the survey data suggest (see Figure 5-1) and as expected, most

Russian-speaking adolescents consider themselves completely Russian (87.5 per cent) and only a very small proportion (2.7 per cent) view themselves as being completely Latvian. Similarly, 75.3 per cent of their teachers see themselves as being completely Russian and 2.6 per cent as being completely Latvian. However, the most interesting finding lies in the fact that close to half (44 per cent) of the Russian-speaking adolescents and a smaller, but still considerable, proportion of their teachers (17 per cent) consider themselves ‘a little bit’ Latvian.



**Figure 5-1 % responses to ‘I think about myself as ...’ adolescents and their teachers. Riga, 2009**

Since ethno-national identity is a multidimensional concept, it can combine identifications with two or more ethnic groups, to understand the identity of Russian-speaking adolescents, one has to look at their identifications with Latvians and Russians rather than a linear development of their identity from fully Russian to fully Latvian. Table 5-3 shows that most adolescents fit into one of patterns of identification: 46.6 per cent feel ‘completely Russian’ and ‘not at all Latvian’ and 36.1 per cent feel ‘completely Russian’ and ‘a little bit Latvian’.

These patterns of Russian and Latvian identifications correspond to the choice of acculturation attitudes: the first to separation and the second to integration. This trend needs more analysis to test if certain acculturation attitudes and behaviours are related to specific ethno-national identity outcomes and, if so, in what ways. In Chapter 6 I will be looking at the factors, including acculturation attitudes and specific behaviours that are associated with ethno-national identity.



**Table 5-3 Identification with Latvians and Russians**

<b>Think about oneself as a Russian</b>		<b>Think about oneself as a Latvian</b>			<b>Total</b>
		<b>Completely not</b>	<b>A little bit</b>	<b>Completely</b>	
<b>Completely not</b>	<b>Count</b>	6	1	2	9
	<b>%</b>	1.3	0.2	0.4	1.9
<b>A little bit</b>	<b>Count</b>	18	39	3	60
	<b>%</b>	3.8	8.3	0.6	12.8
<b>Completely</b>	<b>Count</b>	218	169	12	399
	<b>%</b>	46.6	36.1	2.6	85.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>Count</b>	242	209	17	468
	<b>%</b>	51.7	44.7	3.6	100

These survey findings with regards to the ethno-national identity of young Russian-speakers were also reflected in the focus group discussions. As expected, all associations reflected in their narratives about the Russian group were very positive personal feelings and emotions. The adolescents associated the label ‘Russian’ with such words as ‘my’, ‘close’, ‘known’, ‘comprehensible’, ‘relatives’, ‘I’, ‘friends’, ‘people who understand me’, ‘my native language’. The associations with the label ‘Latvian’ were also quite positive, albeit with a slightly larger personal distance. For example, most pupils mentioned their good Latvian language knowledge, their citizenship, Latvia as their country and their friends. Many adolescents said that Latvian is something close, ‘ours’, but not completely, which also corresponds to the findings from the survey. Some pupils also insisted ‘Latvian’ was something very different, the Other, something alien, distant and strange.

In all focus group discussions the adolescents very rarely questioned their identification with the Russian group as such, but it is interesting which Russian group they actually identified with. This cannot be explored through the survey data, but, as the qualitative data show, many young Russian-speakers in Latvia distinguish between Russians in Latvia and Russians in Russia.

While most clearly fully identify with Russians in Latvia, their relationship to and feelings about Russians in Russia are very different and much more diverse. Many of them insisted that they were different from Russians in Russia because they live in Latvia and not Russia and this has changed their traditions, mentality and even language, which is a central to Russian-speaking identity (Volkovs, 1996; Apine, 2001;

Apine & Volkovs, 2007). As one of the boys said, *“My Russian language here in Latvia is different from the one they use in Russia. When I was in Russia they clearly understood straight away that I am not local. It was because of my language, the way I pronounce and choose words.”* Adolescents spoke about their life in Latvia, their Latvian friends and unique traditions, their knowledge of the Latvian language and way of life; as they implied this makes them unlike Russians in Russia.

Some adolescents expressed quite extreme views arguing that it is problematic to refer to Russians who live in Latvia ‘Russians’. For example, when discussing if Russians should keep their way of life and traditions one of the girls said, *“everything depends what Russians we are talking about here. We are not Russians strictly speaking. In Russia we are looked upon as Latvians and not Russians. Even if we speak Russian, Russians are those who live in Russia.”*

Some adolescents referred to Russians who live in Latvia as Balts, Baltic Russians or Latvian Russians/Russian Latvians because these Russians have a different culture. As this study and my previous research (Cara, 2010a) show, this specific self-identification allows Russians in Latvia to develop an identity through which they position themselves as being better, cleverer, more educated and of a higher social status than Russians in Russia. The divide between East (Asia, Russia, worse) and West (Europe, Latvia, better) is also incorporated as a part of the discourse and narrative.

There were also some mixed views about the circumstances under which they feel Latvian and Russian. Some reported that they felt more Russian while in Russia and more Latvian when in Latvia. For example, one of the boys said, *“When I go to Russia in summer I see myself as a Russian because I cannot feel Latvian there. I have this feeling that there is my motherland. In Latvia I feel more like a Latvian.”*

Others explained that it is particularly when they are outside Latvia that they can see how unique they are and feel more like Latvian or Baltic Russians. As one of the boys said, *“I was proud to be at least a little bit Latvian. For example, I was in a summer camp in Russia and I was very proud to speak Latvian there; nobody understood me and I was very pleased. I was different from them all!”* This

demonstrates not only the evidence of the formation of a separate Latvian Russian identity, but also supports Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The positive self-concept of these adolescents is derived from their Latvian Russian group identity. This identity provides them both with the sense of belonging and distinctiveness (Brewer, 1991) and also helps to maintain positive self-concept (Tajfel, 1981). They favourably compare Russians in Russia and Russians in Latvia using the East-West hierarchy and uniqueness of the Latvian Russians as a means to boost self-esteem (Operario & Fiske, 1999).

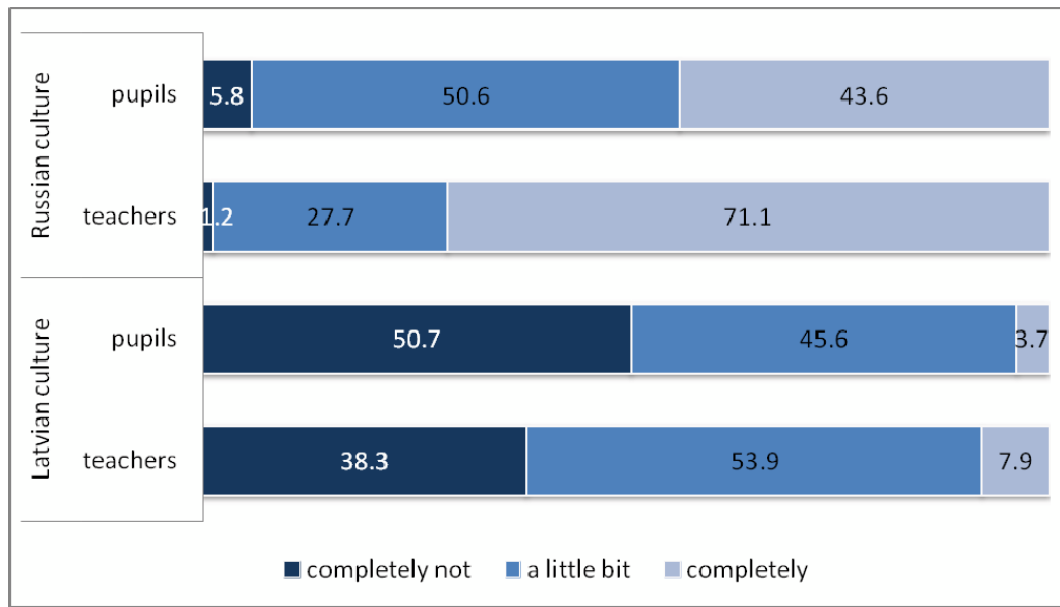
Adolescents often presented a primordial and emotional approach to their identity, that can be linked to the effect of the Soviet nationality policy on the modern understanding of ethnicity in Latvia as something you are born with and that does not change even through generations. As one other boy said, *“being Russian is a state of your soul and it does not matter where you live in Latvia or Russia. I do not care what others think. I see myself as Russian!”* These primordial views on ethnicity also have been linked to separation attitudes. Another boy added, *“I feel Russian both in Latvia and Russia. However, while in Russia I feel like a free person, whereas in Latvia I feel like a Russian with fewer rights.”* This shows that there is an influence on the identification of adolescents from other people, in particular their peers from both the same and the other ethnic group.

As discussed in section 4.3.4 and 4.3.5, the role of the Other in determining one’s own identification was mentioned by the respondents with reference to Latvians. As one of the girls said, *“If you are Russian, you can have five citizenships of Latvia, but for Latvians you will always stay only Russian.”* These findings demonstrate that what forms one’s identity is not only how one feels, but also how others see you as an individual. Identity is always a social product created through interaction between the individual views of oneself and the way how one perceives how other see him or her (Erikson, 1968). As revealed in this section, many adolescents when asked about their ethnicity, not only spoke about their own feelings and emotions, but often discussed how Latvians perceive them and if they are accepted or how Russians in Russia

distinguish them or their language and behaviour from the 'proper' Russian way to do things.

This shows how ethnicity is a product of both human agency and social context demonstrating interactional and situational nature of ethno-national identity (Epstein, 1978; Brubaker, 2002). On the one hand individuals may identify with one or more ethnic groups to a different degree as a matter of their choice. While on the other, this seemingly free choice is structured and heavily influenced both psychologically and socially by others (Suarez-Oronzo, 2000; Suarez-Oronzo & Qin-Hilliard, 2004). Individuals come to construct their identity through it being ascribed by both their in-group and out-group. Their in-group has to accept them and out-groups have to reject them for the maintenance of a coherent identity.

Although the views of other people are essential for the formation of identity for all people, in the case of ethnic minority adolescents the attitudes and views of family members and other people from the wider community can contradict each other and this can create an intergenerational gap. Many adolescents in focus group discussions mentioned differences between their own views and those of their parents. In the view of some adolescents there are certain differences between their own and their parents' and grandparents' views, especially if the latter were born outside Latvia. Thus one of the girls said, *"I feel I am a part of both Russian and Latvian culture because I live in Latvia and was born in Latvia. My father see himself only as a Russian even though he was born in Latvia and my grandfather is also Russian and he was born in Russia."* As can be seen from the quote the relationship between the views and identifications of parents and their children is a complex one. Despite the importance of both subjective and objective notions of 'common descent' in many theoretical approaches to ethnicity (Weber, 1968; Isaacs, 1975; Smith, 1981, 1986; Anderson, 1983; Fishman, 1989) – not to mention Soviet understanding of the nation – members of the same family can often adopt different acculturation attitudes and have different forms of identification.



**Figure 5-2 % responses to ‘I think about myself as a part of ...’ adolescents and their teachers. Riga 2009**

As culture is an important aspect of ethnicity and therefore ethno-national identity, the adolescents and their teachers were also asked to identify themselves as being a part of a Latvian and/or Russian culture, understood more broadly than ‘being Russian’ or ‘being Latvian’. As Figure 5-2 shows, the answers were much more diverse than in the case of ethno-national identity. Almost half (44 per cent) of the Russian-speaking adolescents and more than two-thirds of their teachers (71 per cent) considered themselves to be completely part of Russian culture. Interestingly, a very similar proportion (46 per cent) of pupils and a smaller percentage (54 per cent) of their teachers felt part of Latvian culture to some degree. It is also worth noting that half of the Russian-speaking adolescents and slightly more than a quarter (27 per cent) of their teachers felt that only belong to Russian culture a little bit.

To some degree this helps us understand some of the sentiments expressed by respondents in focus group discussions and what other researchers (Pavlovich, 1980; Melvin, 1995; Payin, 1994; Apine, 2001; Pisarenko, 2002; Simonian, 2003; Zepa, 2005a; Pavlenko, 2006; Galbreath, 2006; Cara, 2007, 2010a) also suggest: namely, very often Russians and Russian-speakers in Latvia identify closely as Russians on the one hand, but on the other they also are very much aware of their cultural differences from

Russians in Russia and general Russian culture. Therefore when asked specifically about Russian culture rather than their Russian ethnic origin and identification, they are more likely to show more variation in their sense of belonging and to choose partial membership of the cultural group. It is a similar story with the Latvian ethnic group and culture: it is easier for Russian-speakers to identify with Latvian culture, which is a more open and inclusive concept, rather than with the Latvian ethnic group, membership of which is more exclusive. However, in this study it is more visible among teachers than pupils, which may suggest intergenerational differences and perhaps the slow, but steady development of a more inclusive Latvian nation concept.

To explore bicultural identification I looked at the pupils' feelings of belonging to the two cultures (see Table 5-4). The results showed much more variation than those regarding their identification with the ethnic groups. A quarter stated that they thought of themselves as being a little bit part of both Latvian and Russian cultures (26 per cent) and a further quarter agreed that they were a little bit part of Russian culture and not at all part of Latvian culture. Approximately a fifth of the respondents felt that they were fully part of Russian culture and not at all part of Latvian culture (20 per cent) and another fifth reported being part of Russian culture 'completely' and also being a little bit part of Latvian culture (19 per cent).

**Table 5-4 Identification with Russian and Latvian culture by Russian-speaking adolescents. Riga, 2009**

Think about oneself as a part of Russian culture		Think about oneself as a part of Latvian culture			Total
		Completely not	A little bit	Completely	
Completely not	Count	23	5	2	30
	%	4.9	1.1	0.4	6.5
A little bit	Count	115	119	4	238
	%	24.7	25.6	0.9	51.2
Completely	Count	94	87	16	197
	%	20.2	18.7	3.4	42.4
Total	Count	232	211	22	465
	%	49.9	45.4	4.7	100

Focus group discussions offer a deeper insight in how adolescents define culture and what specific culture or subculture they have in mind when they talk about their identification. Some adolescents when talking about their belonging and identification wanted to separate Latvian ethnic culture from Latvian civic culture (i.e. Latvia as a country rather than ethnic group) that for them serves as a unifying element for all people who live in Latvia. Through these narratives young Russian-speakers want to distinguish themselves from the Latvian ethnic group, but also from the Russian culture that comes from Russia, by forming their own unique group of Latvian Russians with links with both Latvian civic and Russian ethnic cultures. As some pupils explained, they are definitely Russians and value Russian language, but they are also part of Latvian culture. As one of the boys put it, *"it is like we have something Latvian in our hearts. You desire some very Latvian things because you were born here and you live here"*.

At the same time some of their classmates argued in a quite opposite way, using a primordial rather than a constructivist or civic definition of their cultural belonging: *"I feel that I am part of Russian culture, not Latvian, because an individual cannot be a part of a foreign culture"* (boy, 14). Others thought it is partially the fault of Latvians that they could not feel part of Latvian culture, showing how the views of others can influence their choice of acculturation and identifications: *"I do not feel part of Latvian culture because the Latvian people [nation] do not want to see us as part of their culture. Why should I then aspire to it?"*

In focus group discussions the concept of culture was very often used in two ways. On the one hand it was something very abstract and generic that each ethnic group, nation or a whole country possesses, as shown above, but while, on the other, it was equated with traditions which in most cases were associated with the celebration of different holidays and festivals. Often the three concepts (culture, traditions, holidays/festivities/celebrations) were used interchangeably, with particular reference to 'holidays/festivities/celebrations' and 'traditions'. For example, *"I live in Latvia and this already makes me a part of Latvian traditions [culture]. I do not know, but we celebrate both [Latvian and Russian] holidays"* or *"I am not going to give up Russian*

*traditions, but our family also celebrate many Latvian festivities” or also “We have to keep Russian traditions even if we just know that there are certain holidays, but do not celebrate them”.* Therefore when talking about cultural belonging, much of the time was spent talking not only about general attitudes, but also about actual behaviour with regards to different celebrations and holidays.

In his book “We Are What We Celebrate”, American sociologist and anthropologist Amitai Etzioni (2004) called attention to the importance of celebrations not only to the life of an individual, but also to society. Emile Durkheim argued (2001, p 287) that celebrations, and their associated rituals are not only a system of different practices, but also an ideological system that reflects the existing world and helps reinvent social groups and maintain their solidarity and essential identity. As Eric Hobsbawm, (1983, p 9) suggested celebrations and holidays are invented to ensure social cohesion, legitimise authorities and social institutions as well as carry out value and behavioural system education.

As the adolescents argued, there are some holidays in Latvia that all people in Latvia - not only ethnic Latvians – celebrate, while these are not holidays known in Russia. Participation in Russian and/or Latvian celebrations was thus understood a benchmark for measuring one’s identification with the culture of each ethnic group. Here one can clearly see different strategies used. Some agreed that they have to maintain their own traditions, but also to adapt some of the Latvian ones: *“We cannot give up Russian traditions. We have to balance the two somehow. It has to help us not to forget Russian holidays, but also celebrate the Latvian ones. There are good traditions in both groups”*(boy, 13) or *“Of course we have our Russian traditions, but I have lived in Latvia all my life and I want to teach my children more about Latvia than Russia”* (girl, 13).

Others showed clearer separation tendencies: *“You can take some things, but if you take all the Latvian, you will lose all the Russian and you do not want this”* (boy, 13) or *“Of course we do not get used to the Latvian traditions, we have our own. We cannot forget those. That is why we mostly celebrate Russian holidays and very rarely the Latvian ones.”* (girl, 14). Those adolescents did not see themselves as part of Latvian culture and



most of them were very concerned about losing their identity, assimilating and forgetting Russian culture if they accepted any of the Latvian traditions.

All these discussions indeed show the importance of celebrations in the life of adolescents (Etzioni, 2004), not only as a system of different practices, but also an ideological system that reflects the existing world and helps to form and maintain their identity (Durkheim, 2001). As a consequence, as Hobsbawm (1983, p 9) argued, celebrations and holidays can indeed help to ensure social cohesion. However, here not only the attitudes of non-Latvians are of importance. At the same time some other pupils explained their unwillingness to accept Latvian traditions and to identify with Latvian culture because of the separation attitudes that Latvians held towards non-Latvians: *“I think it is not worth it to accept Latvian traditions. Latvians do not want to accept anything from our culture and have negative view of us. Why should we behave in any different way?”* (boy, 13). Therefore, as shown in previous chapters, there is a clear link between the attitudes of Latvians towards non-Latvians and the attitudes and behaviours of non-Latvians.

Moreover, as other research in Latvia shows (BISS, 2008b; Makarovs and Boldane, 2009; Golubeva and Austers, 2011; Gruzina, 2011; Muižnieks and Zelča, 2011) celebrations and social memory are indeed important components of ethno-national identity and play a key role in social cohesion (Hobsbawm, 1983; Durkheim, 2001). However, existing research looked more into the political and historical celebrations such as 16 March (Latvian Legion Day) and 9 May (Victory Day) and how different interpretations and social memories of these events divide society. In this study the Russian-speaking adolescents spoke more of traditional celebrations such as Easter and Christmas.

Many pupils agreed that they wanted to keep their traditions, namely their Russian family traditions, but also felt like taking on some Latvian traditions and celebrations. As many of them suggested, it would be good if some Russian and some Latvian traditions became the traditions of Latvian society as a whole, thereby helping to bring the two groups closer and show that they are of equal value for Latvian society. The same idea was expressed by the Mayor of Riga three years later as a means for

promoting society cohesion after the failure of the referendum to make Russian the second official state language (Ušakovs, 2012). Russian Orthodox Christmas which is celebrated on the 6th of January is not currently an official holiday in Latvia, despite political discussions over the past 20 years and even a proposition brought to the Latvian Parliament which was ultimately rejected.

Christmas holidays were mentioned the most in the focus group discussions, with most of the adolescents reporting that their families celebrated both the official Christmas on the 24th of December and Russian Orthodox Christmas on the 6th of January. However, there was a clear distinction between the two. The 'Russian' Christmas celebrations were seen as a family holiday, celebrated at home and of more of a religious nature. Whereas the 'Catholic' Christmas, as they called it, was perceived as a very commercialised, public, entertaining event with not much religious connotation with the exception of its name, but many presents and festivals.

As some researchers argue (Rone and Liduma, 2006), it is precisely less politicised celebrations that could be used in the process of civic integration, especially in schools, as a means of downplaying and overcoming the differences between Latvians and the minorities and finding commonalities. One way would be to celebrate the whole calendar of festivities - both Russian and Latvian - thereby revealing the similarities in the ethno-cultural groups' traditions.

The respondents expressed a great variety of views about different traditions and how they can be used and taught in schools. Many mentioned that they very often learn about and discuss Latvian traditions as a part of the Latvian language class, but not that much in any other classes or in social activities in school outside class time. At the same time quite a lot of time is devoted to the celebration of Russian traditional holidays, Maslenitsa<sup>36</sup> being the most popular. Overall, the articulated views can be grouped into the following general categories:

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<sup>36</sup> Maslenitsa is a sun festival, celebrating the imminent end of the winter. It is celebrated during the last week before Great Lent according to Russian Orthodox calendar.

- Those who want to learn more about Latvian traditions and culture. They argue that it is quite interesting to learn new things and because they are born and live in Latvia knowing more about Latvian culture will help them to communicate with Latvians and feel part of Latvian culture. Adolescents suggested having Latvian traditions taught as a separate subject at school, or included in history, cultural history, ethics, world traditions or Latvian language and literature classes.
- Those who agree that they need to know general things about Latvian traditions, but not all the details and history. They argue that Latvian traditions should be offered as extracurricular activity with pupils free to participate should they so wish rather than it being a compulsory part of the curriculum.
- Those who think that ethnic culture is a private rather than a public matter and all traditions, both Russian and Latvian, should therefore be taught within families and not in schools.
- Those who think they do not need to know about any traditions, let alone be taught them. Those adolescents are very instrumental in their approach to life and argue that knowing traditions, in particular with regards to the Latvian culture, will not help them to find a better job in the future. For them traditions and languages are less of symbolic or emotional value and also do not hold much of practical value for economic success. The same young people, however, agree that they have to know Latvian to be successful on the labour market.

Overall when talking about culture and traditions in their everyday lives, Russian-speaking adolescents very often identified to some extent with both cultures, but were more resistant to learning about culture and traditions – Latvian culture in particular – as a formal part of the curriculum or extracurricular activities at school. Again here, as with language learning, any extra pressure or formalised requirements from the outside tend to create a negative reaction among young people. Additionally, as with all adolescents, traditional activities only seemed exciting and appealing to some. That was

also demonstrated with the relatively high proportion of Russian-speaking adolescents who chose marginalisation in the traditions domain (see section 4.2).

To discover the nature of the constructs underlying the respondents' ethno-national identification (1) and to test for the dimensionality of a measurement scale (2) as well as to reduce the number of items and generate 'factor scores' representing the values of the underlying constructs for use in other analyses (3) I performed factor analysis using the four items that measured adolescents' identifications with the Russian and Latvian groups and cultures.

The factor analysis clearly showed that four items measuring the cognitive components of both the Russian and Latvian ethno-national identities of Russian-speaking adolescents had meaningful loadings on two separate factors (all item loadings were above or close to 0.80) (see Table 5-5). Two factors accounted for 70 per cent of the common factor variance. The pattern of item loadings on each factor clearly supported the multidimensional perspective on ethno-national identity and this led me to a proposal of a two-dimensional structure for the identity of Russian-speaking adolescents (Berry et al., 1986, 1987; Hutnik, 1986; 1991; Berry, 1997; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001), with each dimension being composed of two cognitive components: identification with a group and with a culture.

**Table 5-5 Identification with the Russian and Latvian groups. Exploratory Factor Analysis results, factor loadings from Varimax rotated solution**

<b>Items</b>	<b>Factor 1 (Russian)</b>	<b>Factor 2 (Latvian)</b>
<b>I feel as a part of the Russian culture</b>	.779	-.169
<b>I think about myself as a Russian</b>	.807	.147
<b>I feel as a part of Latvian culture</b>	-.067	.843
<b>I think about myself as a Latvian</b>	.046	.869

The two factors were Russian identity (ethnic identity) and Latvian identity (national identity). This finding demonstrates that it is possible for the Russian-speaking adolescents either to identify with both Russian and Latvian groups at the same time or with neither. This also supports the overall approach that underlines the

multidimensionality of one's ethnicity rather than a continuum approach when individuals can identify only with one group or culture at a time. In practical terms this also shows that you do not have to limit exposure to one's ethnic culture, but just increase the coverage of national culture in order to achieve potentially successful cohesion in society. Furthermore, it provides evidence for the creation of the new identity for Latvian Russians (Pavlovich, 1980; Melvin, 1995; Payin, 1994; Apine, 2001; Pisarenko, 2002; Simonian, 2003; Zepa, 2005a; Pavlenko, 2006; Galbreath, 2006; Cara, 2007, 2010a) who identify with both groups at the same time.

**Table 5-6 Degree of Russian and Latvian identity among different ethno-national self-identification groups**

<b>Dimensions of ethno-national identity</b>	<b>Ethnic self-identification</b>			
	<b>Russian</b>	<b>Latvian</b>	<b>Russian/Latvian</b>	<b>Other</b>
<b>Russian identity</b>	0.15 (0.85)	-0.19 (1.17)	-0.42 (1.32)	-0.66 (1.39)
ANOVA; F(3, 429) = 9.502, p<0.001				
<b>Latvian identity</b>	-0.13 (0.93)	0.39 (1.05)	0.78 (0.61)	-0.02 (0.99)
ANOVA; F(3, 429) = 6.753, p<0.001				

*NOTE: Average factor scores with standard deviation given in parenthesis*

Further analysis of the different groups divided according to ethno-national self-identification showed that they differed from each other on both ethno-national identity dimensions, the Russian and the Latvian (see Table 5-6). Unsurprisingly, the results suggest that adolescents whose ethno-national self-identification was Russian identified more with the Russian group and less with the Latvian group. Adolescents who labelled themselves as Latvians identified more with the Latvian group and less with the Russian group.

It is quite puzzling that those who self-identified as Russian/Latvian identified most strongly with Latvians and far less with Russians; even less than those who self-identified as Latvian. Of course these findings have to be looked at carefully because of the very low numbers in this group. Nevertheless one explanation can be found in the understanding of the way in which terms 'Latvian' and 'Latvian Russian' (or

Russian/Latvian) are used in Latvia. The term 'Latvian' is used in most cases as an ethnic label, but it can also mean Latvian citizen and represent more of a civic and formal label that does not reflect psychological identification and represents identification with one group. Whereas the Latvian Russian construct corresponds more to a symbolic and emotional concept that allows a new identity to emerge through a more flexible approach and individual agency which identifies with both groups and cultures simultaneously. That can explain the slightly lower degree of identification with the Latvian group and Latvian culture by those who chose Latvian as their self-identification label compared to those who identified themselves as Latvian Russians. That also clarifies the low identification with the Russian group and Russian culture by Latvian Russians because, as was seen in the focus groups and earlier research (Pavlovich, 1980; Melvin, 1995; Payin, 1994; Apine, 2001; Pisarenko, 2002; Simonian, 2003; Zepa, 2005a; Pavlenko, 2006; Galbreath, 2006; Cara, 2007, 2010a, 2010b), many of them do not identify with general Russian culture, but insist that they are a part of a quite unique Latvian Russian, Russian Latvian or Baltic Russian culture.

Thus, these results show the need for a clear distinction between different aspects of ethno-national identity, specifically, between the degree of identification with an ethnic and a national group. In addition, those who label themselves as Russian can still have a Latvian dimension to their identity and *vice versa*. This information would be lost if we only looked at ethnic self-identification/labels as in many other studies.

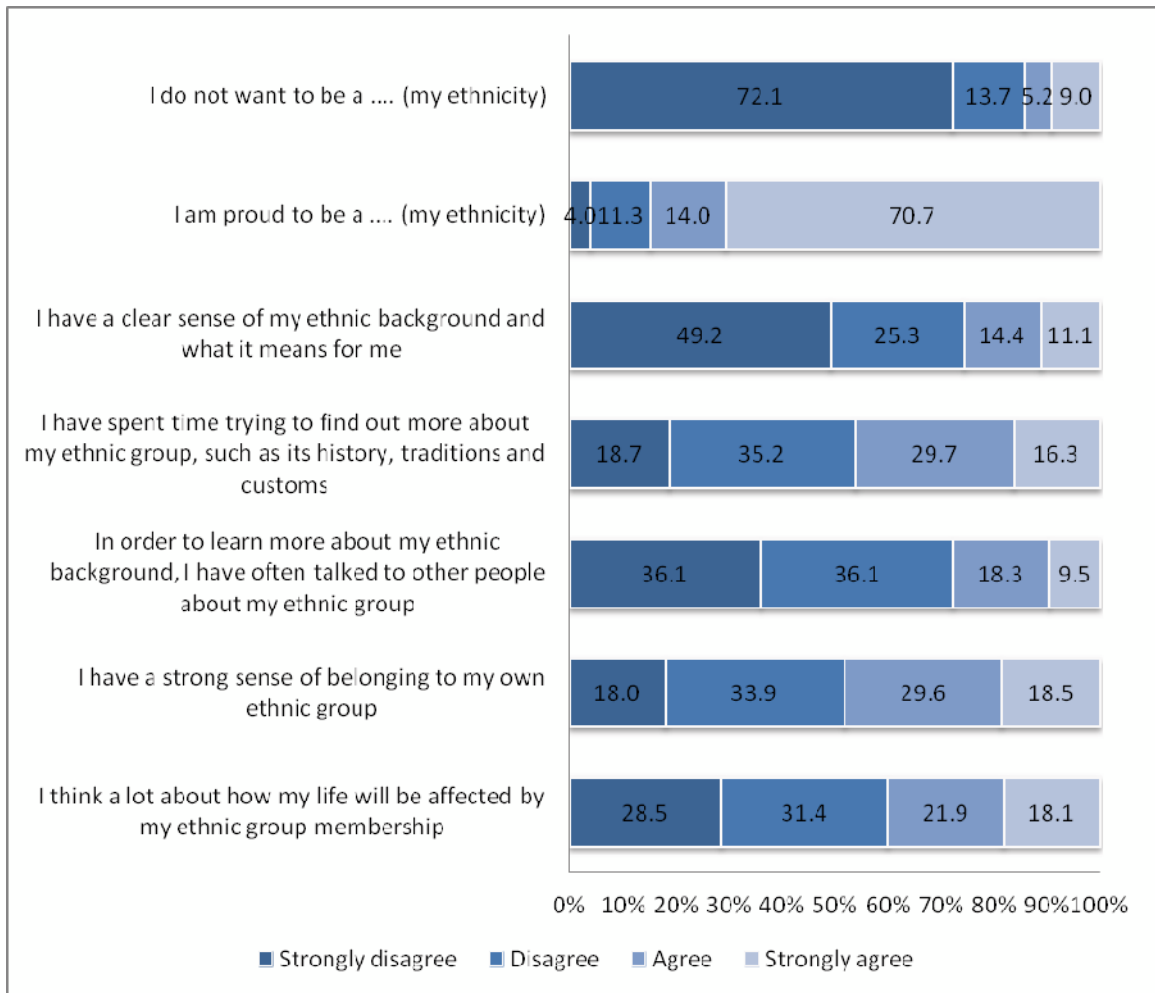
To conclude the findings from this chapter help to understand better the concept of ethnicity and the formation of ethno-national identity on the example of young Russian-speakers in Latvia. It demonstrates not only the fluid and multidimensional nature of ethnicity, but also its situational and interactional nature that combines subjective and objective criteria. Firstly, the fluidity and complexity of ethnicity is uncovered through Russian-speakers identifying with both Latvian and Russian groups simultaneously. The complexity of ethnicity is also shown through the compound role of ethno-national identity as a fulfilment of both the need to be a part of something bigger and to be unique and different from others. Secondly, the fluidity and situational aspect of ethnicity are demonstrated by the creation of a new Latvian Russian or Russian

Latvian identity. Finally, the development of this new identity illustrates how subjective and objective factors are used to create and maintain borders between ethnic groups. It also reveals how individual emotional and psychological factors, such as self-esteem and positive self-concept, are interrelated with the social factors, represented by the views of significant Others.

### **5.2.3 Strength and salience of ethno-national identity**

The measurements described in the previous chapters allow for the grouping of individuals by self-reported ethnicity or degree of identification with an ethnic group, but reveal nothing about how coherent or consistent this identity is. Thus, the third measurement was introduced into the study. The strength and exploration of ethno-national identity was measured by using seven items from the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) originally created by Phinney in 1992.

Figure 5-3 summarises the responses of Russian-speaking adolescents for each of the seven items from the MEIM. Overall these young people tend to be quite proud of their ethnicity and committed to it, but the salience and developmental side of their ethno-national identity is less clear-cut and brings in a larger variation of responses (see also Figure 5-4 and Figure 5-5).



**Figure 5-3 Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), Russian-speaking adolescents, responses for each item in %**

To reduce the number of items and explore the underlying structure of ethno-national identity I performed an exploratory factor analysis. The initial results from the factor analysis of the seven MEIM items indicated two factors (see Table 5-7). The two-factor solution explained only 50 per cent of the total variance, a quite low proportion that can be explained by the potential existence of other underlying factors. Moreover, one item 'I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me' had low strength loadings on both factors, but was retained in the analysis and when calculating factor scores. Factor 1 was made up of four items representing identity search (a developmental and cognitive component) and was called salience and exploration and factor 2 by two items that indicated affirmation/belonging (an affective component) and was called belonging.

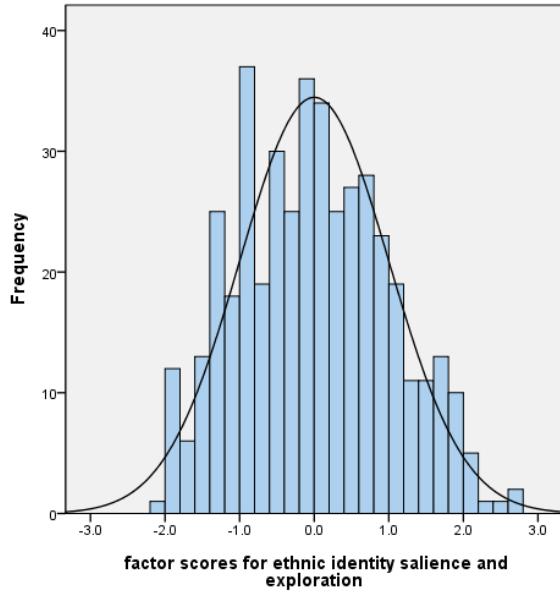


**Table 5-7 Exploratory Factor Analysis of the MEIM Items: factor loadings from Varimax rotated solution.**

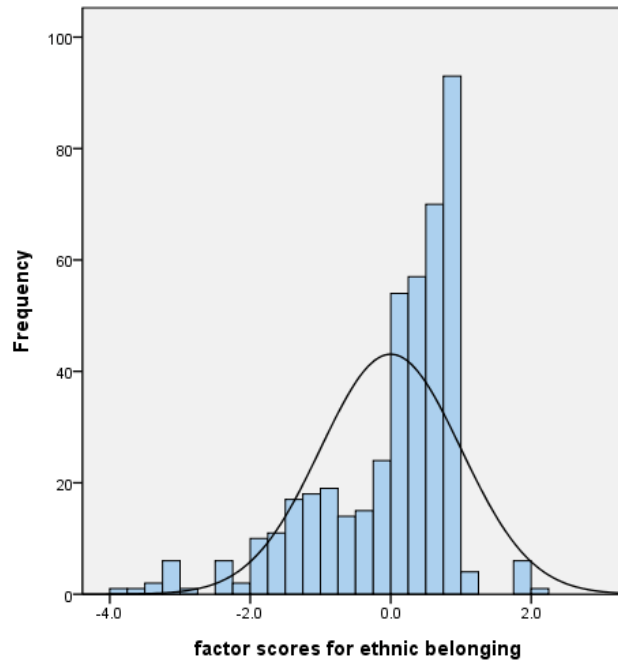
<b>Items</b>	<b>Factor 1 (salience and exploration)</b>	<b>Factor 2 (belonging)</b>
<b>I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership</b>	.750	.098
<b>I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group</b>	.690	-.107
<b>In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group</b>	.674	-.053
<b>I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions and customs</b>	.664	.001
<b>I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me</b>	.335	.312
<b>I am proud to be a .... (my ethnicity)</b>	.110	-.822
<b>I do not want to be a .... (my ethnicity)</b>	-.006	.798

*NOTES: Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.*

Figure 53 and Figure 54 illustrate the distribution of factor scores for both ethno-national identity exploration and belonging factors. As we can see the exploration factor is quite evenly distributed, while the belonging factor is positively skewed with most of the adolescents being proud of their ethnicity and of who they are.



**Figure 5-4 Factor scores for ethno-national identity salience and exploration factor**



**Figure 5-5 Factor scores for ethno-national belonging factor**

Drawing on previous research, developmental psychologist Jean S. Phinney proposed a three-stage model for adolescent ethno-national identity development (Phinney, 1989, 1990): (1) unexamined or diffused ethno-national identity, (2) moratorium and (3) achieved ethno-national identity. It is important to note that these stages do not

correspond to specific ages; however the greatest changes tend to occur at any time during early to late adolescence. Nevertheless, some individuals may spend their entire lives at a particular stage of ethno-national identity development without any further maturity.

As we can see from Figure 5-3 and Figure 5-4 and as would be expected for this age group (French et al., 2006), all three stages are represented among the Russian-speaking adolescents who were aged 13-14 at the time of the research, and the distribution of the ethno-national identity strength factor scores follows closely the normal distribution. Quite a few adolescents have only just started exploring their identity; they have not considered much of the personal meaning of their ethnicity for them and their lives. Although individuals can transition to adulthood without a strong sense of ethno-national belonging, this is more common in ethnically homogeneous societies or among dominant group members and is therefore less relevant to the situation of Russians and Russian-speakers in Latvia. The dominant ethno-national discourse and visible ethnic policies in Latvia as well as the politicisation of language and some traditions, in addition to the Soviet legacy of the primordial understanding of ethnicity/nationality, makes ethno-national identity an important part of people's lives in Latvia. In this case adolescents who have not yet started exploring their ethno-national identity are very likely to do so in the near future.

Although most of the adolescents in the focus group discussions, similarly to the survey results, insisted that they were proud to be Russians and would not want to change their ethnicity, a few mentioned that they were not that concerned about their ethnicity and did not think much about their ethnic origins and identity. Thus one of the boys said, *"There is no real difference if you are a Latvian or a Russian. It is not that I burst with pride to be Russian or am very desperate to be Latvian."* There were quite a number of pupils who admitted that they have not thought about their ethnicity that much at all.

The other group that represents the majority of adolescents (see Figure 5-4) have started exploring their ethnicity by learning more about traditions and history. This stage is very often triggered by significant events in society, within family or among friends.

The attitudes and behaviours of both the ethnic and national groups become important as well as those of family members, peers and teachers. That is why it is so important to research this age group and investigate what might influence their identity development to lead to a stable and positive self-identity. This moratorium stage can last for a very long time. Here the importance of the school environment also has to be acknowledged. Education can be used to create an environment that encourages pupils to explore and express commitment to their own ethnic group, but also, in the case of ethnic minority children, learn more about the national group and be encouraged to identify with that group.

Finally, the last stage is an achieved (coherent and stable) ethno-national identity when an individual feels secure in his or her identity. Very few of the adolescents have achieved this stage which is normal for this age group (French et al., 2006). We must also remember that this development is not linear and stops with achieved identity and cannot be changed. This process has to be thought of circular three stages that can be repeated at any point during an individual's life.

Using one-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) the different groups divided according to ethno-national self-identification were found to differ from each other on the 'belonging' dimension, but not on the 'salience and exploration' dimension (see Table 5-8). The results suggest that adolescents whose ethno-national self-identification was Russian expressed a greater affective component of their ethno-national identity and those who identified as Latvian scored lower on this scale. This can be partially explained by the primordial understanding of the Latvian nation and ethnicity that is dominant in Latvia because of the Soviet legacies. Whereas for Russian-speakers to identify with the Russian group and culture is seen as natural, therefore, allowing for much stronger emotional and affective sense of belonging. The identification with the Latvian group is not as undemanding and involves dealing with the perceptions of how Latvians judge Russian-speakers and this can lower sense of belonging in some individuals to boost their positive self-concept.

It is interesting that those who had a Russian/Latvian identification scored the highest on the salience and exploration dimension. I can speculate based on the findings from the

focus group discussions that these adolescents took more time and effort to think about their ethno-national identity to come up with the bicultural identification. However, the number of those with a bicultural identification was very small and this aspect needs further research with a larger sample.

**Table 5-8 Degree of Russian and Latvian identity among different ethno-national self-identification groups**

Dimensions of ethno-national identity	Ethno-national self-identification			
	Russian	Latvian	Russian/Latvian	Other
<b>Belonging</b>	7.35 (1.18)	5.49 (1.83)	6.68 (1.56)	6.89 (1.53)
ANOVA; F(3, 428) = 37.543, p<0.001				
<b>Salience and exploration</b>	11.34 (3.15)	10.87 (3.34)	13.30 (2.59)	10.90 (3.43)
ANOVA; F(3, 424) = 1.272, p=0.283				

*NOTE: Average factor scores with standard deviation given in parenthesis*

In the next chapter I will explore further how these different dimensions of the identity of Russian-speaking adolescents described in the previous two and this section relate to acculturation attitudes and behaviours.

#### **5.2.4 Sense of belonging to Latvia**

Attitudes towards one's country of birth and that of one's parents or grandparents are also a part of the acculturation process and might be related to ethno-national identification and acculturation behaviours. Indeed, research on identities generally highlights both the group and territorial dimensions (Riger & Lavrakas, 1981; Breuilly, 1993). However, divisions between 'us' and 'them' and feelings towards a particular territory are interdependent (Bar-Tal, 1997).

Moreover, exactly this sense of belonging to Latvia and the attitudes of Russian-speakers towards Russia are seen to be a central aspect of interethnic relations in Latvia (Tabuns, 2006; Volkovs, 2010; Muižnieks, 2010; Zepa & Klave, 2011) and focal in

Latvian politicians' rhetoric when they consider ethnic minority issues (e.g. Zatlērs, 2010; Elerte, 2011, Brands Kehris, 2011). This section will explore the sense of belonging to Latvia and Russia as a territorial dimension of the ethno-national identity of the Russian-speaking adolescents. Territorial attachment was operationalised through a series of questions about both Latvia and Russia. The respondents were asked if they were proud to live in Latvia, if they wanted to live in Latvia and if they were willing to move to Russia.

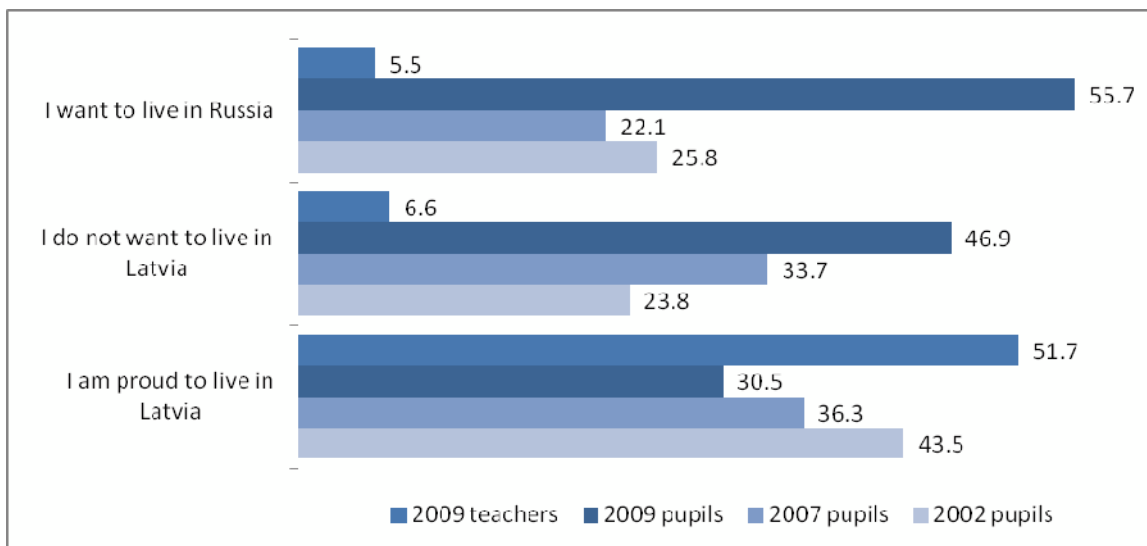
Although earlier studies (Rungule, 2005; BISS, 2006a) confirmed that Latvians felt more connected to Latvia than did non-Latvians, a still quite significant proportion of Russians felt close links with Latvia. Younger people and individuals from urban areas in both groups were found to have weaker links with Latvia. The same studies also provided evidence that a significant number of Russians and Russian-speakers who lived in Latvia still had substantial emotional, symbolic and very often quite instrumental and practical links with Russia. However, these links were found to be weaker or at the same level as with Latvia.

**Table 5-9 Individual and parental place of birth, sample of adolescents from 'Russian' schools 2002-2009**

	2002		2007		2009		2009	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Place of birth</b>	<b>children born in 1988/89</b>		<b>children born in 1988/89</b>		<b>children born in 1995/96</b>		<b>teachers</b>	
<b>Latvia</b>	380	92.6	402	93.1	440	96.7	68	66.0
<b>Russia</b>	18	4.4	12	2.8	10	2.2	23	22.3
<b>Other country</b>	12	3.0	18	4.2	5	1.1	12	11.7
<b>Mother's place of birth</b>								
<b>Latvia</b>	200	49.6	249	57.6	290	66.2		
<b>Russia</b>	107	26.4	106	24.5	91	20.8		
<b>Other country</b>	97	24.0	77	17.9	57	13.0		
<b>Father's place of birth</b>								
<b>Latvia</b>	201	50.9	219	50.7	294	67.0		
<b>Russia</b>	124	31.3	122	28.2	84	19.1		
<b>Other country</b>	70	17.8	91	21.0	61	13.9		

As Table 5-9 shows, although over 90 per cent of the adolescents in the study were born in Latvia, only two-thirds of their mothers and fathers were born in Latvia in the 2009 survey. It is significant to note that the proportion of both those adolescents who were born in Latvia and their parents has increased from 2002 to 2009. In contrast to the adolescents surveyed, but similarly to their parents, only 66 per cent of teachers were born in Latvia.

Although more adolescents were born in Latvia than their teachers, Figure 5-6 shows, similarly to findings from other studies (BISS, 2010; Zepa & Kļave, 2011), that in 2009 far fewer of them (only 31 per cent compared to 52 per cent of teachers) said that they were proud to live in Latvia. In 2007 the proportion of adolescents who agreed with this statement was 36 per cent, down from 44 per cent in 2002. Moreover, the proportion of adolescents who did not want to live in Latvia also increased both between cohorts and different years. Thus, 47 per cent of adolescents did not want to live in Latvia in 2009 compared with 34 per cent of pupils in 2007 and 24 per cent of adolescents in 2002. However, only 7 per cent of teachers agreed with the same statement. Hence, a much higher proportion of adolescents have negative attitudes towards Latvia compared with their teachers and this negativism has increased over the years.



**Figure 5-6 Attitudes towards Latvia and Russia, Russian-speaking adolescents and their teachers**

We have to explore this in conjunction with the next question that asked if pupils and their teachers would want to live in Russia. As Figure 5-6 suggests, only 6 per cent of

teachers, but 56 per cent of pupils in 2009 wanted to live in Russia compared with around only one-fifth of pupils in 2007 and 2002.

Other studies (BISS, 2010; Zepa & Kļave, 2011) similarly showed that the sense of belonging to Latvia among non-Latvians, but also Latvians, in particular among young people, has decreased over the years. For example, as the 2010 BISS study shows, while in 2004 70 per cent of adolescents from ethnic minority schools felt close or very close to Latvia, by 2010 this figure had decreased to 30 per cent. However, the proportion of adolescents who feel close or very close to Russia has not changed much (42 per cent in 2004 and 48 per cent in 2010). Additionally because the belongingness to Latvia decreased by 2010 more ethnic minority adolescents felt close to Russia than to Latvia. The data also suggest that the level of belonging to Europe increased and in 2010 it was about the same as to Russia (25 per cent in 2004 and 51 per cent in 2010).

The decline in the sense of belonging to Latvia and an increased willingness to live in Russia or other European countries can be explained by a combination of different factors. Gruzina (2011) explains the dramatic drop in belongingness towards Latvia amongst Russian-speaking population, using data from 1998-2008 surveys, by the ethnic exclusive approach to Latvian nation-building based on ethnicity and culture with an emphasis on collective memory and a specific interpretation of history. Therefore for non-Latvians membership in the Latvian nation has depended on assimilation into the predefined ethnic and cultural community rather than bringing in their own cultural values and interpretations of history. This pressure produced a reaction in the form of separation tendencies and alienation from the state.

Already in 2006 Tabuns argued that the decrease in the sense of belonging among Russian speakers was linked to an increase in the gap between Latvian and Russian attitudes toward national pride with regards to Latvian history. Nevertheless, the new Integration Guidelines produced by the Ministry of Culture in 2011 (MoC, 2011) still emphasise the role of a common social memory and interpretation of historical events. The demands are continuing to alienate a significant portion of the population.



The territorial dimensions of ethnicity is often highly politicised and is tied to the understanding of the nation concept. Because of the Soviet legacy and primordial view about one's ethnicity as something fixed, as well as ethnic understanding of the term 'nation' the assumption prevalent in public and popular thinking among Latvians is that non-Latvians cannot be fully Latvians because they do not have Latvian bloodlines (Elerte, 2011) and this downplays the role of territorial attachment. However, as research shows ethnic minorities themselves (Apine, 2001; Pisarenko, 2002; Volkovs, 1996, 2010; Simonian, 2003; Zepa, 2005a; Pavlenko, 2006; Galbreath, 2006; Dribins, 2007; Cara, 2007, 2010a, 2010b) often give a lot of weight to the territorial aspect when claim to be full members of the Latvian nation and identify with Latvia as their place of birth.

The different perception of historical events in Latvia and different understanding of the role of the territorial dimension of the ethno-national identity and of the nation is one of the dividing factors in the country. Furthermore, the segregated education system in Latvia reproduces these differences with competing narratives of statehood and nationhood at the schools of two major ethnic groups (Kangro, 2004; Makarovs and Boldane, 2009; Curika, 2009) and forms relatively separate models of civil enculturation that are also shaped by political and social factors outside the school, such as power relations among groups (Golubeva and Austers, 2011).

In focus group discussions, Russian-speaking adolescents talking about Latvia related it to their homeland, the place where they were born and live and where they have their friends. Many called it 'our country' and 'our land'. All the general attitudes towards Latvia were very positive and expressed a close link between the adolescents and Latvia. When asked about Russia many pupils said it is just a country as any other, some said that it is a place where they have relatives and friends and it is where most Russians live and the Russian language is spoken. They associated Russia with known traditions and culture and the place where some of their parents or grandparents were born.

Many adolescents thought that it was easier to be a Russian in Russia because all people there are Russians and there is no separation into Russian and Latvian speakers. As pupils explained, this division in Latvia makes them anxious and the adoption of a

Russian Latvian or Latvian Russian identity can be understood as a desire to bridge this division. As one of the girls remarked, *“I am proud that I am Russian, but I would want to be a little bit Latvian, too. I would like to be included more into the Latvian society. I felt fine here even if I am a Russian girl, but if I was in Russia I would feel better.”*

Nevertheless the same girl a couple of minutes later said,

*“Probably if I went to Russia, I would not feel good. Although there are close people, my native language, it is better here [in Latvia]; I am used to local people, traditions and circumstances. When I am in Russia I do not feel comfortable. When I walk along the street it seems to me that people will start pointing the finger at me saying; ‘Look at her, she is from there, from Latvia, from Europe’. Then I feel very uncomfortable.”*

This demonstrates the conflict adolescents experience when trying to accommodate two cultures, two languages and two countries into their value and belief system. On the one hand they feel close to Russia because it is the birthplace of their parents and the original homeland of their ethnic group. On the other, they were born and raised in Latvia and feel close to it. However, the latter also makes them quite uncomfortable because Latvians do not accept them as full members of the Latvian nation. They are often encouraged to integrate or more so to assimilate, but the ethnic definition of the Latvian nation does not allow even assimilated non-Latvians to be accepted.

Accordingly the attitudes of Latvians towards Russians, acceptance and tolerance levels as well as perceived discrimination might influence the attitudes of Russian speakers towards Latvia. As one of the boys argued,

*“I also have been to Russia. I have been to Yaroslavl and Saint Petersburg and nobody pointed the finger at me. They can see straight away who is Russian. There is a greater chance in Latvia that people will point at you and tell that you are this and that Russian and not Latvian. It is very different in Russia.”*

Although, as we can see there is a definite link between young Russian speakers and Russia, when pupils directly compared Latvia and Russia outside the ethnic relationship context they actually valued Latvia higher. They saw Latvia as being more developed

and European. As one of the girls said, *"If you compare Latvia and Russia, in Latvia you can feel civilisation and being close to Europe. Russia is just a very big country. Even more so because it is big you cannot achieve anything there. Total chaos..."* One other girl added, *"I have been to Russia and to other countries. I prefer Latvia. I did not like Russia at all. It is a very different atmosphere. Other European countries are more like Latvia."*

The territorial dimension of one's ethno-national identity demonstrates again, how identity is used to maintain positive self-concept (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Operario & Fiske, 1999). They favourably compare Russia and Latvia using the East-West (Europe) hierarchical dichotomy and identify with a more European Latvia distancing themselves from the more backwards Russia as a means to boost their self-esteem.

While many young Russians in Latvia have demonstrated a preference for Latvia over Russia, integration efforts have been hampered by the ethnicisation of the Latvian state discussed in Chapter 3, resulting in the alienation of many Russian speakers and the tendency for separation attitudes and behaviours, which in turn increased the likelihood of closer links with Russia as the external homeland being developed and strengthened (Gruzina, 2011). Since one of the main functions of one's identity is to maintain a positive and coherent self-concept and high self-esteem (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Operario & Fiske, 1999) the non-acceptance of non-Latvians into the Latvian nation on behalf of Latvians potentially lowers the self-esteem of the Russian-speakers and this alienates them and lowers their identification with both Latvia and the Latvian group and culture.

As some researchers suggest (Muižnieks, 2008, Muižnieks & Zelča, 2011) in this context Russia is deliberately using history and social memory, often summoning and relying on a glorious common Soviet past, as a form of "soft power" to reach the hearts and minds of Russians and Russian-speakers outside Russia to build up a strong Diaspora closely linked to Russia. The Russian-language media has been a very effective tool in this process (Muižnieks, 2008). Russia offers acceptance of the

Russian-speakers into a larger group and fulfils the human need to be a part of something larger, the security of this belonging and a psychological need to belong intimately and inter-generationally (Tajfel, 1981; Fishman, 1989; Brewer, 1991).

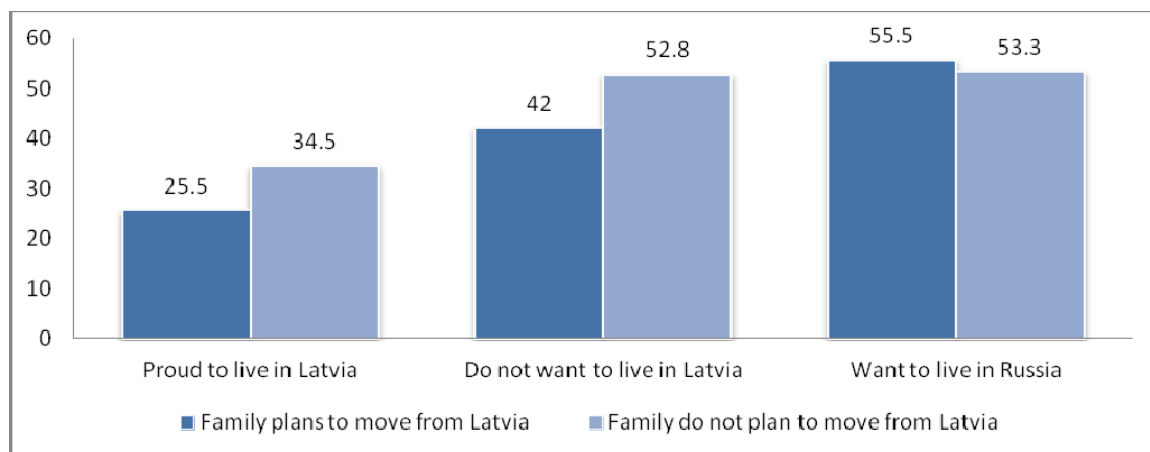
This impact of the Russian state's influence on Russian-speakers' identity in Latvia has been suggested by many other researchers. Leo Dribins, for example, proposed in 2007 (2007b) that the development of a modern Russian identity in Russia with a positive self-identification and pride based on the re-interpretation of Soviet history, in particular the victory in World War II, increased and undoubtedly negatively influenced the identification of Russian-speakers in Latvia and their sense of belonging to Latvia.

Other researchers suggest (BISS, 2010; Zepa and Kļave, 2011) that an important role in the alienation of both Latvians and non-Latvians was played by the 2008 economic crisis and its negative influence on the state image. As research shows, pride in and sense of belonging to Latvia have decreased among both Latvians and non-Latvians since 2008, but are still higher among Latvians. As studies show (Zepa and Kļave, 2011) there is a negative correlation between taking pride in Latvia and having relatives who left Latvia as economic migrants. This suggests that there is an association between sense of belonging and the welfare of an individual's family.

As the same research findings show, many Latvians and non-Latvians left Latvia in the period between 2004 and 2010. Overall there was a slightly higher likelihood for non-Latvians to leave Latvia. Whereas before 2009 their motivation was more economic, other factors, such as dissatisfaction with their life and non-economic prospects in Latvia are more likely to be reported in 2010. However, as researchers point out (Zepa and Kļave, 2011), the non-economic motivation for migration is higher among Latvian citizens and is not related to their ethnic origin; overall economic motivation is higher among non-citizens. In this study adolescents are likely to be influenced by the decisions their parents make and most likely discuss at home with regards to economic behaviour and possibilities of migration to other countries.

Additionally, the time period when Russians and Russian-speakers felt closest to Latvia, namely 2007, coincides also with an economically and ideologically weakened Russia.

Therefore, after more than 20 years of Russian consolidation of power and growing Russian nationalism and current relatively better economic situation in Russia, there is also an increase in the Russian influence on neighbouring states with large Russian communities, similarly to immediately after the collapse of the USSR. Back in the beginning of the nineties that resulted in the migration of some Russians back to Russia, but currently, coupled with problems in ethnic policy in Latvia itself, it produces the further alienation of Russians who decided to stay back then.



**Figure 5-7 Family plans to leave Latvia and adolescents' feelings towards Latvia and Russia as a %<sup>37</sup>**

It is also important to take into account whether the willingness to live in Russia really is directly linked to any plans of Latvian Russian-speakers to move to Russia, that is, if the attitudes have the possibility of being realised in certain behaviour. In 2009, 76 per cent of adolescents reported that their families were planning to leave Latvia. It is interesting to explore how their attitudes to Latvia and Russia related to their families' plans to leave Latvia. As Figure 5-7 shows there is a positive relationship between adolescents' unwillingness to live in Latvia and pride in Latvia, but there is no significant influence of their families' plans to leave Latvia and their willingness to live in Russia. This can suggest that the decrease in pride and sense of belonging to Latvia among Russian-speakers does not mean a direct proportional increase in those who plan to move to

<sup>37</sup> % are calculated from all who agreed that their family had plans to move from Latvia and from all those who did not have these plans. Thus, 25.5 per cent out of those whose family plan to leave Latvia are proud to live in Latvia compared to 34.5 per cent of those whose family do not want to move.

Russia. As I have shown above, much of it is the influence of economic factors and many families are more likely to move to Western Europe rather than Russia. However, these data do not provide evidence against the closer symbolic link of Latvian Russian-speakers and Russia.

These findings demonstrate both emotional and pragmatic dimensions of one's ethno-national identity and its territorial dimension. In focus group discussions adolescents had an opportunity to explain their attitudes towards Russia and Latvia in more detail. This analysis can help to interpret what factors might influence these attitudes and also shows a variation of different opinions.

The views about a possible migration to Russia and life in Russia were very mixed. Some had a clear stance that they did not want to live in Russia; they mentioned high levels of crime and chaos and a lower development level than in Latvia. As one of the boys said, *“There, even if you earn a lot of money or work in politics, you can get killed. Easily as that. You cannot leave your car for a moment.”* Some were quite indecisive: *“I probably would like to live there because I have many relatives and friends there. However, here [in Latvia] I also have many friends and family, even more than there. Then probably not. I am used to my life here; it is much more interesting.”* (boy, 13)

Although some adolescents said that they liked going to Russia and maybe wanted to stay there from time to time for longer periods or even study there, they assured that they would always want to go back to Latvia because it was their birth place and home.

Finally, there were also those young Russian-speakers who seemed to have made their choice between Latvia and Russia in favour of Russia. Some explained this by more emotional feelings because they *“did feel very uncomfortable and not in their own skins, as a fish out the water in Latvia”* (boy, 13); others felt troubled by more practical things such as the fact that they had to learn Latvian to find a good job. At the same time, some had a very instrumental economic motivation for their willingness and plans to move to Russia. For example, one of the girls wanted to have her own business and thought that in Latvia, which is a very small country, the market and opportunities were much smaller, whereas in Russia, one of the largest countries in the world,

there was much more chance of being successful in business. The knowledge of Russian and having Russian roots were seen as an extra advantage in this context.

The three items<sup>38</sup> measuring adolescents' attitudes towards Latvia and Russia were summed up to represent adolescents' positive attitudes towards Latvia. Higher scores on this scale are associated with an unwillingness to live in Russia, being proud of Latvia and a willingness to live in Latvia. These combined attitudes, as one variable, will be used in further analysis to investigate how feelings towards Latvia are related to other acculturation attitudes and behaviours as well as perceived discrimination. It will also be analysed how this variable is related to the identifications of Russian speaking adolescents.

### ***5.3 Conclusions***

Although most of the Russian-speaking adolescents labelled themselves as Russians when asked an open question with regards to their ethnicity, there was clear evidence from the data that some Russian-speakers come to increasingly identify with the Latvian ethnic group or Latvian state and land and therefore identified as 'Latvian'. This provides some evidence that Russian-speakers and, in this particular case, adolescents in 'Russian' schools incorporate some identification with the Latvian state and possibly the Latvian ethnic group into their ethno-national identity. This trend also suggests a very slow and gradual replacement of an ethnic understanding of the Latvian nation by a civic and inclusive one on behalf of Russian-speakers, as more non-Latvians can identify with the Latvian nation and incorporate this into their ethno-national identification together with their identification with the Russian language and group.

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<sup>38</sup> (1) I am proud to live in Latvia  
(2) I do not want to live in Latvia (reverse item)  
(3) I want to live in Russia (reverse item)

Despite the importance of both subjective and objective notions of ‘common descent’ in many theoretical approaches to ethnicity (Weber, 1968; Isaacs, 1975; Smith, 1981, 1986; Anderson, 1983; Fishman, 1989) – not to mention Soviet understanding of the nation – members of the same family can often adopt different acculturation attitudes and have different forms of identification.

Empirical data from closed questions about how close these adolescents feel to the Russian and Latvian groups and cultures supported the multidimensional perspective on identity leading to the proposal of a two-dimensional structure for the ethno-national identity of Russian-speaking adolescents (Berry et al., 1986, 1987; Berry, 1997; Hutnik, 1986; 1991; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001); the two dimensions being Russian identity (ethnic identity) and Latvian identity (national identity).

This quantitative finding and further narratives from focus group discussions demonstrate that it is possible for the Russian-speaking adolescents to identify either with both Russian and Latvian groups at the same time or with neither. Furthermore, it provides evidence for the argument of a possible new identity for Latvian Russians (Pavlovich, 1980; Melvin, 1995; Payin, 1994; Apine, 2001; Pisarenko, 2002; Simonian, 2003; Zepa, 2005a; Pavlenko, 2006; Galbreath, 2006; Cara, 2007, 2010a) that identifies with both group at the same time.

In practical terms this also shows that Latvian ethnic and social policy does not necessary have to limit exposure to the Russian culture, but just increase the coverage of Latvian culture in order to achieve potentially successful cohesion in society. Additionally, compromise between the two languages would also help. Similarly to culture, it is not the limitation of the use of Russian that has to be at the centre of attention, but an increase in the exposure to Latvian.

This demonstrates not only the formation of a separate Latvian Russian identity, but also supports Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) showing how Latvian Russian group identity provides both with the sense of belonging and distinctiveness (Brewer, 1991). This newly created identity also helps to maintain positive self-concept (Tajfel, 1981) when adolescents favourably compare Russians in



Russia and Russians in Latvia using the East-West hierarchy and uniqueness of the Latvian Russians as a means to boost self-esteem (Operario & Fiske, 1999).

The findings in this chapter show how ethnicity is a product of both human agency and social context demonstrating interactional and situational nature of ethno-national identity (Epstein, 1978; Brubaker, 2002). On the one hand individuals may identify with one or more ethnic groups to a different degree as a matter of their choice. While on the other, this seemingly free choice is structured and heavily influenced both psychologically and socially by others (Suarez-Oronzo, 2000; Suarez-Oronzo & Qin-Hilliard, 2004).

Moreover, because of the Soviet legacy and primordial view about one's ethnicity as something fixed the assumption prevalent in public and popular thinking is that non-Latvians cannot be fully Latvians because they do not have Latvian bloodlines (Elerte, 2011). This view is widespread among Latvians and they often downplay the role and strength of territorial attachment or subjective identification of Russian-speakers with the Latvian culture and group. However, as research shows ethnic minorities themselves (Apine, 2001; Pisarenko, 2002; Volkovs, 1996, 2010; Simonian, 2003; Zepa, 2005a; Pavlenko, 2006; Galbreath, 2006; Dribins, 2007; Cara, 2007, 2010a, 2010b) often give a lot of weight to their ethno-national identification with both Latvian and Russian groups and to the territorial aspect when claim to be full members of the Latvian nation and identify with Latvia as their place of birth.

Since of the main functions of one's identity is to maintain a positive and coherent self-concept and high self-esteem (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Operario & Fiske, 1999) the non-acceptance of non-Latvians into the Latvian nation on behalf of Latvians potentially lowers the self-esteem of the Russian-speakers and this alienates them and lowers their identification with both Latvia and the Latvian group and culture. Therefore, the combined effect of failed integration and education policies, as well as the economic crisis, had a negative influence not only on social integration, but also on the overall positive feelings towards Latvia among Russian-speaking adolescents that decreased between 2002 and 2009 in line with the overall tendency among both Latvians and non-Latvians. Although this also meant an increase in their symbolic

closer links with Russia, these links are not equally supported by all young non-Latvians.

As data showed there is variation in the attitudes of Russian-speaking adolescents towards Russia and Latvia and in their identifications. The study also demonstrated that there are all three stages of identification (unexamined or diffused ethno-national identity, moratorium and achieved ethno-national identity (Phinney, 1989, 1990)) represented among Russian-speaking adolescents who were aged 13-14 at the time of the research, and that the distribution of the ethno-national identity strength factor scores closely followed the normal distribution. Nevertheless most of the young Russian-speakers are very proud of who they are.

## **6 EXPLAINING ACCULTURATION ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOURS**

### ***6.1 Introduction***

This chapter focuses on bivariate and multivariate analysis to investigate the relationships between an individual personal meaning of an individual's belonging to a particular group or groups (ethno-national identity), his or her attitudes towards cultural change (acculturation attitudes), perceived discrimination and the actual acculturation behaviour with regards to national group (degree of acculturation). I explore the relationships between different aspects of the acculturation process and how these can be used to predict the ethnic minority adolescents' behaviours. The actual degree of acculturation here represents how much of the national culture individuals have incorporated into their behaviour and consists of set of specific behaviours, such as Latvian language use, knowledge and social contacts with Latvians. Additionally, I also

consider how parents, peers and teachers influence the acculturation process, mainly focusing on whether they directly or indirectly influence behaviours through attitudes and identity.

The assumption I make here is that attitudes and identifications come first, interact with each other and produce specific behaviour that in its turn can further reinforce attitudes. I am not claiming any causality since the relationship may easily work both ways and I do not have any longitudinal panel data to model causal relationships.

Firstly I carry out cluster analysis to investigate the general acculturation profiles. Secondly I look at bivariate relationships between all the variables, including those acculturation attitudes that will be validated through cluster analysis. I will start with the individual-level data and then present the results of the bivariate analysis between adolescents' variables and the acculturation variables that represent the views and reported behaviours of their teachers and peers. Finally, I use path analysis to examine how acculturation attitudes, perceptions and identifications are related to behaviours. The variables used in the models were those theoretically expected to be related to minority acculturation behaviour in previous research, i.e. ethno-national identity, perceived discrimination and acculturation attitudes. Specifically, I tested the following hypotheses<sup>39</sup>:

10. Higher degree of acculturation (measured as better Latvian fluency, frequent use of Latvian and more contacts with Latvians) is positively associated with integration and negatively with separation.
11. Higher degree of acculturation is negatively associated with perceived discrimination.
12. Higher degree of acculturation is related to a stronger Latvian and weaker Russian identification.

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<sup>39</sup> For a broader discussion of this and the hypotheses in more detail please see Chapter 1

13. Integration is associated with a high degree of identification with both Latvian and Russian groups.
14. Separation is associated with a high degree of identification with the Russian group and a low degree of identification with the Latvian group.
15. Higher perceived discrimination is positively related to Russian and negatively to Latvian identification.
16. Lower perceived discrimination is related to integration and high perceived discrimination to separation.
17. Exploration dimension and strength of ethno-national identity is related to lower perceived discrimination.

## ***6.2 Acculturation profiles of the Russian-speaking adolescents***

Since this study's primary focus is to look at the relationships between different acculturation attitudes, behaviours and identifications, a multivariate approach to separate between these three concepts is significant and necessary. Nevertheless it is challenging to draw any general conclusions from this type of analysis because of the complexity of the models, with multiple simultaneous correlations between so many variables. As some research (Berry et al., 2006; Jang et al., 2007; Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008; Schwartz et al., 2010) pointed out, it is essential to investigate the general acculturation profiles to confirm acculturation categories in the specific local context. In this section, I will use cluster analysis to explore the overall acculturation profiles of the Russian-speaking adolescents and test whether Berry's four-type model (1980) is applicable to the Latvian situation.

The cluster analysis is a person approach rather than a variable approach as in factor analysis. In contrast to a variable approach, which examines statistical relationships

among variables across individuals, cluster analysis describes characteristic patterns of variables that distinguish among individuals. In this approach, individuals are placed into groups on the basis of similarities that are measured as their responses to a set of variables (Bergman et al., 2003). Cluster analysis has been widely used in the acculturation research previously (Lee et al., 2003; Berry et al., 2006; Jang et al., 2007; Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008) to investigate how individuals can be classified into groups where members of the groups share similar acculturation attitudes and behaviours.

I used cluster analysis as an empirical strategy to identify a set of subgroups which minimize within-group variation and maximize between-group variation (Bergman et al., 2003) and to examine whether there were significant numbers of adolescents falling into the acculturation forms offered in Berry's typology. Since I already had assumptions on the number of clusters possible based on the Berry four acculturation strategy approach, I chose K-means cluster analysis from the various types of cluster analyses available.

Cluster analysis was carried out with all the variables associated with the acculturation process: acculturation attitudes (integration, separation, assimilation, marginalisation), sense of belonging to Latvia, Russian and Latvian identity, social contacts with Latvians and Latvian language knowledge and use. To avoid variables with large values overwhelming variables with smaller values, all variables were standardised. The method requires a predetermined number of clusters and four and two cluster models were examined and the most reasonable number of clusters was determined using both statistical (pseudo *F* statistics) and substantive content information. A t-test and ANOVA were also used to examine whether the determined clusters represent individuals with significantly different acculturation attitudes and behaviours. I first conducted analysis with four clusters following Berry's typologies. The results are presented in Table 6-1

**Table 6-1 Four acculturation cluster model**

Variables	1 group (a) (N=110, 31%)	2 group (b) (N=118, 33%)	3 group (c) (N=30, 8%)	4 group (d) (N=103, 23%)
	mean (S.D)	mean (S.D)	mean (S.D)	mean (S.D)
<b>Integration***</b>	10.65 (1.42) <sup>b,c</sup>	6.32 (2.09) <sup>a,c,d</sup>	7.63 (2.41) <sup>a,b,d</sup>	9.96 (1.55) <sup>b,c</sup>
<b>Separation***</b>	4.68 (1.97) <sup>b,c,d</sup>	9.43 (1.61) <sup>a,c,d</sup>	8.00 (1.95) <sup>a,b</sup>	7.64 (1.79) <sup>a,b</sup>
<b>Assimilation***</b>	2.53 (1.70) <sup>b</sup>	0.76 (1.01) <sup>a,c,d</sup>	3.37 (1.79) <sup>b,d</sup>	2.07 (1.58) <sup>b,c</sup>
<b>Marginalisation***</b>	0.99 (1.15) <sup>b,c,d</sup>	1.91 (1.51) <sup>a,c</sup>	5.80 (2.07) <sup>a,b,d</sup>	1.59 (1.29) <sup>a,c</sup>
<b>Russian identity***</b>	2.96 (0.79) <sup>b,d</sup>	3.52 (0.55) <sup>a</sup>	3.13 (0.86)	3.33 (0.77) <sup>a</sup>
<b>Latvian identity***</b>	1.34 (0.96) <sup>b</sup>	0.47 (0.72) <sup>a,c,d</sup>	1.23 (0.94) <sup>b</sup>	1.22 (0.99) <sup>b</sup>
<b>Belonging to Latvia***</b>	5.88 (1.71) <sup>b,d</sup>	3.01 (2.15) <sup>a,c</sup>	4.87 (2.21) <sup>b,d</sup>	3.35 (1.86) <sup>a,c</sup>
<b>Proficiency in Latvian***</b>	6.23 (1.57) <sup>b</sup>	5.37 (1.56) <sup>a,c,d</sup>	6.37 (1.54) <sup>b</sup>	6.59 (1.51) <sup>b</sup>
<b>Use of Latvian***</b>	2.78 (1.76) <sup>b,d</sup>	1.30 (1.45) <sup>a,c,d</sup>	2.53 (2.01) <sup>b,d</sup>	4.19 (2.37) <sup>a,b,c</sup>
<b>Contacts with Latvians***</b>	3.49 (1.98) <sup>b,d</sup>	1.61 (1.55) <sup>a,c,d</sup>	4.03 (2.28) <sup>b</sup>	4.40 (1.76) <sup>a,b</sup>
<b>Individual perceived discrimination***</b>	1.56 (1.47) <sup>b,c,d</sup>	2.51 (1.96) <sup>a</sup>	3.53 (2.56) <sup>a,d</sup>	2.28 (1.85) <sup>a,c</sup>
<b>Group perceived discrimination***</b>	6.32 (3.06) <sup>b,d</sup>	8.34 (2.75) <sup>a,c</sup>	5.67 (3.48) <sup>b,d</sup>	7.98 (3.03) <sup>a,c</sup>

*Notes: Differing superscripts (a, b, c, d) indicate differences across the groups by Scheffe's test at  $p = .05$ . \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ : significantly associated with the group levels by ANOVA test.*

The two out of four groups had significantly different means of sociocultural domains for both the national and the ethnic groups' axes. In general, Group 1 had higher values on integration and Latvian orientation and lower values on Russian identity and separation, whereas Group 2 had higher values on separation and lower values on Latvian domains. Group 1 represented 'integrated group' and Group 2 'separated group'. Group 3 and 4 were closer to Group 1, but their interpretation was somewhat difficult because they seem not to represent any coherent acculturation profile, assimilation or marginalisation, as it was expected based on Berry's typology.

Following the four cluster solution I conducted analysis with two clusters based on the descriptive analysis of the variables included in the analysis and the results of the four cluster model. Based on the distinguishing characteristics, cluster 1 was named 'integrated group' (high Latvian and Russian orientation) and cluster 2 'separated group' (high Russian and low Latvian orientation). The findings support evidence from

the descriptive analysis and previous research that the two groups ‘assimilation’ and ‘marginalisation’ would not be prominent in this sample.

The integrated group or profile represented 58 per cent of the sample (209 pupils) and the separated profile 42 per cent (152 pupils). The separated profile (see Table 6-2) shows a clear orientation towards the Russian group with medium Latvian proficiency, high use of Russian language, low contacts with Latvians and a low sense of belonging to Latvia. This group reports a high preference for the separation attitude and scored low on assimilation and integration scales. However, their support for marginalisation is slightly above average. As would be expected, they have a low degree of identification with the Latvian group, but their identification with the Russian group is only slightly higher in comparison to the integrated profile. This group represents young Russian- speakers who show little involvement with the Latvian group and Latvia both at attitudinal and behavioural levels.

**Table 6-2 Integrated and separated profile of Russian-speaking adolescents**

Variables	Separated group (N=152, 58%)	Integrated group (N=209; 42%)
	mean (S.D)	mean (S.D)
<b>Integration***</b>	6.76 (2.30)	10.26 (1.63)
<b>Separation***</b>	9.35 (1.69)	5.90 (2.20)
<b>Assimilation***</b>	0.97 (1.27)	2.56 (1.67)
<b>Marginalisation***</b>	2.24 (2.07)	1.58 (1.67)
<b>Russian identity***</b>	3.49 (0.59)	3.10 (0.81)
<b>Latvian identity***</b>	0.55 (0,78)	1.35 (0.96)
<b>Belonging to Latvia***</b>	2.96 (2.12)	4.99 (2.05)
<b>Proficiency in Latvian***</b>	5.57 (1.57)	6.43 (1.56)
<b>Use of Latvian***</b>	1.57 (1.71)	3.48 (2.17)
<b>Contacts with Latvians***</b>	2.11 (1.94)	3.96 (1.94)
<b>Individual perceived discrimination***</b>	2.67 (2.02)	1.93 (1.80)
<b>Group perceived discrimination***</b>	8.33 (2.89)	6.72 (3.15)

*Notes: \*p < .05. \*\*p < .01. \*\*\*p < .001: significantly associated with the group levels by t-test.*

The integrated profile shows a strong orientation towards both Latvian and Russian groups. These adolescents score higher on Latvian identity than the separated profile, but still have quite high scores on the Russian identification scale. They are proficient in Latvian and use both Russian and Latvian in their everyday life. They have quite frequent contacts with Latvians and have a high sense of belonging to Latvia. This

group have high scores on integration and assimilation and low on separation and marginalisation. These adolescents appear to exemplify the idea of integration with support for both Russian and Latvian cultures and languages with relatively high identification with Latvia and Latvian culture and retention of their own Russian identity.

As a final step, I validated the emergent acculturation profiles by comparing the defined groups with regards to exogenous variable (Lee et al., 2003; Berry et al., 2006; Jang et al., 2007), in this case their scores for perceived discrimination. Individual and group perceived discrimination of the two acculturation groups (integrated and separated) were compared (Table 6-2) and showed substantial differences. Compared to the separated group, the integrated group perceives less discrimination at both group and individual levels.

As expected from previous research (Zepa et al., 2006) and from the descriptive analysis showing that Russian-speaking adolescents have a high level of familiarity and adherence to the Russian ethnic group and their language and culture, the data did not provide evidence for the clear existence of the ‘assimilation’ and ‘marginalisation’ in this sample. The results of cluster analysis demonstrated that the two-cluster model was better describing this sample than the four-cluster model. Two out of four original acculturation profiles (Berry, 1980, Berry et al., 2006), the groups of ‘integration’ and ‘separation’, represent the young Russian-speakers quite well.

The findings suggest that the relevance of the four-typology of acculturation (Berry, 1980) depends on the nature of the sample and the social context as has already been shown in previous research (Lee et al., 2003; Jang et al., 2007; Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008). For this reason when applying Berry’s model of acculturation, it is important to take group-specific characteristics into consideration. Because each immigrant or ethnic minority group has a different immigration history and settlement status, the unique nature of the sample needs to be considered. Depending on these unique group characteristics, the relevance of Berry’s four categories of acculturation may vary.



Russian-speakers are the biggest minority in Latvia and are quite self-sufficient with a high proficiency in Russian, frequent use of Russian language and high frequency of social contacts with Russians among ethnic Latvians. The relative homogeneity with regards to the ethnic language knowledge and use and self-sufficiency of this group distinguishes them from many other immigrant and ethnic minority groups and makes assimilation and marginalisation options less feasible. Of course, this study also looks at a limited sample of Russian-speakers, these are adolescents from Russian schools in Riga. It is likely that assimilation and marginalisation could be present amongst other groups of Russian-speakers. For example, assimilation might be more prominent amongst ethnic Russians in Latvian schools and possibly in rural areas/smaller towns with much more limited exposure to Russian language and culture.

Overall, assimilation and marginalisation seem not to appear as clear-cut choices of Russian-speaking adolescents in Russian schools in Riga. As descriptive analysis showed, very few adolescents support these attitudes and report corresponding behaviours therefore the actual variation is too low for any further robust analysis. Furthermore, as further cluster analysis confirmed 'assimilation' and 'marginalisation' profiles do not appear as separated categories in this sample. In further analysis I will focus on the separation and integration profiles. The next section presents the analysis of the relationships between attitudes, identifications and behaviours within the two acculturation profiles.

### ***6.3 Acculturation attitudes, identifications and behaviours: bivariate analysis results***

#### **6.3.1 Individual level data: adolescents attitudes, identifications and behaviours**

To fully explore investigate what influences the actual degree of acculturation, one has to look at attitudes and identifications and how the two are linked to the actual behaviour. As research shows, an individual can hold a certain acculturation attitude, but not behave in accordance with it (Brady, 1990; Dona & Berry, 1994). As Navas et al. (2005) and Tabuns (2010) suggest there is a difference between acculturation attitudes preferred (ideal situation) and behaviours finally adopted (real situation), therefore I separate attitudes from behaviours (Gentry et al., 1995), but expect them to influence each other.

In this section I explore the bivariate relationships between different acculturation attitudes, identifications and specific behaviours. However, because of the cross-sectional nature of data I cannot claim any causal relationships between the variables. Where possible I will clarify my position with regards to causality based on previous research. Because of some variables being skewed and being presented not as natural interval measurements, but as scores produced by summing ordinal scale measurements, I also conducted both non-parametric and parametric bivariate analysis and compared the results. The two coefficients were not significantly different and I present Pearson correlation coefficients in all tables since it has more statistical power to reveal the existing relationships (Conover, 1980).

Correlation analysis (Table 6-3) suggests that, as expected (Neto, 2002; Neto et al, 2005; Pisarenko, 2002, 2006; Berry et al., 2006), integration attitude is associated with a

higher degree of acculturation<sup>40</sup> demonstrated by better Latvian proficiency, more frequent use of Latvian over Russian, stronger social contacts with Latvians as well as more positive views about Latvia and stronger sense of belonging to their ethnicity.

Separation exactly mirrors the relationships between the variables and integration attitude. The only exception is that separation does not have any significant association with the sense of belonging, but is positively related to identity exploration (very weak correlation). Since integration and separation are the two most popular attitudes among these adolescents it is important to investigate further what differentiates these two preferences. This will be explored further in this section and in the multivariate analysis.

This clearly distinguishable behavioural and attitudinal pattern of the integrated and separated groups is sustained in the relationships between the identifications and acculturation attitudes and behaviours. Although the choice of acculturation attitudes and behaviours does not immediately and always imply the development of a new identity or changes in the existing one (Liebkind et al., 2004), as Berry et al. (2006) suggest acculturation strategies amongst young immigrants tend to be related to different levels of identification with the ethnic and national group.

Similarly to findings from other studies (Kim & Berry, 1985; Berry et al., 2006) the data (see Table 6-3) show that stronger Russian identity is positively related to higher scores on separation and lower on integration. Furthermore, adolescents with a stronger Latvian identity have higher scores on integration and lower on separation. Surprisingly, higher integration scores have a rather weak association with Russian identity; here the Latvian dimension of the identity proves to be more important.

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<sup>40</sup> Expressed as behavioural orientation towards Latvian and Latvians.

**Table 6-3 Acculturation attitudes, identifications and behaviours, correlation matrix<sup>41</sup>**

	<b>Integration</b>	<b>Separation</b>	<b>Russian identity</b>	<b>Latvian identity</b>	<b>Sense of belonging</b>	<b>Identity exploration</b>
<b>Integration</b>			-.111*	.376**	.100*	.008
<b>Separation</b>			.357**	-.344**	-.001	.099*
<b>LV knowledge</b>	.159**	-.162**	-.062	.246**	.026	.043
<b>LV use</b>	.283**	-.243**	-.115*	.264**	-.056	.076
<b>LV contacts</b>	.328**	-.300**	-.172**	.248**	.036	.064
<b>Feelings towards Latvia</b>	.302**	-.377**	-.203**	.256**	.078	-.224**
<b>Individual perceived discrimination (PD)</b>	-.165**	.200**	.148**	-.016	.016	.192**
<b>Group PD</b>	-.116*	.310**	.157**	-.260**	-.032	.112*

*\*\*.* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*.\** Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Additionally, as it was expected from previous studies (Zepa, 2005a; Tabuns, 2006; Zepa et al., 2006; Volkovs, 2010; Zepa & Klave, 2011) those adolescents who have more positive feelings towards Latvia also have stronger a Latvian and a weaker Russian identity. The negative relationships between Russian identity and positive feeling towards Latvia can be partially explained by the construction of a new Latvian Russian identity. This process relies on strong ties with Latvia and identification with Latvian Russians and this can bring these adolescents further from identification with the original Russian culture and group. This also suggests that the sense of territorial belongingness – in this case the proximity to the state – is associated with one's identity. In other words, cognitive elements of ethno-national identity are related to emotional ones (Berry, 1990; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997).

<sup>41</sup> All scales are described in a more detail in Chapter 4 and 5.

**Table 6-4 Correlations between acculturation behaviours and various acculturative attitudes**

	<b>LV proficiency</b>	<b>LV use</b>	<b>LV contacts</b>	<b>Feelings towards Latvia</b>	<b>Individual PD</b>
<b>LV use</b>	.298**				
<b>LV contacts</b>	.281**	.277**			
<b>Feelings towards Latvia</b>	*	*	.058		
<b>Individual PD</b>	-.157**	-.052	-.029	-.164**	
<b>Group PD</b>	-.043	.007	-.100*	-.287**	.262**

\*\**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).*

\**. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).*

Less positive feelings towards Latvia are related to a greater ethno-national identity exploration with more adolescents consciously exploring their identities and the meaning of ethnicity in their lives. This could be explained by the third variable, perceived discrimination, which is related both to negative feelings towards Latvia (see Table 6-4) and to stronger identity exploration (see Table 6-3). This finding corresponds to the results of previous studies (Romero & Roberts, 1998; Sabatier, 2007; Umana-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007) suggesting that discrimination could encourage the exploration of one's own ethnicity and discourage links with the national group or country (Crocker & Major, 1989; Branscombe et al., 1999; Sabatier, 2007).

In the same way, higher perceived group discrimination is related not only to negative feelings towards Latvia, but also to a lower identification with the Latvian group and higher identification with the Russian one (see Table 6-3). The finding supports the argument of Social Identity Theory and Rejection-Identification model that the perception of discrimination may reinforce ethnic identity and weaken national identity (Crocker & Major, 1989; Bourhis et al., 1997; Branscombe et al., 1999; Operario & Fiske, 2001; Sabatier, 2007). Thus, the perception of rejection from the national group not only acts as a barrier to identification with the national group, but also provides an encouragement to identify more strongly with one's own ethnic group. Furthermore, as other researchers argue (Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000), it may not only be a matter of perception: those with a lower identification with the national group and

therefore more likely to have conflicting attitudes and behaviours could be more likely to experience discrimination than those who are well integrated.

Similarly to the findings from previous research (Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Neto, 2002; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003; Pisarenko, 2002, 2006; Berry et al., 2006), these data reveal that perceived discrimination both at individual and group levels is negatively associated with integration and positively with separation. However, it is impossible to make any causal statements, since both these variables could reinforce each other.

Table 6-4 shows that the strength of social contacts with Latvians is negatively associated with perceived discrimination at a group level, but not at an individual level. The conceptual differences between these two variables can help to illuminate this finding. Group discrimination measures in this case prejudice level in Latvian society and is less related to any specific discriminatory experiences events, unlike individual discrimination. As it was discussed in section 3.4 the actual level of discrimination is quite low in Latvia and adolescents perceive more discrimination at a group level than at an individual level. Therefore, prejudices are what drive the separation of the two communities and not actual discrimination that is quite low in Latvia. However, this relationship represents a closed circle where discrimination influences contact between the two groups which in its turn encourages the further maintenance of prejudices.

Surprisingly, there is no relationship between perceived discrimination and language use, although it is likely that there is an indirect relationship between language use and discrimination through social contacts and language proficiency. Proficiency in Latvian is in fact related to more positive feelings towards Latvia and lower perceived discrimination (see Table 6-4) that suggests an emotional dimension for linguistic practices. Use of Latvian is also positively related to feelings towards Latvia. Some theories explain the link between language and discrimination by a weaker ethnic identity because of the high level of tolerance in a society (Fishman, 1966; Hamers & Blanc, 2000) or by greater possibilities to use the national language with more frequent social contacts with nationals (McKay and Wong, 1996; Fisher et al., 2000;

Medvedeva, 2010) as well as lower anxiety and higher self-esteem about language skills (McKay & Wong, 1996; Hamers & Blanc, 2000; Felix, 2004).

Interestingly, better knowledge of Latvian is associated with its frequent use but the correlation is surprisingly low. As focus group discussions and further analysis of the survey data showed (see Chapter 5), there is a relationship between language knowledge and use among adolescents with no or very low fluency, whereas among those with a good knowledge of Latvian, the relationship is not clear-cut.

Taking into account that in Latvia, historically and currently, language plays a focal role and is seen as a symbolic dimension of both Russian and Latvian identities (Zepa, 2005a; 2005b; Zepa & Sulmane, 2006; Tabuns, 2006; 2010; BISS, 2008a; Muižnieks, 2010), as it would be expected the knowledge of Latvian is positively related to the Latvian dimension of identity. To explain the relationship between fluency in Latvian and Latvian identity, it is important to explore two other behaviours, namely language use and social contacts. As other research (Liebkind, 1993; Bankston and Zhou, 1995; Imbens-Bailey, 1996; Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2000) suggests, language knowledge could be indirectly linked to ethnicity through social contacts and language use. Table 6-3 and Table 6-4 support this argument and provide evidence, also presented in other studies (Bankston and Zhou, 1995; Imbens-Bailey, 1996; Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Vervoot, 2010), that proficiency in Latvian is related to adolescents' social contacts with Latvians and use of Latvian and that both are associated with higher identifications with the Latvian group.

While fluency in Latvian is related to Latvian identity, it has no significant relationship with their Russian identity. Similarly to Jasinskaja-Lahti's (2000) study of Russian migrant adolescents in Finland, most Russian-speaking adolescents in Latvia have to use their language a lot and have a full proficiency that leads to a different relationship between language and identification. Fluency in Latvian does not influence knowledge of Russian and this explains why knowledge of the national language is not related to ethnic identification.

Interestingly while not true for fluency in Latvian increased contacts with Latvians and everyday use of Latvian is related to weaker Russian identity. Therefore, as other research also suggests (Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Chiswick & Miller, 2008; Van Tubergen & Kalmijn, 2009), it is social contacts and the use of language rather than proficiency that are stronger linked to one's identity. In contrast to the studies that argue for national language proficiency as a sign of assimilation (Espinosa & Massey, 1997), the survey data from young Russian-speakers in Latvia provides further evidence that language knowledge itself does not necessarily imply assimilation and the balance between the actual use of the ethnic and national languages is probably a much stronger indicator for integration or assimilation (Alba, 1990; Van Tubergen & Kalmijn, 2009).

### **6.3.2 Role of significant others in acculturation and identification**

Both Social Reflection Theory (Allport, 1954) and Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) suggest that the identification with groups can be influenced by significant others with whom they identify and from whom they seek approval. Social Comparison Theory (Festinger 1954; Marsh, Kong & Hau, 2000) supports the idea that individuals learn about and assess themselves through comparison with other people around them. In the section above I came to a conclusion that perceived discrimination plays an important role in the acculturation and identification processes. Perceived discrimination here to a certain degree represents the out-group. In this section I will focus on in-group and explore the influence of three groups of significant others: parents, peers and teachers.

As research shows (Super and Harkness, 1997), parental attitudes are likely to be important to the acculturation attitudes and behaviours of their children. Although the direction of the relationship is more likely to be from parents to adolescents, in the



Latvian context it also seems probable that parental attitudes might be influenced by their children's attitudes and behaviours, in particular at this age.

The context of bilingual education is of great importance for linguistic attitudes and behaviour. On the one hand parents can have an important impact on their children's acculturation attitudes either directly or through the promotion of Russian and/or support of Latvian languages. On the other hand, helping children with homework and involvement in school life can influence parental attitudes and behaviours. Bilingual education can encourage parents to learn and use Latvian and be positive about Latvian and integration. But poorly implemented bilingual teaching and seeing their children struggle can worsen attitudes towards Latvian. This needs further research that is outside the focus of this study so the arguments here are only speculative since I do not have a full picture of parental attitudes and behaviours.

**Table 6-5 Parental attitudes and adolescents' attitudes, behaviours and identifications**

	<b>Parental pro-Latvian attitudes<sup>42</sup></b>	<b>Parental pro-Russian attitudes<sup>43</sup></b>
<b>Integration</b>	.209**	-.174**
<b>Separation</b>	-.170**	.323**
<b>Russian identity</b>	-.041	.171**
<b>Latvian identity</b>	.162**	-.100
<b>LV proficiency</b>	-.022	-.038
<b>LV use</b>	.115*	-.114*
<b>LV contacts</b>	.039	.053
<b>Feelings towards Latvia</b>	.122**	-.165**
<b>Individual PD</b>	-.072	.087
<b>Group PD</b>	-.108*	.127**

\*\**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).*

\**. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).*

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<sup>42</sup> Scale based on 2 items: (1)Parents want me to know Latvian (2)My family is planning to leave Latvia (reverse item)

<sup>43</sup> Scale based on 2 items: (1)Parents want me to know Russian (2)Parents are against bilingual education

The adolescents' integration scores are positively related to pro-Latvian and negatively to pro-Russian parental attitudes (see Table 6-5). Those who reported their parents being more pro-Latvian scored lower on separation and those who perceived their parents as more pro-Russian scored higher. Additionally, those who reported higher pro-Latvian parental attitudes had more positive feelings towards Latvia, whereas those who reported higher parental pro-Russian attitudes had more negative feelings towards Latvia.

Furthermore, it is not only acculturation attitudes and attitudes towards Latvia, but also the adolescents' identifications which are related to their parents' attitudes. Thus it is their Russian identity which is related to parental pro-Russian attitudes while their Latvian identity is associated with parental pro-Latvian attitudes. The link between parental attitudes and the acculturation attitudes and identifications of their children could be explained by parental support for one of the cultures not only directly, but also indirectly, through the encouragement of specific behaviours.

More frequent use of the Latvian language is related to more pro-Latvian and less pro-Russian parental attitudes suggesting the influence of family on the adolescents' linguistic behaviour. Other research also demonstrates that the ethnic language proficiency of adolescents is closely related to the attitudes of parents regarding cultural maintenance (Phinney et al., 2001a) through the promotion of the ethnic language in the home and/or discouragement of national language use. Furthermore, positive feelings towards Latvia as reported by adolescents are associated with more pro-Latvian and less pro-Russian parental attitudes. However, it is quite unexpected that there is no evidence for the relationship between knowledge of Latvian and parental attitudes. This can be explained by educational context that limits parental influence on the national language knowledge. Also as some other studies (Alba, 1990; Chiswick and Miller, 2008; Van Tubergen and Kalmijn, 2009) argue the use of language is much more important than its knowledge in its impact on other behaviours and attitudes.

As previous research in the field argues (Branch & Newcombe, 1986), there is a link between prejudices in older children and their parents. This study also shows that

perceived discrimination at a group level, which in content is similar to the perception of prejudice, is associated with more pro-Russian and pro-Latvian parental attitudes. There is no evidence of an association between individual discrimination and parental attitudes. This might be explained by the fact that individual discrimination is based on the experience of specific events rather than broader statements about out-group attitudes. Therefore, the possibility of influencing the perception of individual-level discrimination is much lower.

As children enter adolescence, their peers and teachers become increasingly important as agents of socialisation. Therefore, research has to explore factors beyond the family as the primary influence on ethno-national identity and acculturation in the education system, considering different contextual factors such as teachers and peers (Carter & Goodwin, 1994). This study is only exploratory with regards to teacher and peer effects since it does not solve the problem of causality, that is, the direction of the effect or identification of the type of effect (Manski, 1993).

Three types of effect are possible: endogenous, exogenous or correlated/compositional. There might indeed be a direct or indirect influence from peers and teachers (endogenous effect), for example, individual use of Latvian tends to vary with the average use of Latvian among the students in class or among teachers in school. But the association between peer or teacher variables and individual's attitudes or behaviours can also vary with, say, the ethnic composition of the reference group (exogenous effect). Finally, the relationship might also just reflect the fact that pupils in some classes are more similar to each other (based on part of the city, similar family backgrounds, same teachers etc.). This would be a correlated or compositional effect.

To distinguish between the three types of effects is very tricky (Evans et al., 1992; Manski, 1993) and cannot be fully dealt with in this study, but it is important to mention that they can have different education and social policy implications because only a true endogenous peer effect would generate a "social multiplier" effect from educational or other interventions, that is, not only directly influencing the students and teachers that are involved directly in the intervention, but also indirectly affecting all students and teachers in the school and also possibly in the local area.

**Table 6-6 Within and between group variance, ANOVA test results**

		<b>Sum of Squares</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Sig.</b>
<b>Integration</b>	<b>Between</b>	305.128	2.412	.001
	<b>Within</b>	2869.462		
	<b>Total</b>	3174.590		
<b>Separation</b>	<b>Between</b>	179.081	1.369	.137
	<b>Within</b>	2870.050		
	<b>Total</b>	3049.130		
<b>Assimilation</b>	<b>Between</b>	59.615	.991	.470
	<b>Within</b>	1357.641		
	<b>Total</b>	1417.256		
<b>Marginalisation</b>	<b>Between</b>	137.233	2.194	.003
	<b>Within</b>	1412.023		
	<b>Total</b>	1549.256		
<b>Russian identity</b>	<b>Between</b>	17.795	1.587	.056
	<b>Within</b>	251.418		
	<b>Total</b>	269.213		
<b>Latvian identity</b>	<b>Between</b>	23.619	1.330	.159
	<b>Within</b>	397.199		
	<b>Total</b>	420.818		
<b>LV proficiency</b>	<b>Between</b>	54.867	1.098	.349
	<b>Within</b>	1146.572		
	<b>Total</b>	1201.439		
<b>LV use</b>	<b>Between</b>	152.648	1.726	.030
	<b>Within</b>	1843.580		
	<b>Total</b>	1996.228		
<b>LV contacts</b>	<b>Between</b>	109.520	1.275	.195
	<b>Within</b>	1921.200		
	<b>Total</b>	2030.719		
<b>Feelings towards Latvia</b>	<b>Between</b>	245.486	2.654	.000
	<b>Within</b>	2059.255		
	<b>Total</b>	2304.740		
<b>Perceived individual discrimination</b>	<b>Between</b>	66.368	.915	.564
	<b>Within</b>	1633.310		
	<b>Total</b>	1699.679		
<b>Perceived group discrimination</b>	<b>Between</b>	412.440	2.195	.003
	<b>Within</b>	4173.671		
	<b>Total</b>	4586.111		

Acculturation attitudes and behaviours were aggregated excluding values for each individual at a class level to represent peer factors. Table 6-7 summarises the results of correlation analysis between individual acculturation attitudes and those peer factors. Correlations are very weak, as would be expected, because of the many other influences present and the high variation within each class rather than between classes (see Table

6-6). For example, it has been argued (Manski, 1993) that the impact of social norms or types of behaviour on individual behaviour depends on the dispersion of behaviour in the reference group; the smaller the dispersion, the stronger the relationship between an individual and the group. As Table 6-6 illustrates variation within class is quite large for most variables, so it is much harder to detect any strong correlation.

Furthermore each person might be influenced by multiple reference groups, giving more weight to the behaviour of some groups than to others. To uncover this researchers have to know how individuals from these groups and what reference groups seem to be of most importance. In this study I unfortunately do not have any sociometric data on friendship groups or dyads as well as favourite teachers. In this study I use general averages on a class level for peer variables.

It is the correlation between the same variables on individual level and peer aggregates that are of substantive interest since it is easier to interpret the results. These are marked in grey in Table 6-7 and Table 6-8. The four variables out of ten had significant positive, however quite weak correlations; these variables were - integration attitude, identity exploration, feelings towards Latvia and perceived group discrimination.

Table 6-7 shows, individual choice of integration is associated with more acceptance of integration and less preference for separation at the class level as well as with more contacts with Latvians among peers. Preference for separation at the individual level is related to less preference for integration at the class level and less frequent contacts with Latvians. The support for integration on an individual level is also related to stronger Latvian identity and weaker Russian identity among peers and vice versa. These findings are not surprising and very much reflect the same relationships between variables on the individual level.

Higher identity exploration among peers is associated with a stronger search for identity on the individual level, but with more negative feelings towards Latvia. One can speculate that adolescents clearly talk about ethnic matters with their peers and the discussion evokes negative feelings towards Latvia. Another reason for that could be the lack of direct communication with Latvians because of the segregated schooling

system, and reliance on the indirect sources, such as Russian peers, Russian mass media, parents or teachers. And this might bring negativism into adolescents' attitudes and views about Latvia.

**Table 6-7 Individual acculturation attitudes and identifications: Correlations with peers' factors**

		INDIVIDUAL PUPILS ACCULTURATION ATTITUDES				
		Integration	Separation	Russian identity	Latvian identity	Identity exploration
<b>PEER FACTORS</b>	<b>integration</b>	.166**	-.141**	-.129**	.113*	-.010
	<b>separation</b>	-.174**	.056	.065	-.072	.000
	<b>Russian identity</b>	-.153**	.085	.083	-.077	.020
	<b>Latvian identity</b>	.159**	-.092	-.085	.049	.024
	<b>identity exploration</b>	.006	-.009	.015	.032	.124**
	<b>feelings towards Latvia</b>	.039	.000	.009	-.006	-.166**
	<b>group PD</b>	.009	.006	-.018	-.030	.045
	<b>individual PD</b>	.021	-.030	-.061	-.039	.020
	<b>LV contacts</b>	.127**	-.111*	-.134**	.035	.046
	<b>LV proficiency</b>	.032	-.014	-.088	-.012	.018
	<b>LV use</b>	.096*	-.007	-.107*	.045	.053

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

\*\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The association between social contacts with Latvians among peers and higher scores on integration, lower on separation and weaker Russian identity on the individual level also partially supports the argument provided above. Furthermore, as Table 6-8 illustrates feelings towards Latvia and group-level perceived discrimination are related on individual and aggregated level. This again provides evidence that adolescents chat about ethnic and language issues with their peers and this may influence their individual behaviour and attitudes.

**Table 6-8 Individual acculturation behaviours and related attitudes: Correlations with peers' factors**

		INDIVIDUAL PUPILS VARIABLES					
		Feelings towards Latvia	Group PD	Individual PD	LV contacts	LV proficiency	LV use
PEER VARIABLES	feelings towards Latvia	.192**	-.115*	-.017	-.007	-.0058	-.002
	group PD	-.132**	.152**	-.001	-.006	-.002	.014
	individual PD	-.036	.002	-.031	.058	.045	-.066
	LV contacts	-.002	-.020	.043	.044	.021	.049
	LV proficiency	-.077	-.005	.037	.040	.002	-.039
	LV use		.085	.038	-.020	.004	.047

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

\*\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6-9 summarises the bivariate relationship between teacher factors and the individual acculturative attitudes of their pupils. Overall, correlations are very weak, which could be explained by the complexity of attitudes and behaviours where teacher effect is only a very small part of the combination of different influences, such as from parents, peers and individual characteristics. Additionally, similarly to peer variables I am using a simple average at a class level to create teacher variables and do not have more specific information, for example, on favourite teachers, who possibly would be a stronger reference group for adolescents rather than all teachers who teach them.

Nevertheless the data suggest that, even if quite weak, relationships between adolescents' acculturation strategies and ethno-national identity and the attitudes and behaviours of their teachers do exist. Thus, integration at pupils' level is related to a lower preference for separation among teachers, but interestingly enough, not to their choice of integration attitudes. However, this might be explained by the large measurement error of the integration attitude and its skewness as measured at teacher-level: almost all teachers expressed their support for integration, therefore the measurement probably diverts from the actual attitudes held by teachers or their behaviours.

**Table 6-9 Individual pupils' acculturation attitudes, identifications and teachers' factors.**  
Correlation analysis.

		INDIVIDUAL PUPILS ACCULTURATION ATTITUDES			
		Integration	Separation	Russian identity	Latvian identity
<b>TEACHER FACTORS</b>	<b>Integration</b>	.008	.000	.056	.010
	<b>Separation</b>	-.150**	.161**	.124**	-.077
	<b>Russian</b>	-.084	.097*	.062	-.035
	<b>Latvian</b>	.071	-.009	.069	-.014
	<b>LV knowledge</b>	.033	.058	.009	-.019
	<b>LV use school</b>	-.132**	.055	.076	-.003
	<b>LV use everyday</b>	.184**	-.070	-.015	.068
	<b>LV contacts</b>	.114*	-.036	-.009	.045
	<b>Feelings towards Latvia</b>	.067	-.069	-.040	.079
	<b>Individual PD</b>	-.114*	.069	.065	-.090
	<b>Group PD</b>	-.098*	.104*	.038	-.032
	<b>Interactive methods</b>	.180**	-.112*	-.065	.097*
<b>Average teaching experience overall</b>	.095*	-.124**	.078	.056	

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

\*\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Higher scores on integration among pupils are related to greater use of the Latvian language in everyday life, stronger social contacts with Latvians and a lower perception of individual and group discrimination among their teachers. These links between attitudes and behaviours are very similar to the ones at the individual pupil level and support findings from previous studies (Supple et al., 2006; Brown et al., 2007) and Social Reflection Theory (Allport, 1954).

Similarly, those adolescents whose teachers had a higher preference for separation and perceived more group discrimination were more likely to support separation. Again one cannot distinguish the true effect of teachers' attitudes and behaviours from, for example, the exogenous effect of school location, the compositional effect of highly motivated teachers and good quality education that makes pupils and teachers more open to contacts with other cultures and less prejudiced in a particular school that leads to integration attitudes and behaviours among both pupils and teachers.



Additionally, it is an engaging finding that interactive methods such as discussions and question and answer sessions seem to support integration attitudes in adolescents and development of their Latvian identity. Contrary to the integration attitude, use of interactive methods by teachers is related negatively to a preference for separation among pupils.

Unexpectedly, there is the negative association between greater use of Latvian in educational settings as reported by teachers and use of Latvian in everyday life outside school by their pupils and their integration attitude. As a speculation one could interpret this as a reaction to greater use of Latvian in school environment that is perceived as an assimilationist attempt among pupils. People usually prefer to use their own language and find it more comfortable, so if they are forced to use another language in formal situations this can probably lead to the more frequent use of their native language in situations when it is their choice; this also comes from the evidence of general surveys in Latvia (BISS, 2008a, SKDS, 2009). Additionally, this can be related to the knowledge of Latvian; where pupils with low fluency in Latvian cannot deal with a high proportion of Latvian in school and this lowers not only their attainment, but also their self-esteem and alienates them from Latvian language. Nevertheless, greater use of Latvian in schools negatively influences the use of Latvian outside school, but does not increase perceived discrimination (Table 6-10). Here, one might infer that the language use decision is less a symbolic and emotional gesture, but more an instrumental and convenient behaviour.

Interestingly, again greater perception of group-level discrimination by pupils is positively related to the Latvian language knowledge of their teachers. Along the line of argument presented above, the finding can be explained by a situation where those teachers with better Latvian language knowledge were forced to learn the language so have a greater perception of group discrimination themselves and therefore channel this attitude to their pupils.

**Table 6-10 Individual pupils' acculturation behaviours and attitudes and teachers' factors.**  
Correlation analysis.

		INDIVIDUAL PUPILS VARIABLES					
		LV proficiency	LV use	LV contacts	Feelings towards Latvia	Individual PD	Group PD
<b>TEACHER FACTORS</b>	<b>integration</b>	-.068	-.046	-.079	.042	.037	.038
	<b>separation</b>	-.056	-.080	-.117*	-.045	.014	.047
	<b>Russian</b>	-.095*	-.023	-.085	-.161**	.069	.153*
	<b>Latvian</b>	-.040	.063	-.019	-.039	-.020	.068
	<b>LV proficiency</b>	-.057	.057	-.077	-.035	-.049	.117*
	<b>LV use in school</b>	.058	-.179**	-.049	-.037	-.018	-.100*
	<b>LV use everyday</b>	-.027	.185**	.061	.032	-.010	.044
	<b>LV contacts</b>	-.060	.179**	.030	.112*	-.003	-.039
	<b>feelings towards Latvia</b>	-.006	.076	.031	.024	.034	.007
	<b>individual PD</b>	-.004	-.118*	-.090	.011	-.022	-.030
	<b>group PD</b>	-.019	-.044	-.121*	-.052	-.003	.056
	<b>interactive methods</b>	.027	.041	.021	.078	-.052	-.075
	<b>teaching experience</b>	.047	.021	.121*	.055	.026	-.116*

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

\*\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6-10 summarises the bivariate relationships between teachers' acculturation attitudes and behaviours and those of their pupils. The highest number of correlations is in the area of Latvian and Russian language use by adolescents in everyday situations. Wider social interaction with Latvians and more frequent use of the Latvian language outside school among teachers is positively related to greater use of Latvian rather than Russian among their pupils. Additionally, teachers' stronger social contacts with Latvians are positively correlated with positive feelings towards Latvia in adolescents. Similarly, the relationships between both perceived discrimination among teachers and Latvian language use among pupils as well as separation attitudes among teachers and Latvian language use among pupils are both negative as expected.

One is concerned with the spurious relationship between these variables and therefore an exogenous effect; where some other third variable can influence the correlation. Some examples might be: a neighbourhood effect due to a larger concentration of Latvians

where both teachers and adolescents live, a specific integration or language learning project the school is involved in that affects both teachers and pupils, the strong attitude of a head teacher etc. For example, the locality of a school has an effect on language use, social contacts, integration attitude and Latvian identity, as well as perceived group discrimination (based on ANOVA test results) both among teachers and pupils. The same variables are also quite different between some schools when aggregated at a school level. Some future case study research of the ‘most integrated’ and ‘least integrated’ schools might help to distinguish between the types of teacher effects and help to interpret the findings.

Overall, the evidence from the preliminary analysis, particularly findings concerned with the use of language in education, supports other researchers’ findings (Silova, 2002; Galbreath & Galvin, 2005) about the gap a real life implementation of the reform and the picture on official papers because of the Soviet legacy of double standards. This could explain why the findings are so confusing; since the measurements often do not reflect the true attitudes and behaviours of teachers and therefore cannot reveal the true teacher effect, if it exists at all. Additionally, correlations revealed are weak and there is substantial variation within schools.

Based on the results of this section, I will proceed by using only peer factors in multivariate models and exclude teachers’ variables from further analysis. In the following section I will build path models to investigate further the relationships uncovered in this chapter between attitudes, identifications and behaviour.

#### ***6.4 Acculturation attitudes, behaviours and identifications of Russian-speaking adolescents: path models***

Path analysis is a type of structural equation modelling (SEM) and is a straightforward extension of a multiple regression. In this study it is used to evaluate simultaneous relationships between acculturation attitudes, identifications and the actual degree of

acculturation, reflected in specific acculturation behaviours such as language proficiency, language use and social contacts. I also aim to provide estimates of the magnitude and significance of hypothesised connections between these sets of variables.

Sometimes path analysis and related techniques are called "causal modelling", the actual models cannot provide evidence for a direction of causality. The reason for this name is that the techniques allow testing of theoretical propositions about cause and effect. However, here researchers assume some variables are causally related to build up the models, but if the model has an adequate fit, it still does not prove that the causal assumptions are correct. Only longitudinal panel data will allow testing for the direction of causality.

Additionally, path analysis usually works better and models provide a better fit, similarly to multivariate regressions, if all relations are linear and the variables are measured at least on interval scale, have normal distribution and are measured without error (perfect reliability). Of course these are ideal assumptions and evaluations have to be made about how real world data fit these assumptions. In this study most variables included into the models are scales created from the summation of ordinal variables, so they are not natural interval scale measurements. However, as some previous studies (e.g. Johnson & Creech, 1983; Hutchinson & Olmos, 1998) argue, ordinal variables with many categories, such as seven-point Likert-type scales of agreement, are usually safely treated as "continuous" and can be used in SEM. In practice, most researchers treat ordinal variables with five or more categories as continuous, and there is some evidence to suggest that this is not likely to produce much of a practical impact on results (e.g. Babakus, Ferguson, & Joreskog, 1987; Dolan, 1994).

The other usual problem with ordinal scale variables or non-natural interval scale measurements is the violation of normality assumption and their skewed distribution. The effect of violating the assumption of nonnormality is that chi-square is too large (so too many models are rejected) and standard errors are too small (so significance tests of path coefficients will result in Type I error). However, again in practice, many structural equation models with continuous variables (and generally including ordinal variables

of five categories or more) will not have severe problems with nonnormality (Babakus, Ferguson, & Joreskog, 1987; Dolan, 1994).

Path analysis or SEM with AMOS in this study is the analysis strategy to: (1) examine the associations between ethno-national identity and acculturation attitudes, (2) examine path coefficients from acculturation attitude and ethno-national identification predictor variables to the three dimensions of degree of acculturation (acculturation behaviour variable), (3) examine the relationships between perceived discrimination and attitudes, identity and behaviours, and (4) examine possible effects of parents and peers on the attitudes, identity and behaviour of adolescents. I have specified two models focused on two acculturation attitudes, integration and separation, to explore further differences in identities and behaviours surrounding these acculturation preferences. The base model focused on each attitude was specified based on the results of the bivariate analysis with paths identified as significant being included into the model. Then based on the model fit and statistical significance of the paths, the initial model was revised to produce a satisfying fit.

Model fit was checked using several measures, including the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA, ideally less than .08), and Comparative Fit Index (CFI, ideally close to 1.0). I have also used the relative chi-square, also called normal chi-square, CMIN/DF (chi square/degree of freedom ratio) in an attempt to make it less dependent on sample size. Different researchers have recommended using a ratio as low as 2 or as high as 5 to indicate a reasonable fit (Marsh & Hocevar, 1985). Since I am aware of possible nonnormality problems in the data I chose the lowest ratio of 2 to indicate an adequate fit (Byrne, 1991).

Schumacker and Lomax (1996) and Kline (1998) have each argued that there is no straightforward answer to what constitutes good fit in path analysis and it must always be accompanied by meaningful model-data correspondence. It is possible to find several favourable values of overall fit indices, but specific portions of the model might not be fitting the data well. Given the lack of consensus regarding the best measure of fit, the more criteria a model satisfies, the better its fit and it is also important to evaluate the actual path and how meaningful it is. The standardised coefficients here will provide

information on the strength of the relationship, ranging from -1 to 1. Only those variables and paths that were significant in the bivariate analysis were entered into the model. Those that appeared to be non-significant in the multivariate analysis were taken out or deleted to achieve a good fit for the overall model explaining the formation of a separation strategy. This is the approach I use in the two following subsections.

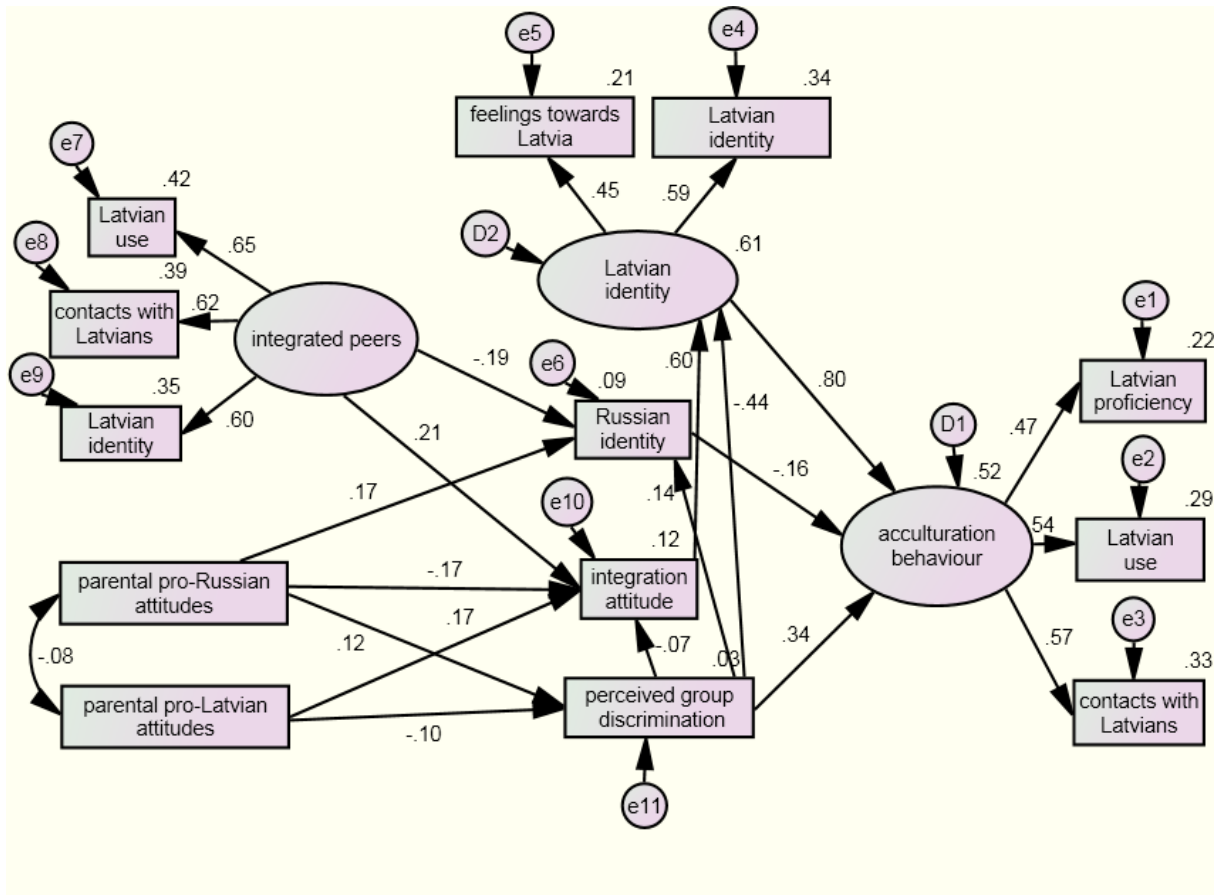
#### **6.4.1 Integration focused model**

This subsection examines a model focused around integration attitude and looks at the relationships between this attitude, identifications and degree of acculturation as a behavioural Latvian orientation. The full model with standardized estimates of path coefficients is illustrated in Figure 6-1. All indices I used support the empirical data fit to the theoretical model presented<sup>44</sup>.

The structural model presented as a diagram in Figure 6-1 is to be read horizontally from left to right and the variables are arranged in order from attitudes and identifications to behaviours, making the assumption that specific attitudes relate to other attitudes and identifications and together they can trigger specific behaviours. Because the data are cross-sectional and not longitudinal, this analysis is not claiming causality and it is also probable that at the next step some behaviours can further encourage particular attitudes. On the far left I also have peer and parental attitude variables that are exogenous to the model and the assumption is made that they predict individual adolescents' attitudes, identifications and behaviours.

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<sup>44</sup> Root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) is 0.036 with confidence interval of 0.02 to 0.05 and since it is less than 0.08 or a more conservative 0.05, it indicates a good fit. Comparative fit index (CFI) of 0.95 is larger than 0.9 which again reflects a good fit. Chi square to degree of freedom ratio (CMIN/DF) is 1.61 that also indicates an adequate fit of the theoretical model applied to the data from the survey of young Russian-speakers.



**Figure 6-1 Path integration attitude focused model**

*NOTE: Only statistically significant standardised coefficients (ranging from -1 to 1) are presented next to the arrows. By convention, standardised coefficients that are greater than 0.8 are considered large, 0.5 moderate, less than 0.2 small.*

*Double arrows represent correlations and single headed arrows the hypothesised direction of a relationship.*

*Rectangles stand for observed or directly measured variables and ellipses for latent or unobserved variables.*

*The uncertainty or inaccuracy of the measurement, that also represents all the unknown variables not measured in this particular model are represented by D (disturbance) for latent variables and e (error term) for observed variables.*

I will start with a closer look at the first main aim of the path analysis, that is to (1) examine the associations between ethno-national identity and acculturation attitudes. Although previous research provides evidence for the positive relationship between both ethnic and national identity and integration attitude (Kim & Berry, 1985; Laroche et al., 1998; Berry et al., 2006), this study show that integration preference on the attitudinal level among young Russian-speakers is related to a higher degree of identification with

the Latvian group and culture (.60), but is not associated with their Russian identity. This finding only partially supports the hypothesis that was brought forward and, similarly to a few other studies (Laroche et al., 1997; Horenczyk, 1997; Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000), shows that in some contexts it is only the national dimension of identity that is more involved in acculturation decisions and preferences surrounding integration.

To evaluate this finding we have to remember that the main choice for Russian-speaking adolescents is between integration and separation attitudes and the main distinction between the two is how much Latvian identity and behaviour involving Latvian language, contacts with Latvians and Latvian culture these youngsters are willing to accept. So, the centrality of their Latvian dimension of identity and integration attitude in this model has to be seen in this context.

The second main focus of the analysis is (2) the link of attitudes and identity to the actual behaviours. First of all, even if the data do not provide an explanation for the causal relationships between the knowledge and use of the Latvian language and social contacts with Latvians, it clearly demonstrates the close association between the three in their representation of the latent variable of the degree of acculturation or acculturation behaviour (see Figure 6-1). These three dimensions of behavioural patterns are also often used in policy documents in Latvia (Elerte, 2011) and research (e.g. BISS, 2008a; 2010; Muižnieks, 2010; Zepa & Klave, 2011) to measure successful sociocultural adaptation of ethnic minorities and migrants in Latvia.

The model suggests that the actual degree of acculturation of young Russian-speakers is directly predicted by both dimensions of their ethno-national identity. As would be expected, the strongest predictor (.80) is Latvian identity; those with a higher degree of identification with the Latvian group and culture and a positive sense of belonging to Latvia also demonstrate a higher degree of acculturation. The relationship with the Russian dimension of adolescents' identity is much weaker, but is still significant (-.16) and those with a stronger Russian identity show a lower degree of acculturation. It is interesting that even though Russian identity was not associated with a preference for integration it is directly related to the actual degree of acculturation by limiting Latvian-oriented behaviours, as also supported by previous studies (Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000;



Berry et al., 2006). Moreover, since identity is created through social interaction those adolescents who do not speak any Latvian and do not know any Latvians are most likely to have a strong Russian identity.

Additionally, while there is no direct link between integration attitude and acculturation behaviour, they show that there is a quite strong positive indirect path<sup>45</sup> through Latvian identity (.48). Here, I do not claim any causality, it is possible that Latvian identity and choice of integration reinforce each other and produce specific Latvian oriented behaviours, helping to adapt better socioculturally, that again reinforces the integration attitudes and Latvian identity.

The concept of significant others, both as 'us' in the form of parents and peers and as 'them' the other cultural group, in this case Latvians, is very relevant in investigating the acculturation processes and the formation of one's identity. The next two aims of the path analysis are to focus on these groups and their effects on adolescents' individual choices and behaviours. The third objective of the analysis (3) was to examine the relationships between perceived discrimination and youngsters' attitudes, identity and behaviours.

The group-level perceived discrimination appears to be playing a role in the acculturation process, but individual discrimination was not statistically significant in the model and was removed from it. It is possible that most of its effect was absorbed by the group-level discrimination and, as we have already seen in the bivariate analysis, individual discrimination is quite specific and was also highly skewed.

As the analysis suggests, higher perceived group discrimination is associated with negative feelings towards Latvia and lower identification with the Latvian group and culture directly (-.44) and also through integration attitude (-.05) with a higher perception of discrimination being directly related to lower support for the integration attitude (-.07). As we can see it is not only that higher perceived level of prejudices

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<sup>45</sup> The indirect effect is calculated by multiplying the coefficients for each path from 'integration attitude' to 'degree of acculturation' you can trace going through other variables. integration ->Latvian identity -> degree of acculturation is  $0.6 \times 0.8 = 0.48$

towards Russian-speakers damages the emotional and cognitive link with Latvia and Latvians, it also appears to strengthen Russian identity (.14).

These findings confirm the results of previous research where integration attitudes in general were related to a lower perception of discrimination (Neto, 2002; Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003; Berry et al., 2006). It is hard to test for the causality of this relationship without longitudinal data, but previous research (Berry et al., 2006) provided some evidence on the prior role of perceived discrimination.

The path model suggests that while there is a strong negative link between perceived discrimination and Latvian identity among Russian-speaking adolescents, there is a direct positive link (.33) between it and acculturation behaviour, however the total effect<sup>46</sup> is still negative (-.08) with a strong negative indirect effect channelled through weaker Latvian identity and stronger Russian identity (-.41) that both negatively influence the actual degree of acculturation.

This finding demonstrates a twofold impact of discrimination on orientation towards the national group and language. On the one hand there is the strong negative indirect effect through emotional and cognitive links, through stronger Russian identity and weaker Latvian identity that supports some of the findings from previous research (Fishman, 1966; McKay and Wong, 1996; Hamers & Blanc, 2000; Fisher et al., 2000; Felix, 2004). As the Rejection-Identification approach (Branscombe et al, 1999) suggests perceived discrimination may lead to increased in-group identification (higher ethnic identification), which can help maintain psychological well-being in the face of societal devaluation, but may reduce use of national language (Fishman, 1966; Tajfel, 1974; Rumbaut, 1994; Hamers & Blanc, 2000). However, this approach has also been criticised for taking for granted a direct link between ethnic identity and linguistic behaviour, which is not always the case.

There could be a more sociological explanation to the negative relationship between perceived discrimination and behavioural Latvian orientation provided by Medvedeva

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<sup>46</sup> Total effect is calculated by summing the direct and all indirect effects.

(2010) and Carhill and others (2008). Perceived discrimination directly or indirectly, by decreasing social contacts with Latvians and thus the possibility of using the language in real life situations, limits exposure to the Latvian language. This can be both the result of social avoidance by young Russian-speakers and social exclusion by Latvians. As previous research (Zepa, 2004a; 2005b; BISS, 2008a) and also this study show, although direct social exclusion or social avoidance is less of a problem in Latvia, social contacts could improve in both quantity and quality. Perceived discrimination, encouraged further by a segregated education system, can discourage or hinder adolescents' participation in Latvian-dominant activities outside school and decreases the likelihood of participation in Latvian-dominant social networks, as research on other countries also shows (Lippi-Green, 1997; Fisher et al., 2000, Medvedeva, 2010).

On the other hand the positive relationship between perceived discrimination and behavioural Latvian orientation support can be explained by a different approach that is prominent in the works of Giles et al (1977) and Edwards (1985). The relationship between identification and linguistic behaviour can be more practical than emotional and individuals can be very pragmatically motivated to learn a national language and use it to communicate with others. Similarly to other studies (Giles et al., 1977; Edwards, 1985; Galindo, 1995; Medvedeva, 2010) demonstrate that the actual pragmatic use of the language and social contacts may be to gain a better education or future position in the labour market and achieve greater social acceptance from the national group (Galindo, 1995). However, it is important to stress that this can happen alongside the maintenance of other valuable elements of the ethnic identity (Edwards, 1985), including Russian language and culture. So, perceived societal discrimination may have a positive influence by encouraging adolescents to improve their national language skills in an attempt to overcome possible future discrimination as well as to succeed academically and economically.

The final step in the analysis (4) was to examine possible effects of parents and peers on the attitudes, identity and behaviour of adolescents. Unfortunately I could not use data from teachers because of its high measurement errors and unreliability.

The starting-point is the two variables that represent parental pro-Russian and pro-Latvian attitudes as the exogenous variables that are not explained by any other variables in the model. The assumption here was made that adolescents are less likely to influence the attitudes of their parents than vice versa. The data did not provide evidence for the direct effect of parental views on the acculturation behaviour of their children that was suggested in some research (Phinney et al., 2001b; Liebkind et al., 2004); there was only an indirect effect through attitudinal and identity variables.

Parental pro-Russian attitudes had an indirect negative influence on Latvian orientation of behaviour (-.12) through the encouragement of Russian identity (.17) and the discouragement of integration (-.17) and therefore indirectly of Latvian identity (-.16). Additionally, a parental pro-Russian stance is linked to higher perceived discrimination in children (.12) and that negatively influences support of integration and Latvian identity and further Latvian-oriented behaviours. These findings are unsurprising, as it would be expected that, if parents put more emphasis on their children to learn Russian and plan to leave Latvia, their views about Latvia, Latvians and Latvian are probably not that positive and therefore will have a negative effect on their children's Latvian-oriented attitudes, identity and behaviours.

Parental pro-Latvian attitudes and their influence show a completely opposite picture, as you would expect. These Latvian-oriented parental attitudes reduce perceived discrimination (-.10) and directly encourage integration attitudes (.17); therefore also indirectly increasing identification with the Latvian state and culture (.15) as well as Latvian-oriented behaviours in their children (.08). Interestingly, parental pro-Latvian attitudes do not have an effect on the Russian identity of their children. This demonstrates again the importance of a multidimensional exploration of identity and that the Russian and Latvian dimensions of adolescents' identities can vary independently, so encouragement of Latvian orientation does not mean a discouragement of the Russian identity.

These findings show the role of parental views and attitudes in the formation of acculturation attitudes and ethno-national identity in children, supporting the idea of parents being one of the major agents not only in the general socialisation of their

children, but also their ethnic socialisation and acculturation (Phinney et al., 2001b; Liebkind et al, 2004). These results also support the argument for an intergenerational transfer of prejudices, especially if the direct contact between the two groups is limited as in the case of Russian-speaking and Latvian adolescents.

One identity and two behavioural variables representing peers' acculturation strategies were significant in this model (see Figure 6-1) and they represented a latent variable that was called 'Integrated peers'. Since all three of these variables had a quite high correlation the specification of the latent variable in the model helped not only to reduce the number of variables and improve the model fit, but also made an interpretation of the findings easier. These integrated peers had a direct effect on the support for integration on the individual level (.21) and a negative effect on Russian identity (-.19). There was no direct influence from peers on the actual individual behaviours, but they were indirectly influenced (.13) through discouragement of Russian identity and support for the integration attitude and Latvian identity.

All these findings support the concept of hidden curricula, since many of the feelings towards Latvia and much of the perceived group discrimination and integration attitude in general can come from the school discourse as well as from direct discussions among peers both in and outside the classroom. Of course the effect from any peer variables in this model is hard to interpret because it does not provide full evidence for the complex nature of effect type. Moreover both individuals and their peers can be influenced by other variables that are not present in the model or are unobservables, for example their teachers<sup>47</sup> or other school- or neighbourhood-level variables. Full discussion about peer effect measurement is presented in subsection 6.3.2.

Since integration and separation are two competing acculturation attitudes among young Russian-speakers in Latvia, it is important to investigate any differences in acculturation

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<sup>47</sup> Unfortunately because of low reliability and variation as well as high correlation with peer factors teacher factors could not be included in full models and were only explored through the bivariate analysis.

and identification formation processes that surround these two acculturation orientations. The separation focused path model is presented in the next subsection.

#### **6.4.2 Separation focused model**

This section looks at the formation of the separation strategy, linking different acculturation attitudes and behaviours as well as parental, peer and teacher variables. Similarly to the model for the formation of the integration strategy, I performed a path analysis, in addition to the actual degree of acculturation that is a central variable I included separation attitude, Russian and Latvian identities as well as perceived discrimination. Additionally, parental attitudes and peer factors were also brought into a model. The full model with standardized estimates of path coefficients is illustrated in Figure 6-2. Good fit indices<sup>48</sup> support the model and indicate an adequate fit of the theoretical model applied to the data from the survey of young Russian-speakers.

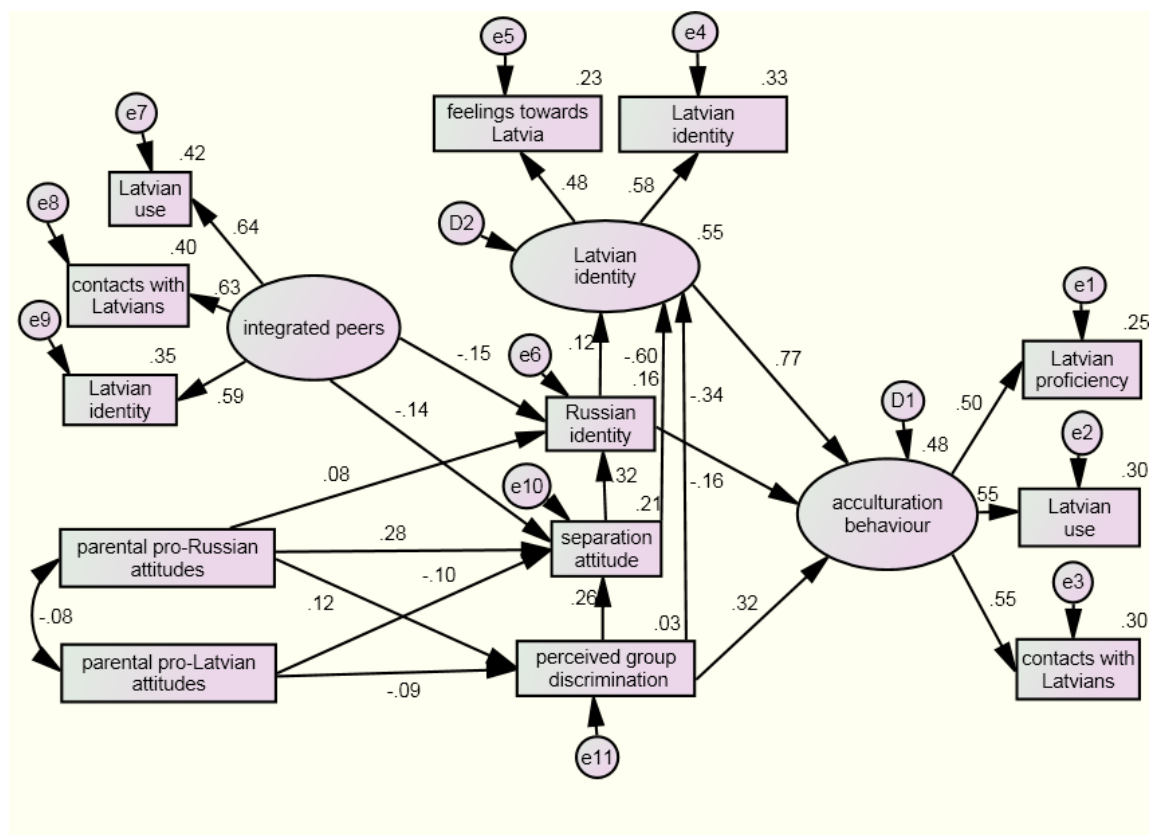
As expected and hypothesised, the separation attitude is directly related to stronger Russian identity (.32) and weaker Latvian identity (-.60). It is interesting that in this model Russian identity was positively, however weakly (.12), related to Latvian identity, which could be explained by the principle of self-congruity (Ehrlich, 1974) where a stronger identity and higher self-esteem are related to the acceptance of others and less anxiety about either losing this identity or of assimilation. In this case a strong Russian identity still allows for the development of a stronger Latvian identity. This can also be partially explained by the fact that although the Russian-speaking community in Latvia can be quite self-sufficient there are certain situations where Russian-speakers come into contact with Latvian and Latvians. Moreover, most of the adolescents in the study were born in Latvia as second generation and some of them have never travelled to Russia. Consequently, complete separation is not feasible either in behaviour or as an

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<sup>48</sup> RMSEA at 0.04 with a confidence interval of 0.02 to 0.05, and since it is less than 0.08 or a more conservative 0.05, indicating a good fit. CFI of 0.95 is larger than 0.9 which again reflects a good fit. CMIN/DF is 1.65 also supports a good model fit.

identification strategy. This challenges their Russian identity and their understanding of it as I explained in the chapter about young Russian-speakers' identity. This new Latvian Russian identity can combine both Russian and Latvian dimensions.

However other findings were more as expected (Phinney et al., 2001b; Neto, 2002; Kvernmo & Heyerdahl, 2004; Pisarenko, 2006; Berry et al., 2006). Similarly to the integration attitude, separation does not have a direct influence on the degree of acculturation. The separation attitude negatively influences Latvian-orientated behaviour by strengthening Russian identity and weakening Latvian identity.



**Figure 6-2 Path analysis: separation strategy model**

*NOTE: Only statistically significant standardized coefficients (ranging from -1 to 1) are presented next to the arrows. By convention standardized coefficients that are greater than 0.8 considered large, 0.5 moderate, less than 0.2 small.*

*Double arrows represent correlations and single headed arrows the hypothesised direction of a relationship.*

*Rectangles stand for observed or directly measured variables and ellipses for latent or unobserved variables.*

*The uncertainty or inaccuracy of the measurement that also represents all the unknown variables not measured in this particular model are represented by D (disturbance) for latent*

*variables and e (error term) for observed variables.*

As expected, based on previous research (e.g. Neto, 2002; Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Liebkind et al, 2004; Berry et al., 2006), the separation attitude is positively associated with higher perceived individual discrimination (.23). In addition, perceived group discrimination also had a much stronger direct effect on the preference for separation compared to its link with the integration attitude. Perceived discrimination can directly as well as indirectly through identity minimising Latvian-oriented behaviour, such as Latvian language proficiency and use and contacts with Latvians, discourage the choice of integration and reinforce the support for separation among Russian-speaking adolescents in Latvia.

The separation strategy model supports the argument for parental influence on the acculturation attitudes of their children and the involvement of parents in ethnic socialisation or enculturation (Super and Harkness, 1997; Phinney et al., 2001b; Liebkind et al, 2004). As expected, in contrast to the formation of support for integration, preference for separation among Russian-speaking adolescents is related negatively to a pro-Latvian parental attitude (-.10) and positively to a pro-Russian stance (.28). The direct effect of parental reinforcement of pro-Russian attitudes on the separation attitude is almost twice the size of its effect on the integration attitude. Additionally, the direct effect of parental support for the Latvian state, language and culture on the preference for a separation attitude among their children is almost a third of the effect of pro-Russian attitudes and is half the size of its effect on the integration attitude. We can conclude that whereas parental influence on the integration attitude of Russian-speaking adolescents is of medium strength and quite equally divided between pro-Russian and pro-Latvian views, the adolescents' support for separation is influenced much more by parental encouragement for their knowledge and use of the Russian language as well as for their negative attitudes towards the Latvian state.

Latent variable called 'integrated peers' showed a significant direct negative effect on the separation attitude at the individual level. These behaviours and identity among peers discourage the choice of a separation attitude, most probably through the



reinforcement of the integration attitude. This points to the importance both of peers and of the general ethos and discourse in the school environment and once again provides evidence for the significance of the educational system in the acculturation process. If peers can influence acculturation processes then segregated schools are more likely to facilitate the formation and maintenance of two separate communities of adolescents from Russian and Latvian schools.

However, exactly because of that, it is not only easier to lessen support for separation by bringing two communities together, but also to reinforce this attitude, for example with intimidating ethnic policies and their forced implementation without discussion or explanation. In this case the strengthening of separation trends can become even more prominent when a tendency for separation is already in existence in Latvia due to limited exposure to the Latvian language and culture, a high proportion of Russian-speakers, segregated systems of education and mass media as well as much of the job market, making the Russian-speaking community quite self-sufficient.

## ***6.5 Conclusions***

As argued in this chapter, acculturation and identification processes are very complex. As this analysis showed it is important to take the context of the specific group into account. This study suggests that from Berry's four acculturation categories only two – integration and separation – are prominent among young Russian-speakers from Russian schools in Riga. So all further analysis was focused on those two attitudes and their relationships with Russian and Latvian identities, acculturation behaviour, perceived discrimination and parental and peer influences.

The data partially supported the hypothesis about the degree of acculturation and acculturation attitudes. Although a higher degree of acculturation (measured as better Latvian fluency, frequent use of Latvian and more contacts with Latvians) is

positively associated with the integration attitude and negatively with the separation attitude, the effect is not direct and is channelled through ethno-national identity.

Furthermore, preference for the integration strategy was associated with a high degree of identification with the Latvian identity, but did not have an association with the Russian identity. Therefore the hypothesis was only partially supported by the empirical data. However, the hypothesis about the separation attitude and its relationship with identity was fully supported by the evidence provided. Thus preference for the separation strategy was associated with a high degree of identification with the Russian group and a low degree of identification with the Latvian group among Russian-speaking adolescents.

Additionally, as hypothesised, more perceived discrimination was positively related to Russian identity both directly and indirectly and negatively to Latvian identity. The other hypothesis that was supported by the data was that lower perceived discrimination was related to the integration attitude and greater perceived discrimination to separation.

An interesting finding is about the relationship between perceived discrimination and the actual degree of acculturation. On the one hand there was a direct positive association between more perceived discrimination and a higher degree of acculturation. But on the other there was a much stronger negative indirect effect going through identity. The total effect was negative and supported the hypothesis.

Finally, parents and peers had a definite influence on the individual acculturation processes and identities. Parental pro-Russian attitudes both directly influenced higher Russian identity, more perceived discrimination and lower Latvian identity and indirectly through these processes a lower degree of actual acculturation or Latvian-oriented behaviours. Parental pro-Latvian attitudes had the opposite effect as did

‘integrated peers’ through a stronger Latvian identity, more frequent contacts with Latvians and use of Latvian at a class level. Moreover, preference for the separation strategy seemed to be influenced more by the views of significant others than preference for the integration strategy. These findings make integration a more instrumental approach and separation more of an emotional choice, influenced by the attitudes and

behaviours not only of significant others, such as parents and peers, but also of Latvians through perceived discrimination and the acceptance of young Russian-speakers as full members of Latvian society.

## **7 DISCUSSION OF THE MAIN RESULTS**

This section discusses the main results and links them to theoretical and empirical implications, both in general and in the specific Latvian context. It also reflects on methodology and provides direction for further research needed.

### ***7.1 Acculturation and ethno-national identity: empirical data and theory***

#### **7.1.1 The multifaceted nature of acculturation**

From a sociological and psychological perspective, overall the acculturation framework proposed by Berry (1980, 1984, 1997; Berry et al., 2006) has proved useful in explaining Russian-speaking adolescents' acculturation in Latvia. By providing a wider perspective on acculturation and by identifying specific factors and processes that influence the actual degree of acculturation among young Russian-speakers the empirical findings help to understand the specific Latvian context. This study's theoretical conclusions contribute further to our understanding of acculturation among immigrant adolescents as a complex and dynamic process.

In this study, Berry's framework was used to assess acculturation attitudes and behaviours that form acculturation strategies together with Phinney's (1989, 1990) two-

dimensional model of ethno-national identity<sup>49</sup>. The survey of Russian-speaking adolescents showed their preference for integration and its evident competition with separation on the attitudinal level and even more so in actual behavioural patterns. Assimilation and marginalisation seem to be less prominent choices among Russian-speaking adolescents. This finding is consistent with expectations based on previous research in Latvia (Zepa, 2005a; Zepa et al., 2006; BISS, 2008a; Tabuns, 2010; Muižnieks, 2010; Zepa & Klave, 2011) and other countries (Berry, 1980; Berry et al., 1987; Berry & Krishnan, 1992; Sayegh & Lasry, 1993; Kwak & Berry, 2001; Kasatkina, 2000, 2004, 2006; Lebedeva, 2003; Nimmerfeldt, 2009; Kruusvall et al., 2009; Nimmerfeldt et al., 2011; Valk et al., 2011).

On the one hand ethnic relationships in Latvia are satisfactory or good; Latvia has relatively high and stable rates of ethnic intermarriage and the distance between Latvians and Russians is not very great. Latvian language proficiency among Russian-speakers has improved significantly since independence, especially in the younger generation as this study also shows. On the other hand, there are perceptions among both Latvians and Russian-speakers of persistent threats to their language and culture, continued scarcity of direct contacts with Latvians and use of Latvian as well as a weakening sense of belonging to Latvia.

This research provides evidence that with regards to actual behaviour most adolescents report being fluent in Latvian or having good national language skills. They also show their understanding of the need to learn Latvian by demonstrating both integrative and instrumental motivations to do so. However, the actual use of Latvian is at a very low level. This corresponds to quite infrequent contacts with Latvians and a self-sufficient community of Russian-speakers as well as a segregated education system. The use of the Latvian language outside school is limited. Additionally, the insufficient exposure to Latvian outside the school environment hinders the positive effects of bilingual education by inhibiting practice opportunities and makes it more artificial: young

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<sup>49</sup> General discussion on the multifaceted identity of young Russian-speakers will be discussed in the next section.

Russian-speakers learn Latvian at school and practise it with their teachers and their Russian-speaking peers in a monolingual environment rather than with native Latvian-speakers. This decreases the motivation of adolescents to learn Latvian or to use it in their everyday lives if they do not have to.

Moreover, there is a discrepancy between the official recorded proportion of Latvian use and its actual use in 'Russian' schools. Adolescents and teachers are still free to choose their unofficial language of teaching and learning, outside of Ministry inspections, and, as data show, their preference stays with Russian. So, in all situations where the choice of the language depends on the individual, e.g. on the street, in shops, with friends and even in schools, the Russian language is still spoken more often and has even been on increase since 2008, as the general survey and this research show.

Language has very often been considered central to the exploration of acculturation and ethno-national identity in Latvia. Some researchers have argued that Russian-speakers are assimilating into Latvian culture and language (Laitin, 1998) because they choose to learn Latvian and encourage their children to learn Latvian. Nevertheless neither other similar studies (Zepa & Karklins, 1995; Ponarin, 2000; Apine, 2001) nor this survey provide evidence for the possible assimilation of Russian-speakers as a group. This does not however argue against individual cases of assimilation, in particular in the case of mixed marriages or some ethnic minority children going to 'Latvian' schools. As Ponarin (2000) and Romanov (2000) suggest, the choice to learn Latvian leads to bilingualism and integration rather than to assimilation and there is no evidence for lesser or no knowledge of Russian among most of the ethnic minorities in Latvia. The retention of the Russian language, as one can see, comes with increased competence in Latvian, which does not automatically imply any decrease in the use and function of Russian.

Laitin's competitive approach distinguishing between integration and bilingualism (1998) is very useful for understanding the instrumental nature of the choice of languages. Even if Russian-speaking adolescents want to gain competence in the Latvian language, they still want to keep their knowledge of the Russian language at a high level and thus not only keep their identity and intergenerational ties, but also

increase their competitiveness on the labour market. This also explains why among the Russian-speaking population in Latvia many adolescents and their parents favour bilingual education.

However, this predominantly instrumental motivation to learn and use Latvian still allow for individuals to be or feel very much separated from Latvians in the social sphere and not feel any sense of belonging to the Latvian state. The same is true in the opposite direction where some individuals with a very low knowledge of Latvian can feel a strong sense of attachment to Latvia. Of course, it also has to be taken into account that in many urban settings in Latvia, including Riga, the Russian-language community is very often self-sufficient and thus separation in the language sphere is much more likely to be sustained compared to some rural areas.

Language is a part of culture, but while language and culture are closely related, they are not homologous. When more than one culture and language are in contact in the same society, other aspects of acculturation, such as social contacts, are also of great importance. Though integration – at least at the attitudinal level – is highly supported by adolescents, as the survey illustrates, the second preferred acculturation mode continues to be separation. Moreover, while integration as an attitude stays almost at the same level of preference across different years and cohorts, there is a growing popularity of separation across all four domains. While many Russian-speaking adolescents are eager to come into contact with both Russians and Latvians and have a positive attitude towards being bilingual and bicultural, there are also some evident separation tendencies, especially in the area of wider social contacts and language use. This could be explained partially by a reaction against the 'titularization' (Silova, 2002; Galbreath & Galvin, 2005) of 'Russian' schools and the politicisation of ethnic and language issues in Latvia (BISS, 2008a; Zepa, 2010; Zepa & Klave, 2011), but there are other complex reasons for that.

All these tendencies do not suggest a greater integration of Russian- and Latvian-speakers. Furthermore, as the survey suggests, although very few adolescents report any specific individual experiences of discrimination, many more report about general discriminatory attitudes towards Russians and Russian-speakers. This is of great

importance, especially when both the qualitative and quantitative data from this study provide evidence that the general views of Latvians about Russians and the ethno-political ethos of society are significant contributors to the actual degree of acculturation of Russian-speaking adolescents and to their choice of both acculturation attitudes and ethno-national identity.

In addition, quite a high proportion of adolescents, influenced by general social and political discourse and specific political decisions, do not see themselves as enjoying equal status with Latvians and perceive some competition between the two groups. All these factors could increase the appeal of separation over integration among young Russian-speakers and lower their Latvian-oriented behaviours. Moreover, as this study suggests, these factors have a stronger influence on the encouragement of separation while their links with integration are rather weak.

Perceived ethnic discrimination is a serious obstacle to achieving harmonious relationships in society and to attaining a strong sense of attachment to Latvia alongside strong Russian or any other ethnic identity among non-Latvians. However, often discrimination and social contacts can form a vicious circle where high initial levels of perceived discrimination decrease contacts with the other group and this predisposes them to more discrimination (e.g. Phinney et al, 1998; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003; Liebkind et al, 2004) and to a higher level of prejudice in society.

Since the social contacts and the level of discrimination and prejudice in a society are interrelated, as Allport (1954) suggests, successful intergroup contact can lead to reduced prejudice and facilitate social cohesion. However, the empirical reality in Latvia shows that not only are the actual contacts quite infrequent, but also there are very few shared goals (an important criterion for successful contact) or a common understanding of the past, present and future of Latvia and important social and political events and trends. The education system in this context is of great importance, but being segregated and therefore limiting everyday meaningful contacts between the two groups, it has a negative rather than a positive effect and does little to facilitate the integration and social contacts of Russian-speaking adolescents with their Latvian peers. In addition, separate

media environments and political space impedes the development of shared goals and understanding and facilitates further conflicts between the two groups.

In general, the situation in Latvia is problematic, above all because of very infrequent, if not absent, direct communication between Russian- and Latvian- speakers, especially among the school-age generation. For many Russians and Russian-speakers who mainly communicate in their everyday lives within their own group, their image of Latvians comes from mass media and their significant others, such as parents, teachers and peers. Even if a high number of Russian-speakers have a relatively high number of Latvians among their relatives and immediate family because of mixed marriages, those 'our' Latvians are seen as exceptions from the general Latvian group (Zepa, 2004; Zepa et al, 2006) Also focus groups showed, the few Latvians adolescents meet and with whom they are often close friends are seen as exceptions and their general views about Latvians and how they perceive Russian-speakers comes fully from social discourse rather than individual experiences.

The influence of parents, teachers and peers is definitely interrelated with individual acculturation processes as we saw from this study, even though sometimes the type of effect and direction can be difficult to disentangle. Parental pro-Russian attitudes directly influence a higher Russian identity, greater perceived discrimination and a lower Latvian identity and, indirectly through these processes, a lower Latvian-oriented behaviours. Parental pro-Latvian attitudes have the opposite effect. Adolescents also seem to mirror the attitudes of their peers and possibly teachers. Moreover, it is individual teachers' attitudes and behaviours rather than formal curricula, such as, Latvian language use in teaching, that have far greater effect. This study provided evidence not only for the existence of informal 'hidden curricula' that is a combination of peers' and teachers' attitudes and behavioural models, but also their association with individual attitudes and behavioural patterns.

As I argue here these indirect communications between Russian- and Latvian-speakers often simplify and facilitate the categorisation process, dividing all people into 'us' and 'them'. Furthermore, this clear divide between two ethnic/linguistic groups exists in other spheres of life, such as politics and policy thus limiting opportunities, creating and



maintaining stereotypes and inhibiting further communication. As Allport argued (1954), it is not communication as such, but positive and frequent communication between equals that can help a society to reduce prejudice and promote social cohesion.

Overall, the study also validated the link between acculturation behaviours, such as Latvian language knowledge and use and social contacts with Latvians, and acculturation attitudes. As expected, this study, consistently with previous research (Young & Gardner, 1990; Lanca, Alksnes, Roese, & Gardner, 1994; Kvernmo & Heyerdahl, 2004; Berry et al., 2006), suggests behaviours oriented towards the national group or the host society have a statistically significant positive association with integration and a negative association with separation. So, generally those with a separation attitude have a lower actual degree of acculturation compared to those who prefer integration.

The findings of this study also indicate that there are more complex relations between the different processes underlying acculturation. For example, as the data analysis showed, there is a multifaceted relationship between perceived discrimination and the actual degree of acculturation (measured as better Latvian fluency, frequent use of Latvian and more contacts with Latvians). The overall relationship of perceived discrimination was negative, as was hypothesised and expected. But while there was a strong negative indirect link through Latvian and Russian identity and sense of belonging to Latvia, there was also a slightly weaker, but positive direct association between greater perceived discrimination and a higher degree of acculturation.

The first relationship demonstrates a more emotional, psychological and symbolic approach where perceived discrimination may lead to increased in-group identification (higher ethnic identification), which can help maintain psychological well-being in the face of societal devaluation (Fishman, 1966; McKay and Wong, 1996; Branscombe et al, 1999; Hamers & Blanc, 2000; Fisher et al., 2000; Felix, 2004), but may reduce the use of the national language (Fishman, 1966; Tajfel, 1974; Rumbaut, 1994; Hamers & Blanc, 2000) and limit social contacts with Latvians and thus the possibility to use the language in real life situations (Carhill et al., 2008; Medvedeva, 2010). This can be the result both of social avoidance by young Russian-speakers and social exclusion by

Latvians. Perceived discrimination, nurtured by a segregated education system, can discourage or hinder adolescents' participation in Latvian-dominant activities outside school and decrease the likelihood of their participation in Latvian-dominant social networks, as research on other countries has also shown (Lippi-Green, 1997; Fisher et al., 2000, Medvedeva, 2010).

The second positive association provides evidence for a more practical approach to linguistic behaviour (Giles et al., 1977; Edwards, 1985; Galindo, 1995; Medvedeva, 2010) in which individuals can be highly pragmatically motivated to learn a national language and use it to communicate with others. So, perceived societal discrimination may have a positive influence by encouraging adolescents to improve their national language skills in an attempt to overcome possible future discrimination and to succeed academically and economically.

The positive relationship between perceived discrimination and Latvian-orientated can also be linked to a more emotional side of acculturation. Language and social contacts are used to gain not only a better education and future position in the labour market, but also to achieve greater social acceptance from the national group. Although these processes might positively influence the use and knowledge of the Latvian language and possibly contacts with Latvians, this link also has certain risks associated with it, such as the encouragement of separation or marginalisation if the non-acceptance by Latvians is prolonged and there is no acknowledgement of the high degree of acculturation into Latvian culture on the part of some young Russian-speakers.

This relationship demonstrates the complex nature of acculturation where both people's feelings (emotional and symbolic links) and practical motivation influence the acculturation processes. Additionally, as the qualitative material demonstrated and the relatively low explained variances in path models suggest, specific behaviours can often also be explained by random chance or a matter of convenience and are not related to any deeper underlying processes such as acculturation attitudes or identity.

In previous literature the assumption was made that integration on both attitudinal and behavioural levels has to be the preferred mode of acculturation. In the studies

undertaken by Berry and his team in Australia, Canada, and the United States, integration was found to be the most preferred mode of acculturation (Berry, 1980; Berry et al., 1987; Berry & Krishnan, 1992; Kwak & Berry, 2001; Berry et al., 2006). This picture was also found in other societies (Sayegh & Lasry, 1993; Dona & Berry, 1994; Neto, 2002; Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000). However in Norway, the Pakistani population appeared to desire separation most, while the Vietnamese desire assimilation most (Sam, 1998, 2000).

Additionally while most of the literature shows that integration is the most psychologically and socially adaptive mode of acculturation since it has a positive influence on an individual's well-being and relations with the larger society (Berry, 1997; Ward, 1996; Phinney et al., 2001), other research (Berry et al., 1987; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003) argues that the separation option could be as adaptive as integration for particular groups. As Berry suggests other modes of acculturation may be more effective only if they are able to match the expectations and policy of the host society and those of the acculturating population (Berry et al., 1987) and differences do exist in national groups, and in societies of settlement. Consequently, caution needs to be exercised when making generalisations about modes of acculturation across different cultural contexts.

While integration is the preferred official choice by policymakers and Latvians, some of the actions of politicians demonstrate tendencies towards assimilation. However, assimilation is not perceived as a desirable outcome for most non-Latvians and their children. Separation is a more realistic option for Russian-speaking adolescents living in Latvia, because the Russian-speaking group is often self-sufficient, especially in urban areas, and they have the economic power to reject the larger society.

However, as I showed the high preference is given both to integration and separation by Russian-speaking adolescents. This suggests that although the adolescents definitely place great importance on the maintenance of close ties with their group, they also want to be a part of the larger society and care about what Latvians think of them. In this context the non-acceptance by Latvians can encourage even those who prefer integration to lean behaviourally towards the Russian language and culture to provide themselves

with psychological comfort, security and self-respect as well as self-integrity. Separation is associated not only with a lack of the necessary skills for integration with the wider national society, which is not the case with most young Russian-speakers, but also conflicting feelings about wanting to participate in the larger society, and yet being rejected by forms of perceived prejudice and discrimination.

The two clearly distinguishable acculturation strategies out of the four offered in Berry's original theory were validated not only through descriptive data, but also a more complex cluster analysis. Among young Russian-speakers in Latvia, based on Berry's four typologies of acculturation (Berry, 1980, Berry et al., 2006) the data did not provide evidence for the clear existence of the 'assimilation' and 'marginalisation' profiles. The two groups of 'integration' and 'separation' represented the young Russian-speakers well. This suggests that the relevance of the four-typology of acculturation (Berry, 1980) depends on the nature of the sample and the social context, as shown in previous research (Lee et al., 2003; Jang et al., 2007; Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008). For this reason, when applying Berry's model of acculturation, it is important to take group-specific characteristics into consideration.

This study examined how adolescents from Russian-speaking families in Latvia view and deal with two distinct cultural influences using Berry's model of acculturation. The study of the acculturation process using individual-level data permits us to focus on the specific differences which affect those individuals undergoing this process. This study demonstrates the importance of identifying and analysing separately the distinctive components of the acculturation process for an accurate understanding of the actual degree of immigrants' acculturation. However, more acculturation research is needed to understand and better predict the conditions under which patterns of acculturation appear.

Acculturation strategies play a central part in understanding how people orient themselves with respect to this process. It is evident that there are individual differences in how people relate to the dominant culture. However, a prevalent theme that emerged was a strong preference for the integration mode of acculturation on the attitudinal level. The principal dynamic in the youngsters' acculturation experience is the desire to be

within two cultures in a pluralistic society and not to live between two cultures. In addition, the fact that significant others such as parents and teachers support the integration strategy may have played an important role.

However the dynamic aspect of the acculturation among Russian-speaking adolescents suggests that it is far from complete. These adolescents may or may not develop into strong biculturals. The extent to which they begin to feel that they are also members of the Latvian community appears to be associated less with the learning of the Latvian language and more with its use with Latvians and the development of social contacts with the national group. The development of the acculturation processes in Latvia so far has shown that a solution that is just based on language knowledge cannot be seen as a definite guarantee of stable, positive relations between the majority and the minority. It is evident that social contacts and perceived discrimination play a more significant role.

The study of Russian-speaking adolescents demonstrated that the acculturation strategies a person or a group may choose are a product of a variety of factors which are interrelated in a very complex way. The study helps to understand better the process of acculturation of these adolescents, which is a phenomenon that has been quite neglected. As Berry et al. (1989) stated, *“an awareness of such attitudes may help in promoting a more satisfying adaptation based on better understanding of the individual caught up in the process of acculturation. Thus, in addition to their scientific merit, there is a potential for considerable practical utility.”* (pp. 204–205)

Several clear implications emerge from the current study. Firstly, it is the essential role of direct communication on equal terms in facilitating integration in a pluralistic society. These types of contacts should be promoted to reduce the possibility of both Latvians and non-Latvians feeling excluded or threatened. The second one is that societies and the political institutions of these pluralistic societies should also consider what information they use as a base for their decision-making and always utilise first-hand information sources, such as open consultations with the general population, trying to hear as many opinions as possible.

This also relates to implications in educational settings. The school has to act as a flexible integration channel and must achieve integration *intra muros* for it to serve as a microcosm of the whole society. Public education should aim, among other things, to change people's attitudes toward those from different cultures, rather than replicate a two-community society through a segregated schooling system and its 'hidden curricula'. For real integration to take place and a pluralist, multicultural society to be achieved, more effort needs to be made to promote a better understanding and appreciation of the different cultures and languages existing side by side in Latvian society through direct contacts on equal terms. This has to start as early as possible, that is through the school and childcare system.

The integration and adaptation of immigrants in general and of young Russian-speakers in particular, is an issue of great importance for the future of Latvian society. How this issue is approached is related to the type of society now developing in Latvia, and depends on two factors: the policies and attitudes towards Russian-speakers within Latvian society on the one hand, and the Russian-speakers' resources and motivation for integration on the other.

It is also clear that if one wants to influence behaviour it cannot be done in a direct prescriptive way; that will only probably increase perceived discrimination, less positive feelings towards the country and identification with the national group, which will also have an impact on the preference for the acculturation attitude and on actual behaviour. Focussing on attitudes and emotional and symbolic factors as well as direct communication opportunities on equal terms between the two groups (Allport, 1954) is necessary to facilitate behavioural change.

This study has clarified some of the theoretical issues and provided additional empirical models to do justice to the multiple interacting factors which contribute to the acculturation of immigrant adolescents. This promotes a better understanding and a more accurate prediction of the conditions under which new patterns of acculturation develop. However, more theoretical development and empirical research is still needed. It would be useful to test the impact of contextual factors more directly and more carefully to identify and measure factors that appear crucial in the

acculturation process. In addition, a theoretical comparison between the different operationalisations of acculturation provided by other researchers could further clarify our understanding of this process.

Although it is evident that individuals are not completely free in their acculturation choices, since the interactive nature of acculturation involves significant others, such as parents, teachers, peers and wider society, there still seems to be a lack of theoretical approaches and empirical evidence which integrate psychological perspectives on individual acculturation with a more sociological approach to the acculturation perspective.

Moreover, all acculturation research to date has been focused on groups of individuals that are in the minority in a society, such as immigrants, refugees, travellers, but since acculturation is a two-way process of change (Redfield et al., 1936, p.149) majority groups are also involved. Taking into account the history of Latvia and Latvians, it would be very useful to study the consequences of the numerous past and present contacts with Russians and Russian culture on Latvian culture, Latvians' perception of these influences and the effect of this on the acculturation process of both groups involved.

Finally, this research exemplified the shift from simple linear explanations to the construction of more complex empirical models to study the acculturation of immigrants. It is clear that the construction of multivariate process models is a highly relevant means of increasing our understanding of the complex structure of relationships between the various aspects involved in the acculturation process. However, it is important to acknowledge that the models proposed in this study are only one possible way of presenting the acculturation of young Russian-speakers and are generalisations on the multitude of different acculturation strategies existing in Latvia. As Berry noted, although it is true that “no text (no matter how generous the word allocation), nor figure (no matter how complicated), can represent every aspect of the realities of the acculturation process”, perhaps in the future, a theoretically integrated, empirically testable, and refutable model on acculturation may appear (Berry, 1997, p. 62).

One of the essential domains is the extent to which changes in identity are related to changes that occur in the process of acculturation. Two aspects which have been found to be very important to adolescents of immigrant backgrounds are ethnic identity and national identity (Phinney, 1990). The next section focuses on the research findings and the practical and theoretical implications with regards to the ethno-national identity of Russian-speaking adolescents in Latvia.

### **7.1.2 The multidimensional identity of young Russian-speakers**

Much of the current discussion in social sciences focuses on the fluid, situational and conditional nature of ethnicity (Hitlin et al., 2006; Wimmer, 2008, Helbling, 2009; McDonnell and de Lourenco, 2009; Burton et al., 2010). To reflect this approach to ethnicity I looked at ethno-national identity as a multidimensional rather than one-dimensional concept. Consequently, I have also measured the two dimensions separately to reflect identification with the national and ethnic cultures and groups independently of each other (Lasry & Sayegh, 1992; Sayegh & Lasry, 1993; Sanchez & Fernandez, 1993; Noels, Pon & Clément, 1996; Bourhis et al., 1997; Laroche et al., 1997, 1998).

Although there seems to be a tendency at the conceptual level to move towards a truly multidimensional identity model in acknowledgement of the ideas suggested much earlier by Hutnik (1986, 1991), only some empirical studies (Lasry & Sayegh, 1992; Sanchez & Fernandez, 1993, Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Phinney et al., 2001b, Berry et al., 2006; Sabatier, 2007) have translated this idea into empirical research and even fewer have tried it out in Latvian context (Zepa et al., 2006; Galbreath, 2006; Cara, 2007; Cara, 2010a). This study set out to test this approach in Latvia.

However even this two-dimensional model could not fully explain the enormous complexity of ethnicity and many factors can be argued to affect identification in any one individual, whether related to the ethnic composition of the family genealogy and to attitudes towards ancestors, the residential history of the family of origin over



time, ethnic-oriented life experiences, the importance the individual places on ethnic heritage or to the larger forces of culture change that influence ethnic groups and regions. Furthermore, subjective group membership and more symbolic identity processes may also be involved. As far as this study is concerned, we can only speculate about the processes behind the ethno-national identity of the Russian-speaking adolescents in question.

The results of this study indeed provide evidence for the argument that the strength of identification with one's ethnic group and with the larger society can vary independently. This research indicated a wide variation in the ethno-national identities of Russian-speaking adolescents in Latvia. It also revealed that their identity is composed of two clearly independent dimensions, one reflecting their Russian identity and the other their Latvian identity, corresponding to the findings of Sayegh & Lasry (1993), Sanchez & Fernandez (1993) and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2000).

It is interesting to look at the results of this study in the context of previous research findings about the future of Russian Diaspora and Russian-speakers in the former Soviet Union countries. The main choices for possible Russian-speaking identities in Latvia might be reduced to three main options: assimilation into the Latvian culture group, the maintenance of a distinct traditional Russian identity (Kory, 1980; Kolsto, 1999) or the development of a new compound identity of Russian and Latvian cultures (Pavlovich, 1980; Melvin, 1995; Payin, 1994; Kolsto, 1999; Apine, 2001; Pisarenko, 2002; Simonian, 2003; Zepa, 2005a; Galbreath, 2006; Pavlenko, 2006; Cara, 2007, 2010a).

Although most of the Russian-speaking adolescents labelled themselves as Russians when asked an open question with regards to their identity, there was clear evidence from the data that some Russian-speakers have come to identify increasingly with the Latvian ethnic group or Latvian state and land and therefore identified as 'Latvian'. This provides some evidence that Russian-speakers and, in this particular case, adolescents in 'Russian' schools, incorporate some identification with the Latvian state and possibly the Latvian ethnic group into their ethno-national identity. Furthermore, empirical data from closed questions about how close these adolescents feel to the Russian and Latvian groups and cultures supported the multidimensional perspective on

ethno-national identity, leading me to propose a two-dimensional structure for the identity of Russian-speaking adolescents (Berry et al., 1986, 1987; Berry, 1997; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001); the two dimensions being Russian identity (ethnic identity) and Latvian identity (national identity).

This quantitative findings and further narratives from focus group discussions demonstrate that it is possible for the Russian-speaking adolescents to identify with both Russian and Latvian groups at the same time or with neither. Furthermore, it provides evidence for the argument for a possible new identity of Latvian Russians (Pavlovich, 1980; Melvin, 1995; Payin, 1994; Apine, 2001; Pisarenko, 2002; Simonian, 2003; Zepa, 2005a; Pavlenko, 2006; Cara, 2007) that identify with both groups at the same time. The two-dimensional model of ethno-national identity allowed me to demonstrate that identification with the Latvian group does not necessarily relate to the weakening of Russian identity as such.

This pattern, as I have argued in this study, may also reflect a situation where adolescents create a new ethno-national identity where the ethnic group and culture they identify with is reshaped and restructured to reflect their life within two cultures (Horenczyk, 1997). As further analysis showed, often Russians and Russian-speakers in Latvia identify closely as Russians on the one hand and place Russian language at the centre of their Russian identification, but on the other they are also very much aware of their cultural differences from Russians in Russia and general Russian culture. Many of them do not identify with the general modern Russian culture, but insist that they are part of a quite unique Latvian Russian or Baltic Russian culture. So when they are asked if they feel part of the Russian ethnic group and culture, some of them disagree completely or agree only partially because their reference point for the ethnic dimension of their identity has moved and has been restructured from Russian to Latvian Russian or Russian Latvian.

This finding also shows the specific nature of the Russian identity of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in terms of their traditional values and culture. Their Russian identity seems to differ from that of the Russians in Russia, and it could be characterised as an “imagined” identity, reflecting their awareness of their own Russian

roots as learned from their family in Latvia, rather than actual Russian values prevailing in Russia today. This finding also supports Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) argument showing how Latvian Russian group identity provides both with the sense of belonging and distinctiveness (Brewer, 1991) and helps to maintain positive self-concept (Tajfel, 1981; Operario & Fiske, 1999). This is achieved by favourably comparing Russians in Russia and Russians in Latvia using the East-West hierarchy and uniqueness of the Latvian Russians as a means to boost self-esteem.

In practical terms this also shows that Latvian ethnic and social policy does not necessary have to limit exposure to Russian culture, but just increase the coverage of Latvian culture in order to achieve potentially successful cohesion in society. Additionally, a compromise between the two languages would help. Similarly to culture, it is not a limitation of the use of Russian that has to be at the centre of attention, but an increase in the exposure to Latvian.

This study clearly not only demonstrates how ethnicity is a product of both human agency and social context, but also illustrates interactional and situational nature of ethno-national identity (Epstein, 1978; Brubaker, 2002). On the one hand individuals may identify with one or more ethnic groups to a different degree as a matter of their choice. While on the other, this seemingly free choice is structured and heavily influenced both psychologically and socially by others (Suarez-Oronzo, 2000; Suarez-Oronzo & Qin-Hilliard, 2004).

Since of the main functions of one's identity is to maintain a positive and coherent self-concept and high self-esteem (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Operario & Fiske, 1999) the non-acceptance of non-Latvians into the Latvian nation potentially lowers the self-esteem of the Russian-speakers and this alienates them and lowers their identification with both Latvia and the Latvian group and culture. Therefore, the combined effect of failed integration and education policies, as well as the economic crisis, had a negative influence not only on social integration, but also on the overall positive feelings towards Latvia among Russian-speaking adolescents.

The interactive and contextual nature of ethnicity, as this study showed, dictates that identity is always created with reference to the Others. As adolescents demonstrated in their discussions, when they speak or think about their identity it always comes in the form of comparison with Latvians, Russians in Russia or other Russian-speakers in Latvia. Furthermore, as both quantitative and qualitative data show, peers, teachers and even parents also play a significant role in the process of identity formation among young Russian-speakers. In addition to the views of Latvians in the form of perceived discrimination and the general level of prejudice and acceptance of Russian-speakers as part of the Latvian society and nation have also been shown to be of great importance.

Here the Soviet legacy of primordial view about one's ethnicity as something fixed the assumption is still prevalent in public and popular thinking in Latvia. Non-Latvians cannot be fully Latvians because they do not have Latvian bloodlines (Elerte, 2011). This view is widespread among Latvians and they often downplay the role and strength of territorial attachment or subjective identification of Russian-speakers with the Latvian culture and group. However, as research shows ethnic minorities themselves (Apine, 2001; Pisarenko, 2002; Volkovs, 1996, 2010; Simonian, 2003; Zepa, 2005a; Pavlenko, 2006; Galbreath, 2006; Dribins, 2007; Cara, 2007, 2010a, 2010b) often give a lot of weight to their ethno-national identification with both Latvian and Russian groups and to the territorial aspect when claim to be full members of the Latvian nation and identify with Latvia as their place of birth.

Further analysis of factors related to Russian and Latvian identities increased our understanding of this phenomenon. In particular, it was not their proficiency in the Russian or Latvian language, but rather the extent to which they used the respective language in their everyday lives which was found to be linked to the degree of their Russian and Latvian identity, supporting findings obtained by Ethier & Deaux (1990). The social contacts of the adolescents was another factor that was associated with their ethno-national identity.

Despite the fact that most of the Russian-speaking adolescents identified, at least to some degree, with both the Russian and the Latvian cultures, fewer adolescents showed

the same level of actual Latvian-orientated behaviours while all were fluent in Russian and used it in most their communications with both Russian and Latvians. Jasinskaja-Lahti (2000) also discovered that the national identity of Russian-speaking migrants in Finland was not related to their degree of acculturation in terms of the cultural values they actually adhered to. This supports the notion of the relative independence of the content of ethno-national identity and actual degree of acculturation as two different aspects of the acculturation process (Hutnik, 1986, 1991). Furthermore, the absence of a strong linear relationship between the immigrants' ethnic identity and their behaviour provides strong support for the important theoretical point made by Rosenthal & Feldman (1992) that the characteristics that reflect crucial cultural values and distinguish cultural groups from one another are not a basis for adolescents' identification with their membership groups. Barth (1969) made the same argument about the creation of ethnic boundaries.

This contrast between the results regarding the relationships between ethno-national identity, acculturation attitudes and actual degree of acculturation found in this study and those that could have been expected on the basis of Berry's (1980, 1984; 1990; 1997) framework demonstrates the importance of a multivariate approach to the study of the acculturation process and the need for a separate assessment of acculturation in terms of identity, acculturation attitudes and actual degree of acculturation as well as a two-dimensional approach to ethno-national identity.

The main implication for policy and research in Latvia is the necessity of public debate about the use of simplistic categories to represent individuals' ethnicity that do not always reflect either the complexity of many people's identities or social reality. Integration policies need to take this into account. On the one hand effective, targeted policy measures require data disaggregated by ethnicity, native language, citizenship, gender, age, and region. On the other, overly simplistic categories that influence public discourses and decision-making processes will inhibit any integration.

As this study showed, identities are very complex and multidimensional: Russian-speakers in Latvia can feel part of Latvian culture and society as well as identifying as Russians or Russian-speakers or Latvian Russians or Russian Latvians or any other

identity that fits their individual context and history. However, current policy documents, as well as the majority of surveys, reports in mass media and official documents do not reflect this diversity at all. Individual behaviour, as shown in this study, is indeed related to identities, but to subjective complex identities rather than just a Russian/Latvian dichotomy or an assumed point on a line representing a change from Russian to Latvian.

In current general surveys, official statistics and documents the split is too simplistic, using just one of the ethnicities or languages. As this study showed, it is not how much people feel Russian or identify as Russian only, but it is a combination of both a Russian identity and an identification with Latvia, Latvian culture and language that is important for individual behaviour. Therefore, the use of simplified measurements misrepresents reality and creates prejudices in Latvian society, by constructing stereotypical 'Russians' and 'Latvians' that often do not exist, but based on whose generalised views policy decisions are made.

I am not claiming here that ethnicity is a redundant category in postmodern society, but it is too complex to use in the form of simplistic categorical terms. Ethnicities do not have clearly divided borders, but represent complex individual stories. Identities are not clear cut categories, but blurred ever-changing contextualised identifications with different groups. Additionally people do not use their ethnicity as the only reference in their everyday life; there are many other identities and reference points. I propose, based on the limitations of measuring a complex and multidimensional concept with a simple one-dimensional question, to operationalise ethnicity as multiple questions to capture the complexity of the phenomenon. In the Latvian case this would mean to measure at least two dimensions: national (Latvian) and ethnic (Russian) and where possible both linguistic and cultural identifications.

Furthermore, acculturation research has to move from testing hypotheses about unicultural preferences and the identities involved in acculturation processes into an examination of the degrees of different identities, the various types of combinations of identifications and an investigation of the cognitive, emotional, symbolic and social

processes behind these multidimensional identities and the context surrounding their formation.

## **7.2 *Study limitations***

### **7.2.1 The sample and the data collection**

The results of this study and their generalisation have some limitations. Some caution regarding the generalisation of results is connected with the specific geographical location of the fieldwork and also with the sample chosen. First, Riga, the city at the centre of this study has its own specific ethnic and social situation. It would be useful to compare acculturation strategies and identifications of Russian-speakers living for example, in Daugavpils where they constitute more than 80 per cent of the population with some other smaller towns where one can only find at the most 10-20 per cent of Russian-speakers.

It should also be mentioned that the adolescents studied here all attend schools with Russian as the language of instruction. Adolescents who study in schools with Latvian as the language of instruction or smaller ethnic minority schools such as Ukrainian, Lithuanian or Polish have to be studied separately. However, it would be of great importance and interest to compare the results of these studies.

Furthermore, this research focuses on a specific generation and age group of Russian-speakers because of the centrality of education in this study. However, there are intergenerational differences among Russian-speakers in Latvia, as has been noted in previous research (e.g. Zepa, 2005a, 2005b; Tabuns, 2006; Zepa et al., 2006; Zepa & Klave, 2011) and this aspect needs further research, but using a much wider sample.

In this research, it was considered of greater importance to look at a more or less homogeneous Russian-speaking sample and focus on examining how the different variables involved in acculturation and the formation of identifications interrelated to account for the differential outcomes among separate immigrant groups. Nevertheless, future studies using a bidimensional model of acculturation and identifications in Latvia need to include younger and older individuals and other ethnic groups and other types of schools, as a means of placing the present findings in a broader context and to make them more generalisable. The comparative research would also be of great value for the understanding of the acculturative and identification processes to improve social cohesion in Latvia and around the world.

Some limitations to the present study, in particular with the assimilation profile representation, need to be noted. Despite efforts to have a comprehensive sample that would allow for generalisations, findings from the present study are still limited by the use of Russian-speaking adolescents in Russian schools in Riga. The choice of geographical area means that adolescents from areas from predominantly Russian or Latvian regions are not included. Riga represents quite a diverse population with different socioeconomic status; however, it is possible that those who are more socially isolated and disadvantaged are excluded in the present sample. Additionally, choosing only Russian schools excludes a group of Russian-speaking children in Latvian schools who are more likely to be represented by an assimilation profile. In conclusion, this study possibly did not provide enough evidence for the existence of the assimilation and marginalisation profiles because of the limitations of the sample; this has to be taken into account in the conclusions from this analysis and wider generalisations.

### **7.2.2 The validity of the measurements**

The other limitation of this study is related to the validity of the measurements used. Firstly, some of the suggestions of this research, in particular regarding language knowledge and use as well as perceived discrimination, remain quite speculative



because only self-reported measures were used. However, nobody could deny that it is specifically subjective perceptions of different events that influence the choice of acculturation strategy and formation of one's identity, especially in the case of perceived discrimination. Nevertheless, it is important in future research to use some external indicators to test the validity of subjective measurements.

Secondly, most of the measurements came from previous research, which brought its advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, this strategy made opportunities for comparison and the use of established and tested measurements possible. While on the other, it brought the validity of some measurements under question. Some of the measurements have been validated in Latvia, but with different age groups, while others have been validated with the appropriate age groups, but in other countries, bringing problems with the translation and contextualisation of the measurements. The challenge here was to adapt the instruments in a culturally relevant and comprehensible or age appropriate form while maintaining the meaning of the original items and concepts that were validated in previous research.

Because of limited time and resources and the specific focus of this study, the actual degree of acculturation was operationalised as language fluency and use and social contacts. However, acculturation involves many other dimensions of human life, that are often less amendable to or require a long time and effort to change, such as values, traditional morals and religion. There is a need for this type of research and a comparison of findings between the two types of acculturation outcomes or measurements of change associated with acculturation.

Furthermore, the greatest challenge in all research is functional inequivalence or the extent to which one can be sure that the same items or scales have captured the same content and concepts even if the measurements provide adequate reliability and validity in statistical terms. It was very important to use qualitative methods to validate the statistics collected through the surveys and therefore a mixed methods design was applied. This issue was specifically relevant when looking at the identifications of the young Russian-speakers and asking them about their identification with the Russian group and culture in particular. Whereas a relatively low degree of identification with

the Russian culture could be interpreted as a sign of assimilation, the interview, observational and focus group materials showed that it was more a sign of the formation of a new Russian identity that is different from Russians in Russia and their culture rather than a replacement of Russian identity with the Latvian one.

The social, historical and political contexts have to be taken into account in all research and even well-established measurements have to be questioned to show their applicability and appropriateness in the specific context. For example, this study showed that a two rather than four-dimensional acculturation model is a better representation of the Russian-speaking adolescents from Russian schools in Riga.

Thus, although the main purpose of this study was to contribute to testing and further elaborating on a theoretical model of the acculturation and identifications of young immigrants and ethnic minorities by investigating a sample of Russian-speaking adolescents in Latvia, substantial attention was also paid to recognising the specificity of the cultural and social context. This particularly applied to developing the research design and interpreting the results. Consequently, these findings were reexamined to acknowledge and explain acculturation and identification as a process in more theoretical terms, therefore linking the contextual and theoretical aspects of the study to produce a more general and applicable knowledge of such a complicated subject as ethnicity and acculturation.

### **7.2.3 The cross-sectional design and causality**

The presented findings are still explanatory in nature, and further assessment with other analytic techniques needs to be conducted. Also, given the dynamic nature of acculturation processes, a longitudinal examination would be beneficial.

Any findings from the comparison of the data from different years have to take into account that any changes that were detected could come from two other sources rather than only the influence of the 2004 education reform. First, adolescents are in a period

in their lives when their ethnic identities and acculturation choices are in flux and follow patterns that come from general cognitive and social development rather than external influences. Second, even if the same schools and same cohort of adolescents participated in the surveys in different years, they are not the same people. It is not a panel study. Thus the selection bias that comes from a slightly different profile of adolescents who are in a compulsory part of their schooling and who choose then to go on to high school has to be taken into consideration.

Nevertheless the survey data allow us to make two important comparisons. First, the comparison between 2002 and 2007 still allows us to follow some changes within the cohort. Second, the comparison between 2002 and 2009 enables us to analyse indicative changes between two cohorts in the same age group.

In this research only some tendencies can be marked out, as research on identity formation and acculturation will always be speculative. It is impossible and even dangerous to extrapolate results into the distant future. Further, longitudinal research is needed, particularly on how the education reform is implemented in reality.

Finally, it is essential to say that it is impossible to establish any direction of causality from this research; one can look only at the interrelatedness of the preference for acculturation strategies and other factors. Thus, on the one hand, it is possible that if you speak the dominant language better and have more social contacts with Latvians there is a higher probability that you would choose integration. On the other hand, you could first choose integration and then make an effort to learn the language and look for closer contacts with the Latvian group. The same is true for the relationships between attitudes and behaviours and discrimination.

Cultural change and acculturation per se could be more accurately noted and assessed, however, only when sets of data are being collected from the same sample at different points in time to create a longitudinal panel dataset. This demand is often difficult to fulfil in acculturation research, largely because longitudinal research is frequently plagued with problems of loss through attrition, and of the changing relevance of theoretical conceptions and the associated research instruments. According to Berry

(1990), a common alternative to longitudinal research is cross-sectional research employing a time-related variable such as length of residence or generational status. Because most of the Russian-speaking adolescents participating in this study were born in Latvia, only the effect of their parents' place of birth was investigated and taken into account when meaningful and possible. For the future, longitudinal studies are still needed to test causality between the factors involved in identification and acculturation processes.

### **7.2.3 Dealing with multilevel data**

This study is only exploratory with regards to teacher and peer effects since it does not solve the problem of causality, that is, the direction of the effect or identification of the type of the effect and does not make use of the multilevel structure of the data.

During acculturation, individuals are dealing not only with different attitudinal options and behaviours, but also with different peer group and teacher acculturation attitudes and behaviours in the school environment. That is why it is important to explore how the latter are related to the individual choices of Russian-speaking adolescents. However, here I cannot distinguish statistically in the models between endogenous<sup>50</sup>, exogenous (contextual)<sup>51</sup> or correlated<sup>52</sup> effects and I can only speculate about them based on previous findings or qualitative interview and observational materials. Instrumental variables (Evans et al., 1992) and multilevel models in some cases can help to distinguish between true peer effects and exogenous effects because of the

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<sup>50</sup> endogenous effects, wherein the propensity of an individual to behave in some way varies with the behaviour of the group (Manski, 1993).

<sup>51</sup> exogenous (contextual) effects, wherein the propensity of an individual to behave in some way varies with the exogenous characteristics of the group (neighbourhood effect etc.) (Manski, 1993).

<sup>52</sup> correlated effects, wherein individuals in the same group tend to behave similarly because they have similar individual characteristics or face similar institutional environments (compositional effect) (Manski, 1993).

specific composition of a school or class or because the visible effect stands for something else, such as parental motivations in selecting a specific school.

There might indeed be a direct or indirect influence. It is an endogenous effect if, for example, the individual use of Latvian tends to vary with the average use of Latvian among the students in that individual's class or among teachers in the individual's school. But if the association between peer or teacher variables and an individual's attitudes or behaviour achievement tends to vary with, say, the ethnic composition of the reference group this would be an exogenous effect. Finally, the relationship might also just reflect the fact that pupils in the same class are more similar to each other (based on part of the city, similar family backgrounds etc.). This would be a correlated or compositional effect if youths in the same school tended to have similar acculturation attitudes because they had similar parental attitudes, lived in the same part of the city or because they are taught by the same teachers.

To distinguish between the three types of effects is very tricky (Evans et al., 1992; Manski, 1993) and cannot be fully dealt with in this study, but it is important to mention that they can have different education and social policy implications. Consider, for example, an educational intervention providing intercultural learning or exchange programmes between Latvian and Russian schools to some of the students and teachers in a school, but not to the others. If the individual integration attitude increases with the average support for integration among the students and teachers in the school, then an effective integration programme not only directly helps the students and teachers that are actually involved, but, as their support for integration rises, it indirectly influences all students and teachers in the school, feeding back into further changes in the attitudes of the pupils involved in the programmes. However, exogenous effects and correlated effects do not generate this "social multiplier" effect.

Additionally, two other factors complicate the picture and the possibility of a clear interpretation of the findings. Firstly, each person might be influenced by multiple reference groups, giving more weight to the behaviour of some groups than to others. If researchers do not know clearly how individuals form reference groups and perceive reference-group outcomes, then it is reasonable to consider whether observed behaviour

or attitudes can be used to infer this. In those cases, research has firstly to focus on which reference groups seem to be of the most importance and then collect data about these groups. In this study I unfortunately did not have any sociometric data on friendship groups or dyads or on favourite teachers.

Secondly, social effects might be transmitted by distributional features other than the mean. For example, it is sometimes said that the strength of the effect of social norms or specific attitudes and types of behaviour on individual behaviour and attitudes depends on the dispersion of behaviour in the reference group; the smaller the dispersion, the stronger the relationship between an individual and the group (Manski, 1993).

Some of these problems can be solved using multilevel models to explore the effect of social context variables on identity and acculturation. There is a need for further research that would treat contextual variables, such as aggregated teacher and peer variables, as school-level variables to make full use of the multilevel structure of the data where adolescents are nested within schools and classes. This approach might help to disentangle identification of the type of the effect, such as distinguishing between compositional and contextual. Additionally, multilevel modelling will also help to estimate standard errors of regression coefficients correctly and explore the overall variance proportion explained by individual variables and school level variables.

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## Appendix A: Questionnaires

### Анкета

Приглашаем Тебя участвовать в опросе на тему этнической идентичности. Результаты опроса будут использованы в обобщённом виде. Просим Тебя свободно высказывать своё мнение. Мы очень благодарны за Твою помощь в нашем исследовании.

1. **Твоя национальность?** (укажи какая) \_\_\_\_\_
2. **Твой родной язык?** (укажи какой) \_\_\_\_\_
3. **В какой стране ты родился/родилась?**  
 В Латвии - 1                      В России – 2  
 В другой стране (укажи в какой) \_\_\_\_\_
4. **Пол:**            мужской –1                      женский -2
5. **На каком языке ты говоришь...?** (отметь один ответ в каждой строчке)

	В основном на латышском языке	На латышском больше чем на русском	На русском больше чем на латышском	В основном на русском языке	В основном на другом языке
...дома	1	2	3	4	5
...с друзьями,	1	2	3	4	5
...на улице, в магазине	1	2	3	4	5
...в школе	1	2	3	4	5

6. **На каком языке ты ...?** (отметь один ответ в каждой строчке)

	В основном на латышском языке	На латышском больше чем на русском	На русском больше чем на латышском	В основном на русском языке	В основно м на другом языке
...смотришь телевизор	1	2	3	4	5
...читаешь прессу	1	2	3	4	5

7. Сколько близких друзей у тебя среди...? (отметь один ответ в каждой строчке)

	Ни одного	Один/одна	2-3	4-5	Больше 5
...латышей	1	2	3	4	5
...русских	1	2	3	4	5
...других	1	2	3	4	5

8. Как часто ты проводишь время вне школы с ...? (отметь один ответ в каждой строчке)

	Почти никогда	Редко	Иногда	Часто	Почти всегда
... латышами	1	2	3	4	5
... русскими	1	2	3	4	5
... с друзьями и знакомыми других	1	2	3	4	5

9. Как бы ты оценил/ оценила свои знания латышского языка умение говорить, читать, писать?

**Умение говорить**

Говорить не умею или почти не умею	1
Немного умею говорить, но только о простых, повседневных вопросах	2
С небольшими затруднениями могу разговаривать на любые темы	3
Разговариваю свободно	4

**Чтение и понимание прочитаного**

Читать не умею или почти не умею и ничего не понимаю	1
Понимаю простые тексты (объявления, сообщения)	2
С небольшими затруднениями могу прочитать и понять любой текст	3
Читаю и понимаю всю информацию свободно	4

**Письмо**

Писать не умею или почти не умею	1
Могу написать простые вещи (имя, фамилию, адрес)	2
С небольшими затруднениями могу написать любой текст	3
Пишу свободно	4

10. Ниже представлен ряд утверждений. Отметь, в какой степени ты согласен/согласна с каждым из утверждений? (отметить один ответ в каждой строчке)

	Полностью не согласен/а	Несколько иного мнения	Почти того же мнения	Полностью согласен/а
Я горжусь, что живу в Латвии.	1	2	3	4
Я горд, что я ..... (твоя национальность).	1	2	3	4
Я не хочу жить в Латвии.	1	2	3	4
Я не хочу быть ..... (твоя национальность).	1	2	3	4
Я хочу жить в России.	1	2	3	4
Моя семья планирует уехать из Латвии.	1	2	3	4
Я уверен в своей национальности и в том что она значит для меня.	1	2	3	4
Мои родители хотят, чтобы я знал русский язык.	1	2	3	4
Мои родители хотят, чтобы я знал латышский язык.	1	2	3	4
Я провел какое-то время, чтобы узнать больше о своей этнической культуре, истории и традициях.	1	2	3	4
Я часто думаю о том, как моя национальность влияет на мою жизнь.	1	2	3	4
У меня есть сильное чувство принадлежности к моей этнической группе	1	2	3	4
Чтобы узнать больше о моей национальности, я часто разговариваю с другими людьми об этом.	1	2	3	4
Русским в Латвии надо приспособиться к латышским обычаям и отказаться от своих традиций.	1	2	3	4
Для меня важнее хорошо знать латышский язык, чем русский.	1	2	3	4
Русским в Латвии надо сохранить свои культурные традиции, но и приспособиться к латышским традициям.	1	2	3	4



	Полностью не согласен/а	Несколько иного мнения	Почти того же мнения	Полностью согласен/а
Для меня важнее хорошо знать русский язык, чем латышский.	1	2	3	4
Для русских в Латвии не важно ни сохранение своих традиций, ни приспособление к латышской культуре.	1	2	3	4
Для меня важно хорошо знать как русский так и латышский языки.	1	2	3	4
Русским надо стремиться сохранить свои традиции и не приспособляться к латышской культуре.	1	2	3	4
Для меня не важно хорошее знание ни русского ни латышского языка.	1	2	3	4
Мне нравится участвовать в тех событиях, на которых присутствуют как латыши так и русские.	1	2	3	4
Мне бы хотелось иметь только латышских друзей.	1	2	3	4
Мне нравится участвовать в тех событиях, на которых присутствуют только русские.	1	2	3	4
Мне бы хотелось иметь только русских друзей.	1	2	3	4
Мне безразличны как те события в которых участвуют русские, так и те события, в которых участвуют латыши.	1	2	3	4
Мне бы хотелось иметь и русских и латышских друзей.	1	2	3	4
Мне нравится участвовать в тех событиях, на которых присутствуют только латыши.	1	2	3	4
Мне не надо ни русских ни латышских друзей.	1	2	3	4
Латыши гордятся достижениями русских.	1	2	3	4
Латыши не понимают русскую культуру.	1	2	3	4

	Полностью не согласен/а	Несколько иного мнения	Почти того же мнения	Полностью согласен/а
Латыши относятся с уважением к русским и русской культуре.	1	2	3	4
В Латвии что бы устроиться на работу важна этническая принадлежность, а не профессиональные навыки и квалификации	1	2	3	4
Были такие случаи, что латыши меня обижали из за того, что я русский.	1	2	3	4
Я не говорю по латышски, потому что меня высмеивают за ошибки.	1	2	3	4
Я слышал/а как латыши говорили плохо о русских.	1	2	3	4
Если бы у них был выбор, латыши не хотели бы чтобы русские жили в Латвии.	1	2	3	4
Латыши думают что их культура лучше русской культуры.	1	2	3	4
Я чувствую, что латыши не принимают меня.	1	2	3	4
Русские дети в Латвии в школах должны учиться на латышском.	1	2	3	4
Если я пойду в университет, там буду учиться на латышском.	1	2	3	4
Я за билингвальное обучение.	1	2	3	4
Мои родители против билингвального обучения.	1	2	3	4

**11. В какой стране родилась твоя мама?**

В Латвии – 1

В России - 2

В другой стране (укажи в какой) \_\_\_\_\_

**12. В какой стране родился твой папа?**

В Латвии – 1

В России - 2

В другой стране (укажи в какой) \_\_\_\_\_

**13. Ты думаешь о себе как о...?**

	Совсем нет	Немного	Полностью
... русском/ой	1	2	3
... латыше/ке	1	2	3
...лице другой национальности (укажи какой) _____	1	2	3
... части русской культуры	1	2	3
... части латышской культуры	1	2	3

**14. Ниже представлен ряд утверждений. Отметь, в какой степени ты согласен/согласна с каждым из утверждений? (отметь один ответ в каждой строчке)**

	Полностью не согласен/а	Несколько иного мнения	Почти того же мнения	Полностью согласен/а
Я чувствую, что я достойный человек, по крайней мере, не менее, чем другие.	1	2	3	4
Я всегда склонен чувствовать себя неудачником.	1	2	3	4
Мне кажется, что у меня есть ряд хороших качеств.	1	2	3	4
Я способен кое-что делать не хуже, чем большинство	1	2	3	4
Мне кажется, что мне особенно нечем гордиться.	1	2	3	4
Я в целом к себе хорошо отношусь.	1	2	3	4
В целом я удовлетворен собой.	1	2	3	4
Мне хотелось бы больше уважать себя.	1	2	3	4
Иногда я ясно чувствую свою бесполезность.	1	2	3	4
Иногда я думаю, что я во всем нехорош.	1	2	3	4

## Pupil Questionnaire

We invite you to participate in a survey about ethnic identity. All results from the survey will be used in an anonymised way. Please feel free to express your views. We appreciate your help in our research.

1. **Your ethnicity?** (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

2. **Your first language?** (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

3. **Country of birth?**

Latvia - 1                      Russia – 2              Other country (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

4. **Gender:**              male - 1                      female - 2

5. **What language do you use when ...?** (please mark one answer in each row)

	Mostly Latvian	Latvian more than Russian	Russian more than Latvian	Mostly Russian	Mostly other language
... at home	1	2	3	4	5
...with friends and acquaintances	1	2	3	4	5
...on the street; in shops	1	2	3	4	5
...at school	1	2	3	4	5

6. **What language do you ...?** (please mark one answer in each row)

	Mostly Latvian	Latvian more than Russian	Russian more than Latvian	Mostly Russian	Mostly other language
...watch TV	1	2	3	4	5
...read newspapers	1	2	3	4	5

7. **How many close friends do you have among...?** (please mark one answer in each row)

	None	One	2-3	4-5	More than 5
... Latvians	1	2	3	4	5
... Russians	1	2	3	4	5
... other ethnic groups	1	2	3	4	5

8. **How much time do you spend outside school with...**(please mark one answer in each row)

	Almost never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Almost always
... Latvians	1	2	3	4	5
... Russians	1	2	3	4	5
...friends and acquaintances from other ethnic groups	1	2	3	4	5

9. **What do you think about your Latvian language skills?**

**Speaking**

Cannot speak or almost cannot speak	1
Can speak a little, but only about everyday simple issues	2
Can speak with some mistakes about most of the issues	3
Can speak fluently	4

**Reading and comprehension**

Cannot read or almost cannot read and understand very little	1
Can understand simple texts (short advertisements etc.)	2
Can read and understand almost all texts with minor difficulties	3
Can read and understand all information	4

**Writing**

Cannot write or almost cannot write	1
Can write simple things (name, address)	2
Can write any text with some minor difficulties	3
Can write freely	4

**10. Below you can see a list of different statements. Please mark how much you agree with each of the statements. (please mark one answer in each row)**

	<b>Strongly disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly agree</b>
I am proud to live in Latvia	1	2	3	4
I am proud to be..... (your ethnicity).	1	2	3	4
I do not want to live in Latvia.	1	2	3	4
I do not want to be..... (your ethnicity).	1	2	3	4
I want to live in Russia.	1	2	3	4
My family is planning to leave Latvia	1	2	3	4
I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.	1	2	3	4
My parents want me to know Russian language	1	2	3	4
My parents wants me to know Latvian language	1	2	3	4
I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	1	2	3	4
I think a lot about how my life is affected by my ethnic group membership.	1	2	3	4
I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	1	2	3	4
In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.	1	2	3	4
It is more important for me to get to know Latvian traditions and adapt those than keep any Russian traditions	1	2	3	4
I feel that it is more important for me to know Latvian language than Russian	1	2	3	4
It is of the same importance for me to keep Russian traditions and to adopt Latvian ones	1	2	3	4
I feel that it is more important for me to know Russian language than Latvian	1	2	3	4
It is not important for me either to keep Russian traditions or to adapt any Latvian ones	1	2	3	4
I feel that it is of the same importance for me to know Latvian and Russian language	1	2	3	4
It is more important for me to keep Russian traditions and do not adjust to Latvian culture	1	2	3	4

	<b>Strongly disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly agree</b>
I feel that it is not important for me to know either Russian or Latvian	1	2	3	4
I prefer to participate in those events and activities where both Russians and Latvians are present	1	2	3	4
I prefer to have only Latvian friends	1	2	3	4
I prefer to participate in those events and activities where only Russians are taking part	1	2	3	4
I prefer to have both Russian and Latvian friends	1	2	3	4
I prefer to have only Russian friends	1	2	3	4
I prefer not to participate in any events and activities. It does not matter if Russians or Latvians are present there	1	2	3	4
I prefer to participate in those events and activities where only Latvians are present	1	2	3	4
I do not want to have either Russian or Latvian friends	1	2	3	4
Latvians do not understand Russian culture	1	2	3	4
Latvians are proud of achievement of Russians	1	2	3	4
Latvians treat with respect Russians and their culture	1	2	3	4
In Latvia to find work your ethnic origins are important and not your qualifications or professional skills	1	2	3	4
I have heard how Latvians speak in a nasty way about Russians	1	2	3	4
I feel that Latvians do not accept me	1	2	3	4
I do not speak Latvian because I am scared that people will laugh at me for my mistakes	1	2	3	4
I have heard how Latvians speak in a nasty way about Russians	1	2	3	4
If given a choice, Latvians would rather have not Russians living in Latvia	1	2	3	4
Latvians think that their culture is better than Russian culture	1	2	3	4
Russian children in schools have to learn in Latvian language	1	2	3	4

If I go to university I will study there in Latvian	1	2	3	4
I am in favour of bilingual education	1	2	3	4
My parents are against bilingual education	1	2	3	4

**11. Which country was your mother born in?**

Latvia - 1                      Russia – 2              Other country (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**12. Which country was your farther born in?**

Latvia - 1                      Russia – 2              Other country (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**13. Do you think about yourself as ...?**

	Not at all	A little	A lot
... Russian	1	2	3
... Latvian	1	2	3
...other ethnicity (please specify) _____	1	2	3
... part of Russian culture	1	2	3
... part of Latvian culture	1	2	3

**14. Below you can see a list of different statements. Please mark how much you agree with each of the statements. (please mark one answer in each row)**

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.	1	2	3	4
All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	1	2	3	4
I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	1	2	3	4
I am able to do things as well as most other people	1	2	3	4
I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	1	2	3	4
I take a positive attitude toward myself.	1	2	3	4
On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	1	2	3	4
I wish I could have more respect for myself.	1	2	3	4
I certainly feel useless at times.	1	2	3	4
At times I think I am no good at all.	1	2	3	4



## Анкета

Приглашаем Вас участвовать в опросе на тему этнической идентичности. Результаты опроса будут использованы в обобщённом виде. Просим Вас свободно высказывать своё мнение. Мы очень благодарны за Вашу помощь в нашем исследовании.

1. Пол:        мужской – 1                                женский – 2
2. Ваш предмет преподавания? (укажите какой) \_\_\_\_\_
3. Сколько лет Вы преподаёте этот предмет? \_\_\_\_\_ (лет)
4. Сколько лет Вы преподаёте в общем в школе? \_\_\_\_\_ (лет)
5. На каком языке...?

	В основном на латышском языке	На латышском больше чем на русском	На русском больше чем на латышском	В основном на русском языке	В основном на другом языке
...Вы преподаёте свой предмет	1	2	3	4	5
... ученики отвечают устно	1	2	3	4	5
... ученики отвечают письменно	1	2	3	4	5
... учебники, которые Вы используете на уроках	1	2	3	4	5

6. Как Вы считаете, на каком языке нужно преподавать ваш предмет?

	В основном на латышском языке	На латышском больше чем на русском	На русском больше чем на латышском	В основном на русском языке	В основном на другом языке
	1	2	3	4	5

7. Кто решает на каком языке преподавать ваш предмет?  
(пожалуйста укажите) \_\_\_\_\_

**8. Отметьте, как часто Вы используете на уроках...?**

	Почти никогда	Пару раз в семестре	Каждый 2-3 урок	Почти на каждом уроке
лекция	1	2	3	4
сессия вопросов и ответов	1	2	3	4
дискуссия с учениками	1	2	3	4
работа учеников в группах	1	2	3	4

**9. В какой степени по Вашему мнению следующие факторы обеспечивают авторитет учителя в классе?**

	Совсем нет	1	2	3	4	Полностью
Хорошая дисциплина в классе	1	2	3	4	5	
Сотрудничество с учениками	1	2	3	4	5	
Отношение с уважением к ученикам	1	2	3	4	5	
Профессиональные навыки и знания учителя	1	2	3	4	5	
Личность учителя	1	2	3	4	5	

**10. На каком языке Вы говорите...? (отметить один ответ в каждой строчке)**

	В основном на латышском языке	На латышском больше чем на русском	На русском больше чем на латышском	В основном на русском языке	В основном на другом языке
...дома	1	2	3	4	5
... с друзьями, знакомыми	1	2	3	4	5
... на улице, в магазине	1	2	3	4	5
... в школе на уроках	1	2	3	4	5
... в школе вне уроков	1	2	3	4	5

**11. Сколько близких друзей у Вас среди...? (отметить один ответ в каждой строчке)**

	<b>0</b>	<b>Один/одна</b>	<b>2-3</b>	<b>4-5</b>	<b>Больше 5</b>
... латышей	1	2	3	4	5
... русских	1	2	3	4	5
... других национальностей	1	2	3	4	5

**12. Как часто Вы проводите время вне школы с ...? (отметить один ответ в каждой строчке)**

	<b>Почти никогда</b>	<b>Редко</b>	<b>Иногда</b>	<b>Часто</b>	<b>Почти всегда</b>
... латышами	1	2	3	4	5
... русскими	1	2	3	4	5
... с друзьями и знакомыми других национальностей	1	2	3	4	5

**13. Как бы Вы оценил/ оценила свои знания латышского языка умение говорить, читать, писать?**

<b>Умение говорить</b>	
Говорить не умею или почти не умею	1
Немного умею говорить, но только о простых, повседневных вопросах	2
С небольшими затруднениями могу разговаривать на любые темы	3
Разговариваю свободно	4
<b>Чтение и понимание прочитанного</b>	
Читать не умею или почти не умею и ничего не понимаю	1
Понимаю простые тексты (объявления, сообщения)	2
С небольшими затруднениями могу прочитать и понять любой текст	3
Читаю и понимаю всю информацию свободно	4
<b>Письмо</b>	
Писать не умею или почти не умею	1
Могу написать простые вещи (имя, фамилию, адрес)	2
С небольшими затруднениями могу написать любой текст	3
Пишу свободно	4

**14. Ваша национальность? (укажите какая) \_\_\_\_\_**

**15. Ваш родной язык? (укажите какой) \_\_\_\_\_**

16. Ниже представлен ряд утверждений. Отметь, в какой степени Вы согласен/согласна с каждым из утверждений? (отметить один ответ в каждой строчке)

	Полностью не согласен/а	Несколько иного мнения	Почти того же мнения	Полностью согласен/а
Я горжусь, что живу в Латвии.	1	2	3	4
Я горд, что я ..... (Ваша национальность).	1	2	3	4
Я не хочу жить в Латвии.	1	2	3	4
Я не хочу быть ..... (Ваша национальность).	1	2	3	4
Я хочу жить в России.	1	2	3	4
Я уверен в своей национальности и в том что она значит для меня.	1	2	3	4
Я провел какое-то время, чтобы узнать больше о своей этнической культуре, истории и традициях.	1	2	3	4
Я часто думаю о том, как моя национальность влияет на мою жизнь.	1	2	3	4
У меня есть сильное чувство принадлежности к моей этнической группе	1	2	3	4
Чтобы узнать больше о моей национальности, я часто разговариваю с другими людьми об этом.	1	2	3	4
Русским в Латвии надо приспособиться к латышским обычаям и отказаться от своих традиций.	1	2	3	4
Для меня важнее хорошо знать латышский язык, чем русский.	1	2	3	4
Русским в Латвии надо сохранить свои культурные традиции, но и приспособиться к латышским традициям.	1	2	3	4
Для меня важнее хорошо знать русский язык, чем латышский.	1	2	3	4
Для русских в Латвии не важно ни сохранение своих традиций, ни приспособление к латышской культуре.	1	2	3	4
Для меня важно хорошо знать как русский так и латышский языки.	1	2	3	4
Русским надо стремиться сохранить свои традиции и не приспособляться к латышской культуре.	1	2	3	4

	Полностью не согласен/а	Несколько иного мнения	Почти того же мнения	Полностью согласен/а
Для меня не важно хорошее знание ни русского ни латышского языка.	1	2	3	4
Мне нравится участвовать в тех событиях, на которых присутствуют как латыши так и русские.	1	2	3	4
Мне бы хотелось иметь только латышских друзей.	1	2	3	4
Мне нравится участвовать в тех событиях, на которых присутствуют только русские.	1	2	3	4
Мне бы хотелось иметь и русских и латышских друзей.	1	2	3	4
Мне бы хотелось иметь только русских друзей.	1	2	3	4
Мне безразличны как те события в которых участвуют русские, так и те события, в которых участвуют латыши.	1	2	3	4
Мне нравится участвовать в тех событиях, на которых присутствуют только латыши.	1	2	3	4
Мне не надо ни русских ни латышских друзей.	1	2	3	4
Латыши гордятся достижениями русских.	1	2	3	4
Латыши не понимают русскую культуру.	1	2	3	4
Я чувствую, что латыши не принимают меня.	1	2	3	4
Латыши относятся с уважением к русским и русской культуре.	1	2	3	4
В Латвии что бы устроиться на работу важна этническая принадлежность, а не профессиональные навыки и квалификации	1	2	3	4
Были такие случаи, что латыши меня обижали из за того, что я русский/ая	1	2	3	4
Я не говорю по латышски, потому что меня высмеивают за ошибки.	1	2	3	4
Я слышал/а как латыши говорили плохо о русских.	1	2	3	4
Если бы у них был выбор, латыши не хотели бы чтобы русские жили в Латвии.	1	2	3	4
Латыши думают что их культура лучше русской культуры.	1	2	3	4
Русские дети в Латвии в школах должны учиться на латышском.	1	2	3	4

**17. Вы думаете о себе как о...?**

	<b>Совсем нет</b>	<b>Немного</b>	<b>Полностью</b>
... русском/ой	1	2	3
... латыше/ке	1	2	3
...лице другой национальности _____	1	2	3
... части русской культуры	1	2	3
... части латышской культуры	1	2	3

**18. В какой стране Вы родились/родилась?**

В Латвии – 1

В России – 2

В другой стране (укажите в какой) \_\_\_\_\_

**19. Какое у Вас гражданство?**

Гражданство Латвии – 1

Негражданин/негражданка – 2

Гражданин России – 3

Гражданин другой страны (укажи в какой) \_\_\_\_\_

## Teacher Questionnaire

We invite you to participate in a survey about ethnic identity. All results from the survey will be used in an anonymised way. Please feel free to express your views. We appreciate your help in our research.

1. **Gender:**      male – 1                      female – 2
2. **Main subject taught?** (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
3. **For how many years have you been this subject?** \_\_\_\_\_ (years)
4. **For how many years have you been teaching at school in general?** \_\_\_\_\_ (years)
5. **In which language do ...?** (please mark one answer in each row)

	Mostly Latvian	Latvian more than Russian	Russian more than Latvian	Mostly Russian	Mostly other language
...you teach	1	2	3	4	5
... pupils speak in class	1	2	3	4	5
... pupils write in class	1	2	3	4	5
... you use school books	1	2	3	4	5

6. **What language your subject should be taught in?**

	Mostly Latvian	Latvian more than Russian	Russian more than Latvian	Mostly Russian	Mostly other language
	1	2	3	4	5

7. **Who decides what language your subject should be taught in?** (please specify)

\_\_\_\_\_

8. **How often do you use following methods in your class...?** (please mark one answer in each row)

	Almost never	Couple of times a term	Every 2-3 lessons	Almost every lesson
Lecture	1	2	3	4
Q&A sessions	1	2	3	4
Discussions with pupils	1	2	3	4
Group work	1	2	3	4

**9. To what extent these factors ensure teacher's authority in a classroom?** (please mark one answer in each row)

	<b>Not at all</b>					<b>Completely</b>
Good discipline	1	2	3	4	5	
Cooperation with pupils	1	2	3	4	5	
Respect towards pupils	1	2	3	4	5	
Professional skills and knowledge of a teacher	1	2	3	4	5	
Teacher's personality	1	2	3	4	5	

**10. What language do you speak when...?** (please mark one answer in each row)

	<b>Mostly Latvian</b>	<b>Latvian more than Russian</b>	<b>Russian more than Latvian</b>	<b>Mostly Russian</b>	<b>Mostly other language</b>
... at home	1	2	3	4	5
... with friends and acquaintances	1	2	3	4	5
... on the street; in shops	1	2	3	4	5
... at schools (class time)	1	2	3	4	5
... at school (outside class time)	1	2	3	4	5

**11. How many close friends do you have among...?** (please mark one answer in each row)

	<b>None</b>	<b>One</b>	<b>2-3</b>	<b>4-5</b>	<b>More than 5</b>
... Latvians	1	2	3	4	5
... Russians	1	2	3	4	5
... other ethnic groups	1	2	3	4	5



**12. How often do you spend time outside school with...?** (please mark one answer in each row)

	<b>Almost never</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>Sometimes</b>	<b>Often</b>	<b>Almost always</b>
... Latvians	1	2	3	4	5
... Russians	1	2	3	4	5
... friends and acquaintances from other ethnic groups	1	2	3	4	5

**15. What do you think about your Latvian language skills?**

**Speaking**

Cannot speak or almost cannot speak	1
Can speak a little, but only about everyday simple issues	2
Can speak with some mistakes about most of the issues	3
Can speak fluently	4

**Reading and comprehension**

Cannot read or almost cannot read and understand very little	1
Can understand simple texts (short advertisements etc.)	2
Can read and understand almost all texts with minor difficulties	3
Can read and understand all information	4

**Writing**

Cannot write or almost cannot write	1
Can write simple things (name, address)	2
Can write any text with some minor difficulties	3
Can write freely	4

**16. Your ethnicity?** (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**17. Your first language?** (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**18. Below you can see a list of different statements. Please mark how much you agree with each of the statements. (please mark one answer in each row)**

	<b>Strongly disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly agree</b>
I am proud to live in Latvia	1	2	3	4
I am proud to be..... (your ethnicity).	1	2	3	4
I do not want to live in Latvia.	1	2	3	4
I do not want to be..... (your ethnicity).	1	2	3	4
I want to live in Russia.	1	2	3	4
I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.	1	2	3	4
I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	1	2	3	4
I think a lot about how my life is affected by my ethnic group membership.	1	2	3	4
I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	1	2	3	4
In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.	1	2	3	4
It is more important for me to get to know Latvian traditions and adapt those than keep any Russian traditions	1	2	3	4
I feel that it is more important for me to know Latvian language than Russian	1	2	3	4
It is of the same importance for me to keep Russian traditions and to adapt Latvian ones	1	2	3	4
I feel that it is more important for me to know Russian language than Latvian	1	2	3	4
It is not important for me either to keep Russian traditions or to adopt any Latvian ones	1	2	3	4
I feel that it is of the same importance for me to know Latvian and Russian language	1	2	3	4
It is more important for me to keep Russian traditions and do not adjust to Latvian culture	1	2	3	4

I feel that it is not important for me to know either Russian or Latvian	1	2	3	4
I prefer to participate in those events and activities where both Russians and Latvians are present	1	2	3	4
I prefer to have only Latvian friends	1	2	3	4
I prefer to participate in those events and activities where only Russians are taking part	1	2	3	4
I prefer to have both Russian and Latvian friends	1	2	3	4
I prefer to have only Russian friends	1	2	3	4
I prefer not to participate in any events and activities. It does not matter if Russians or Latvians are present there	1	2	3	4
I prefer to participate in those events and activities where only Latvians are present	1	2	3	4
I do not want to have either Russian or Latvian friends	1	2	3	4
Latvians are proud of achievement of Russians	1	2	3	4
Latvians do not understand Russian culture	1	2	3	4
I feel that Latvians do not accept me	1	2	3	4
Latvians treat with respect Russians and their culture	1	2	3	4
In Latvia to find work your ethnic origins are important and not you qualifications or professional skills	1	2	3	4
I have heard how Latvians speak in a nasty way about Russians	1	2	3	4
I do not speak Latvian because I am scared that people will laugh at me for my mistakes	1	2	3	4
I have heard how Latvians speak in a nasty way about Russians	1	2	3	4
If given a choice, Latvians would rather have not Russians living in Latvia	1	2	3	4
Latvians think that their culture is better than Russian culture	1	2	3	4
Russian children in schools have to learn in Latvian language	1	2	3	4

**19. Do you think about yourself as ...?**

	<b>Not at all</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>A lot</b>
... Russian	1	2	3
... Latvian	1	2	3
...other ethnicity (please specify) _____	1	2	3
... part of Russian culture	1	2	3
... part of Latvian culture	1	2	3

**20. Which country were you born in?**

Latvia - 1                      Russia – 2                      Other country (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**21. What is your current citizenship?**

Latvia – 1  
Non-citizen of Latvia – 2  
Russia – 3  
Other country (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_